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J.A.

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ.

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ;
OR,
A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;
INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF
THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPTIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS
FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS
OF ANTIQUITY.

BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A. M.
LATE VICAR OF TUXFORD. AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIRD EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED;
WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING, BESIDES OTHER MATTER,
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION,
AND INDICES.

VOL. I.

SEELEY, BURNSIDE, AND SEELEY;
FLEET STREET, LONDON.
MDCCCXLVII.

"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein: for the time is at hand." Apoc. i. 3.

"The word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn." 2 Peter i. 19.



*Leonard Seeley,
Thames Ditton, Surrey.*

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

IN presenting this Work to the Public, the Author may be expected to give some account of the circumstances under which he was led to undertake it, of the plan pursued in it, and of any important peculiarities that he may suppose to attach to it, as compared with other previously published Commentaries on the Apocalypse.

At the time when his thoughts were first seriously directed to the study of Prophecy, now some ten or eleven years since, the Rev. S. R. Maitland's publications had begun to make an evident impression on prophetic investigators, as well as on other students of biblical and ecclesiastical literature; and had caused considerable doubt in the minds of many as to the correctness of the Protestant anti-Romish views of the Apocalypse, and the prophetic year-day theory, generally received in England since the Reformation; indeed, doubt whether the Apocalypse had as yet received any fulfilment in the past history of the Church and Christendom. The circumstance of a Periodical on prophetic subjects, called *The Investigator*, having been started about this time by a near neighbour and intimate and valued friend, the Rev. J. W. Brooks, then of Retford, now of Nottingham, and of his wishing the Author to contribute Papers to it, rendered it necessary that he should acquaint himself with the controversy, and form some decision of judgment as to the correctness or incorrectness of Mr. Maitland's theory.

And the result of his inquiries was of a twofold character. On the one hand the untenableness of many statements and opinions of Apocalyptic Interpreters of the Protestant School, such as Mr. M. had exposed, appeared palpable. On the other hand the general truth of their view of the Apocalyptic prophecies concerning Babylon and the seven-headed Beast, as having fulfilment in Papal Rome and the Popedom, appeared to him equally indubitable; and consequently that any theory of the prophecy which repudiated all idea of such fulfilment could not be true. His conviction to this effect was confirmed by consideration of the obvious and very striking chronological intimation given to St. John at the outset of the visions, (Apoc. iv. 1,) "Come up, and I will shew thee what must happen *after these things*;" i. e. after the state of things previously depicted as then existing, in the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia. It seemed to him that it would have been an almost direct violation of this intimation, had the prefigurations thereupon given represented no events of earlier occurrence than such as were to happen in a distant futurity of at least 1800 years after St. John; indeed none earlier than the very eve of Christ's Second Advent.

Under this impression he could not but feel persuaded that there must have taken place in reality, although apparently up to that time undiscovered, some more exact fulfilment, in accordance with the year-day principle, of those several Apocalyptic prophecies, against the Protestant interpretations of which, previously offered, exception had justly been made: more especially of those of the Seals, of the Vision of the rainbow-crowned Angel of Apoc. x, of the Witnesses' Death and Resurrection, of the seventh Head of the seven-headed Beast, of the Beast's Image, and in fine of the structure of the Apocalypse itself. It so happened that he had soon after occasion to direct his careful attention to one of these prophecies, viz. that of the *Witnesses' Death and Resurrection*, which both

by reason of its own details, and from its intimate and necessary connexion alike with the prefigurations that precede and that follow it, appeared almost more than any other to involve in its solution the true principles of Apocalyptic interpretation; and that he found in history what seemed to be precisely the explanation that had been wanted:—an explanation which was thereupon published by him in the *Investigator*, and which has been since substantially adopted by Mr. Birks and Mr. Bickersteth. By this discovery, as he supposed it, and another that followed, of what appeared to him the true meaning of the *Image of the Beast*, he was confirmed in his belief and hope, that through careful investigation the right solution of other more obscure points might be discovered also. But it was evident that for such investigation prolonged and careful researches were necessary; researches such as he had neither time nor facilities for in a village retirement, and amidst the avocations of a parochial ministry.

Soon after this, however, he was providentially called, in consequence of the dangerous illness of one most nearly allied to him in domestic life, to quit his Living in Nottinghamshire for a warmer climate. Thus the leisure and opportunity for research that he had needed were brought unexpectedly within his reach: and the strongly-urged request of his excellent friend Mr. Bickersteth, concurred with the previous inclination of his own mind, in deciding him to apply himself seriously to the work.

The difficulty of the *Seals* met him at the outset. For the most careful reconsideration of the subject only confirmed him in his conviction of the utter untenableness of the several solutions of them offered by the best-known Protestant Expositors: alike that by Mr. Faber on one theory of Apocalyptic structure, that by Messrs. Woodhouse, Cuninghame, and Bickersteth on another, and (in so far as regarded the three earlier *Seals*) that by Mede and Bishop Newton also, on yet another. Thus he felt himself positively compelled, on

this introductory part of the prophecy, to seek a truer solution. And in commencing his researches after it, there were two preliminary presumptions on which he judged that he might safely proceed. The *one* presumption was that, supposing the fortunes of the Roman World and Christendom, from St. John's time down to the consummation, to have been the subjects of Apocalyptic figuration, the æras successively chosen by the Divine Spirit for delineation must have been the most important and eventful in the history of Christendom:—the *other*, that the emblems introduced into and constituting each prefigurative picture, must have been emblems in every case suitable to the æra and subject, and in considerable measure characteristic and distinctive. Were the problem proposed to any student or artist of competent attainments to depict a nation's history in a series of pictures, what should we think of him were he to select other than its most important æras for delineation? What if, in the delineations themselves, he were to introduce emblems or costumes inappropriate to the æra; or so to generalize in them that the pictures might equally well refer to twenty other æras and subjects, as to those intended? And if, with reference to any superior *human* artist, such a handling of the subject would be deemed discreditable, insomuch as *à priori* scarce to be believed of him,—how much rather should the idea be rejected as incredible, of the *Divine Spirit* having so handled the subjects of the Apocalyptic prophecy!—Proceeding on these principles and persuasions, light soon began to dawn on the Author's mind, as he prosecuted his researches into the pictures of the earlier Apocalyptic Seals: and, as he still went on somewhat laboriously, to complete what was wanting to a more perfect understanding on the subject, the twilight seemed to him to brighten into day.

Thus far the investigation had been almost purely literary in its character. And it was the Author's original intention to have confined himself to these and

other such-like more literary subjects of investigation ; omitting others that might be rather of a theological nature : especially if involving controverted questions ; those only excepted which concern the grand differences between Protestantism and Popery. On this plan the Work would have been a series of Essays, in illustration of such of the obscurer parts of the Apocalypse as the Author, by critical historical or antiquarian research, might deem that he had been enabled to unravel ; and in extent one within the limits of a single Volume. But, as he proceeded, he found that the several parts of the sacred Book were so intimately connected together, that however successfully he might have explained certain detached passages of importance, he would almost certainly fail of working any thorough conviction of the truth of his explanations, in the minds of his more accurate and cautious readers ; because of the conclusions thereon involving conclusions also on other closely connected passages, the correctness of which, prior to proof, they might by no means be prepared to admit. Moreover, as he seemed to himself to have perceived in some of those self-same more directly theological parts of the prophecy a meaning quite different from any that had before been supposed to attach to them,—and this in matters of no slight importance,—it became a serious question with him whether he would be justified in shrinking back, through fear of controversy, from declaring what he believed, on apparently clear evidence, to be the revealed truth of God. Nor was this, the voice of conscience, one which he dared resist.

Thus the Work became not only materially different from what he had first intended, and very much extended beyond the limits originally proposed, but one also to which, from the circumstance of its involving theological as well as literary questions, he could not but feel that a vastly increased amount of responsibility attached. And certainly he may say that he carried this sense of responsibility into the execution of the

Work. He has spared neither time nor trouble in seeking out the true meaning of each part of the prophecy; and carefully watched lest any wrong prejudice or pre-possession should warp his judgment concerning it. It has been his habit always in the first instance to consider the simple grammatical meaning of the prophetic passage, comparing scripture with scripture; then to consult the most authentic histories of the period supposed to be alluded to, (often those of original authority,) and, where necessary, such works also as might furnish antiquarian illustration. This done, and his own independent judgment formed thereon, his next step generally has been to refer to the most approved and elaborate Commentators on the subject, more especially those of different views from his own; and to weigh their arguments, ere coming to any final conclusion. One thing, he may confidently say with Pascal, has in the execution of this Work been above all things his object;—that is, the discovery of THE TRUTH.

Deeply conscious of the worthlessness of any unsubstantiated dictum or opinion of his own, he has deemed it essential, in order to the Reader's satisfaction, to submit the *evidence* with somewhat more than usual fulness, on which in each case that opinion may have been grounded. Hence the Notes, which in large part contain it, have swelled at times to an extent for the most part undesirable. But the Apocalyptic subject is one altogether peculiar;—being at once so important, so difficult, and so controverted. Consequently he has no fear of this being made a matter of complaint by any of the more judicious and intelligent of his readers; but the contrary.—And there is yet another point in which he has thought it right to enlarge, beyond what may by some persons be deemed the proper limits of prophetic exposition; viz. in the political and historic sketches which he has here and there introduced: sketches drawn up however as briefly as might consist with their proper distinctness and com-

prehensiveness ; and introduced only in order to fill up the historical lacunæ, which in certain cases might seem to exist between consecutive Apocalyptic figurations ; and so, conjointly with them, to make up altogether a general connected view of the history of European Christendom, alike political and ecclesiastical. No doubt, in the case of a reader thoroughly conversant with history, this may have been superfluous. But a conversancy like this can scarcely be expected in the majority of readers. And of those who possess it not, it is but few, he is persuaded, that would have either time or inclination to turn to historians or other writers, simply named in Notes of reference, for the requisite information or authority. In which case they would necessarily be at a disadvantage in judging of the whole subject. For, as the Spirit of Omniscience made choice of each particular æra of history for prefiguration, and planned the fittest mode of figuring them severally, while contemplating in its comprehensive glance the then whole future as one great present, —so they alone can be expected at all adequately to appreciate the justness of this its selection of æras, or the excellence of its prophetic pictures, who may in a general way have become tolerably well informed on the main history.

The *Engravings* given from ancient medals of the age supposed in each case to be prefigured, or other monuments of similar antiquity, will, the Author doubts not, be universally approved as alike interesting and illustrative. It is indeed a kind of evidence unimpeachable, supposing the medals authentic ; and as hard to be forgotten as it is convincing. An *Apocalyptic Chart* too has been appended, which will bring the whole scheme of his Exposition under review at a glance. And he ventures to hope that the plan of Apocalyptic structure thus exhibited to the eye, will, from its obvious simplicity and completeness, as well as from its perfect agreement with St. John's primary description of the Scroll that it develops, as "*written*

within and without," presumptively commend itself for true to the mind of the Reader:—the rather if compared with other Apocalyptic schemes of structure, that have been similarly drawn out on a Chart; as for example Mede's or Mr. Cuninghame's. With regard to the various mundane systems that have from time to time been imagined, the simplicity of the Copernican, as compared with the complexity of others, has been justly deemed of itself a presumptive argument of no small force in its favour. The same rule of judgment may apply, the Author thinks, in the present instance. Simplicity and completeness are ever characteristics of the works of God.

It will have appeared from the account just given, that the Work is, in the fullest sense of the word, original. More especially this characteristic attaches to the solutions here proposed of the three first Seals,—of the sealing and palm-bearing Visions,—of the vision of the rainbow-crowned Angel described in Apoc. x, xi, with its included notification on the death and resurrection of the two Witnesses;—also to those of the Beast's seventh Head,—of the Image of the Beast,*—and finally of the Apocalyptic structure itself, and of St. John's representative part as acted out on the scene of vision. Besides which in other parts, where old solutions may have been in the main adopted, there is scarce a chapter where some new evidence has not been added, or some modification made in the explanation:—an assertion the correctness of which they will be best able to appreciate, who are best acquainted with other Commentaries.—In stating this, however, the Author must not be supposed to undervalue his obligations to the labours of those expositors who have preceded him:—not even where he may have deemed their views more or less erroneous. The Culoden, which stranded at Aboukir, contributed perhaps its full share to the victory of the Nile. Where an expositor has fairly and fully developed his theory, it will,

* On this point Mr. Fysh published some time since a similar solution; coterminously with a detached Pamphlet on the subject by the Author.

even when manifestly unsuitable, serve at least as a buoy to warn those that follow of the rocks and shallows. Moreover the collateral information, and hints for thought, furnished by laborious and independent expositors, must needs often prove, though perhaps indirectly, more or less valuable. To the Rev. S. R. Maitland, for example, the Author feels himself on these grounds specially indebted; though most widely differing from both him and his whole school of interpretation in the conclusions come to. Indeed he feels indebted to him more than to any other living writer on prophecy. For, but for Mr. Maitland's acute inquiries into, and exposure of, many too generally received errors, and his thereby almost forcing the sincere inquirer after the truth of prophecy to think for himself, the necessity of new investigations would have been by no means so impressed on the Author's mind, and the present Apocalyptic Commentary probably never have been written.

On the whole, the Author sends this Work into the world under the conviction, not merely of its truth in all main points, but also (however otherwise imperfect its execution) of the evidence of that truth being conclusive and clear. And he trusts that it will approve itself as such to his more intelligent and candid readers; at least if unpreoccupied by any very decided views, previously formed, as to the prophecy which is its great subject. His appeal is to common sense and sound learning; with both which it is his deep conviction that the truth of God's word will ever be found accordant. From them he invites a rigid though not uncandid scrutiny.—And if his Work successfully stand such scrutiny, then let him be permitted also to express his judgment that its importance can scarcely be overrated. For not only will it furnish new and striking evidence to the world of the truth of Scripture prophecy, and consequently of the Divine inspiration of Scripture,—a point in itself of no little moment; but moreover, by unfolding the history of the Church Visible and of Christendom, from St. John's time to the present, as prefigured

to the Evangelist in Patmos, it will exhibit that history to the reader as it were with God's own continuous comment on it, *his* moral lessons intermixed, *his* philosophy of the history. And thus, connected with *past* history as the *present* needs must be, there will be few of the stirring topics of religious controversy of the present day, but must here have the Divine judgment pronounced respecting them.—Besides which there will also be the advantage of whatever new light the Book, by its correcter exposition of the past, may possibly throw on the mysteries of the coming future. And surely it needs little argument to prove that, in order to any rational conjecturing as to the intent of *unfulfilled* prophecy, a previous correct understanding of that which has been already *fulfilled* must be an important help; if not an almost indispensable preliminary.

In conclusion, the Author has only to express his hope and prayer that H_E will thus bless it, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy. And should this his hope be fulfilled,—should the Work prove in any measure to the sceptical a convincing evidence of the Divine inspiration of Holy Scripture,—to the unsettled or misled a safeguard against the many dangerous errors of the day,—and to our Nation, our Church, and Christ's Church Universal, a seasonable word of instruction, warning, and direction, with reference to the past, the present, or the future,—then indeed will the labour of the many "Apocalyptic Hours," which have been devoted to it be abundantly requited. And to God be all the glory!

Cheltenham, January, 1844.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN sending this second Edition of his Work into the world, the Author wishes first to express his thankfulness for the very favorable reception so far given it: the original Edition having been all sold off in eight months; and warm opinions exprest in its favor both publicly and privately, in Reviews, and personally, or by letter. The value of this testimony has been enhanced to the Author's mind, as coming from persons of different professions, and different Protestant ecclesiastical communities: alike from prelates and other dignitaries and ministers of his own Church, whose approbation might well be to him a legitimate source of gratification; from residents in our Universities, and able and learned members of the legal profession; from some of the most eminent ministers both of the Scotch Established and of the Scotch Free Church; and from some too of Dissenting bodies from our own Establishment. The voice of kindliness and approbation has been repeated from other countries; from Switzerland and France on the European Continent, from the United States of North America, from our Colony at the Cape, and from India. From that last-mentioned distant country the Author has been favored with the approving voice, not only of other valued friends in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, but of him especially who, in God's Providence, has been spared to preside for above thirteen years over the branch of our Anglican Reformed Church there planted, to its great advancement and

blessing; for the re-establishment of whose health, shattered in the noblest of services, many prayers, he doubts not, have ascended from his readers to the throne on high.

And this has been, above all, gratifying to him, that the impression on the minds of by far the larger number of those who have thus approved his Work, is to the effect that, as an Exposition of the Apocalyptic Prophecy, it is substantially *true*, and has the *evidence of truth* stamped upon it. It had occurred to the Author to have here presented the reader with two or three such testimonies, (for he knew that he would have been permitted to do so,) from persons eminent in the literary as well as ecclesiastical world; whose judgment could not but have carried weight with every intelligent and candid mind. But on reconsideration he has concluded not to do this. It seems due to those whom he had in view, that they should have full time to see, hear, and weigh whatever may be brought against the interpretation here given, before their opinions in favor of its substantial truth are published to the world. Moreover, though the authority of such names as are referred to could not but tend to the Book's present acceptance, yet in the long run this result must arise, and indeed *ought* to arise, not from the authority of approving names and opinions, however highly estimable, but from its own intrinsic weight of evidence and argument.

And the Author has distinctly to acknowledge, that this impression of truth has been by no means made on *all*, even of the friends that have felt warmly interested in his Work. Nor indeed have there been wanting those, as the reader may probably know, who have pronounced a directly unfavourable opinion on this head against it. In every such case it has been his object to ascertain, if possible, the grounds of the incredulity as to its expository correctness and truth. And, while sensible that certain imperfections in his original development of the evidence cannot but have tended to help

forward such a feeling, (imperfections which he will have again to allude to before concluding this Preface,) yet in no small number of cases he seems to have traced it to a cause of which the operation was not unforeseen by him at the time of the first publication of the *Horæ*; viz. the previous possession of the objectors' minds (perhaps long and inveterate possession) by other quite different and contrary Apocalyptic theories. It was observed by him in his original Preface, that he trusted the Work "would approve itself as true to his more intelligent and candid readers; *at least if unpreoccupied by any very decided views previously formed as to the intent of the prophecy.*" For, not merely with reference to Authors committed before the world by repeated publications on the subject, (the strongest case of all in point,) but in a measure with reference also to decided disciples of long standing attached to any opposite Apocalyptic school, whether that of the *Præterists*, that of the *Futurists*, or that of earlier *Protestant* interpreters, differing from the Author on important details, it seemed scarcely to be expected that they would give an unprejudiced and fair consideration to the propounded evidence of a new, and more or less counter theory. And this without any impeachment of their candour. For when the mind has long entertained and dwelt on certain views of a subject as true, albeit incorrect views, it insensibly habituates itself more and more to overlook and forget the flaws and weaknesses of the supposed sustaining evidence; and at length so to mistake its own creations for realities, as to be, for a time at least, almost incapable of receiving, or fairly considering, that which would destroy the illusion.—So even when the difference is only *prophetic*. Much more must this prejudice be likely to operate, where a difference of *religious* views is added to that on prophecy: for it cannot be questioned that religious truth of the most important kind is necessarily and deeply involved in the exposition of the Apocalypse.—Now, that prejudices such as these must have operated, one

or both, the Author thinks he may conclude, where his exposition has been at once set aside as altogether erroneous, without any controverting or even encountering of his proffered evidence and reasonings, but simply the assertion of some counter-system as the true one. So, for example, in the case of an otherwise very friendly Reviewer, of the *Futurist* school, in the *Christian Examiner*. So in the case of a less friendly writer in the *Eclectic Review*, of the school of the *Præterists*. The latter especially sets aside at once the whole exposition of the *Horæ* as based on principles fundamentally false; simply because not those of his own chosen school.

The fact, however, of such opinions having been entertained and asserted, has led the Author carefully to reconsider the nature of the evidence on which a reasonable man, believing in the inspiration of the Bible, may safely conclude on the truth of any alleged historical fulfilment of this sacred prophecy. And the more he has considered the question, the stronger and deeper has become his conviction that the evidence must be sought, and must consist, in the *fitting of historic fact with the prophetic figurations*. There can surely be no plainer or safer guide on this point than the precedent of other prophecies, such as are admitted on all hands to have already received their accomplishment. On what ground then is it, I ask, that we assert the very *Messiah* of Old Testament prophecy to have trod this our earth some 1800 years ago in the person of him that was called *Jesus of Nazareth*? What, but that, on a comparison of the recorded facts of his history with the details of prophecy, we find them most marvellously, and in a hundred particulars, to tally one with the other:—particulars involving place, time, circumstances; and having reference alike to the Messiah's predicted character, life, death, resurrection, ascension. It is not that there remain no difficulties unsolved, no points on which difference of opinion exists, in the Messianic prophecies. Even as regards Isaiah's famous prophecy, respecting the Messiah's birth of a Virgin, it

is well known to Biblical students that its context still presents certain difficulties and obscurities: and so, again, as regards the prophecy of the seventy weeks, "until Messiah the Prince," in Daniel. But in all the mass of the particulars the coincidence of fact and prediction, fairly made out, is overwhelming: and consequently the conclusion undoubted. It is on the same kind of evidence (to add another example or two) that we pronounce Christ's prophecy of *the destruction of Jerusalem* to have been fulfilled: the same on which we declare *Daniel's four metals* in the symbolic image, and also his *four Beasts*, seen in vision, to have been realized in the four great successive empires of the world, the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman — Precisely similar is my proffered proof in the *Horæ*. And sure I am that no dogmatic dictum by any Critic, of whatever prophetic school, authoritatively pronouncing it "a total failure," and "based on principles fundamentally erroneous," simply because different from those of his own Apocalyptic theory, will avail much or long to influence any sensible and candid inquirer against it. The conclusion on its truth or error, as an exposition of the Apocalypse, must and will be drawn from an examination of the asserted correspondence of fact and prophecy. And if they prove to fit, so as I believe they will, like the loops and taches in the hangings of the Tabernacle, (for precision and definiteness, let it be observed, not generalizing vagueness, such as in most counter-systems, will every where be found to characterize the solutions in the *Horæ*, every where consequently presenting angular points for comparison and testing,) and this not in respect of one, two, or three particulars, but of a continuous series of particulars, from St. John's time down to the time now present,—I say if such a fitting be proved, then the common sense of intelligent and candid men will ultimately, indeed speedily, settle down into the conviction, that such fittings of prediction and fact can no more be ascribed to *chance*, than could the fittings in

the Jewish Tabernacle; and that the Exposition which unfolds them must be true.

There is however one Critic, and so far as the Author knows, but one, (except indeed a really kindly reviewer in the Congregational Magazine of last March, contesting, though quite vainly it is believed, the *Domitianic date of the Apocalypse* argued from in the Horæ,¹) who *has* partially² encountered the evidence here offered; and, as the result, professed to prove the Work, as an Apocalyptic Exposition, a failure. I allude of course to the Pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Horæ Apocalypticæ," by the Rev. T. K. Arnold. It was to the Author a real source of satisfaction that one so able as Mr. Arnold, and one so well known too as a scholar and controversialist, should have undertaken the task of examining and refuting the Horæ. For, persuaded as he himself was of its truth, he could not but anticipate that failure would be found to characterize the attack, rather than the work attacked; and thus that the "Remarks" would prove a means of confirming, rather than of overthrowing it. And such indeed, if he may trust not his own judgment only, but that of many literary friends well competent to judge in the matter, has been the result. The reader of course will not be expected, nor ought to receive, this *ex parte* opinion. The Author is anxious rather that he should read and compare for himself the Pamphlets of attack and reply: also a further criticism by Mr. Arnold in the British Magazine for last March, and a Reply in the Number for the present month of April. It will be seen, I believe, that there is not a point in the attack on which Mr. Arnold has not been met directly and successfully. Meanwhile, in order that there may be better understood the present position of the controversy, he subjoins in a Note his requisition to Mr. Arnold to bring the question between them,³ on the truth or untruth of the

¹ See more especially the Appendix to the present Volume, where the arguments of the latest opponents to this view are fully entered into.

² Indeed very partially. See the quotation from my Reply in the next Note.

³ A critical examination, with a view to decide the great question of the

Exposition in the Horæ, to a decisive issue before the literary world. And as the writer in the Eclectic Review has so strongly pronounced against its truth, he begs distinctly to apply the requisition to him also.

general truth of the Horæ as an Apocalyptic exposition or falsehood, I not only do not deprecate, but call for. Only let it be *really critical*; critical in the highest and best sense of the word; that to which Mr. Arnold's *ex parte* attack in his late Pamphlet presents so perfect a contrast; and of which the very model and beau ideal is the fair, comprehensive, yet searching summing up of evidence by an English judge. And let me frankly say, of such an examination I fear not the issue.

"It will of course begin with my *Seals*; and I shall expect that the examiner will test their truth by not one only, but each of those three criteria before indicated: viz.

"1st. by showing, if he can, incorrectness in my explanation of the symbols, or my statements of historical facts; frankly however, and in the real and critical spirit of a seeker of truth, not a partizan, admitting their correctness specifically and seriatim, where he cannot confute the evidence:—

"2nd. by specifying any succession of *æras* in the history of any nation but the Roman, that ever existed on the face of the earth, to which these symbolic pictures of the four first seals can be made to apply with at all the same exactness; or indeed any other succession of *æras* in the Roman history itself:—

"3rd. by suggesting from imagination, with all the help that classical antiquity can furnish, any four different symbolic pictures, such as shall depict the chief *æras* of the history of the Roman Empire between St. John's time and that of Diocletian, including its grandeur and prosperity at the first, and its progress of decline afterwards, with as much simplicity, truth, philosophic distinctness as to cause and effect, and classical propriety, as these four Apocalyptic pictures, so interpreted as in the Horæ.

"Next I shall expect that he will take up the *first* or *scorpion-locust Woe*; and distinctly encounter by main argument, from the asserted fact of all the characteristics of that symbol answering to the Mahomedan Saracens of the seventh century, so as they can be shewn to answer to no other nation that ever existed on the face of the earth. Then will come up the *Vision of the sun-beaming Angel* in Apoc. x and xi; and enquiry whether my assertion that the five or six chief *æras* of progress in the Reformation are there unfolded with an exactitude the most surprising, be true or not. Then we shall have renewed the question of the *death and resurrection of the Witnesses*; and then again, the whole question (the *year-day* included) of the *Beast*, *Beast's Image*, and *Antichrist*.—Of course if Mr. Arnold or any other profest critic shun, so as Mr. A. has thus far done, the main evidence and arguments, and only seek to pick off here and there, if it may be, some straggling and less defended statement, then it will be on his part a silent confession of failure. And what if on careful examination, finding the main strength of the evidence impregnable, and that all through, take what prefiguration he will, the coincidences between the Apocalyptic symbols and the historic subjects to which I refer them, whether secular or ecclesiastical, concerning the world or the church, are indeed, so as I assert, most singular and marvellous,—what, I say, if he yet choose to refer them rather to accident, or the expositor's ingenuity and craft, than to the direct designing and intent of the all-wise Author of the revelation? In such cases," it is concluded, there would be a "rejection of all the laws of both direct and circumstantial evidence, that have hitherto been most recognized amongst men;" and a rule of judgment laid down by which "even the fittings and combinations of a *watch* might be explained as but the result of *chance*."—Reply to the Rev. T. K. Arnold's Remarks, pp. 77, 78.

The Author has now to state the principal differences and improvements that will be found in the present Edition, as compared with the former. The chief *Additions* will be found in the Appendix at the end of the fourth Volume. First, there is there given a *Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation*, occupying some 180 pages, and tracing its subject from the earliest times down to the present era. The Author had himself long felt the want of some such Treatise, and doubts not it will be deemed both interesting and useful by his readers: useful not otherwise only, but above all as enabling them more satisfactorily to judge as to Apocalyptic truth, from having distinctly under view all the main systems of Apocalyptic interpretation,—After which follows a *Critical Examination* into each of the two chief *anti-Protestant* systems of Apocalyptic Interpretation, that of the *Præterists*, and that of the *Futurists*: as well as afterwards also into the *Church-Scheme of the Apocalyptic Seals*, given by certain earlier *Protestant* Expositors, and into the Prophetic theory of the late *Dr. Arnold*. Of those notices the third alone was given *fully* in my first Edition; the second *partially*; the other two, not at all. The singular dogmatism however, and assurance of this *Præterist* school, its general reception by German critics and Romish theologians, its zealous adoption and propagation by Professor Moses Stuart and others in America, and its evidently increasing favor with not a few theological students, and writers on Biblical criticism, in our own country, (Professor Lee's respected name included among them,) all concurred to show that it was a system that could no longer be overlooked, by any thoroughly impartial inquirer into prophetic truth. The Author trusts that the result of his critical examination into it will be to show that there is absolutely no *locus standi* for the *Præterist* system, any more than for that of the *Futurists*: and in the belief that general opinion will soon so pronounce, he cannot but feel thankful that Professor Stuart should, by his late elab-

borate Apocalyptic Commentary, have so forced the scheme into notice ; to the effect only of its final and decisive rejection both in England and elsewhere.—Lastly follow *Indices*, which have been much called for.—Such are the chief *Addenda* to this new Edition : ¹ though it is to be understood that, in the progress of a very careful revision, many other lesser but by no means unimportant additions have been made here and there ; wherever the evidence seemed drawn out imperfectly, or additional illustration useful to the argument. Indeed they have added to the Work much above 100 pages. On the other hand, in some few parts condensation and retrenchment seemed practicable with advantage. And by this, and the transfer occasionally of part of an overcrowded Chapter to the Appendix, and a better and more frequent division into Chapters and Sections, relief has been given to parts that before must have read heavily. So that, on the whole, the Author ventures to hope that his Work will be found not only more clear, more strong in evidence, and more interesting, but even perhaps effectively in the perusal shorter, in spite of its being longer.—*Alterations* of historic explanation there will be found none, except on points of detail. The chief are two. *One* is that he now assigns a larger meaning (so as classical antiquity, he finds, requires that he should) to the symbol of the *sword-giving* in the second Seal, than he gave it before ; applying it to designate the *military profession* generally, as causes of the civil war and blood-shedding, (so as he also finds history requires,) instead of the *Prætorian Prefects* alone and in particular. The *other* is that he now carries out fully into his explanations of the vision of the Souls under the Altar in the 5th Seal, and of that of the Angel and his oath in Apoc. x, (so as he had not done before,) the important hermeneutic principle of regarding St. John as a *symbolic man* on the scene : the representative at each epoch prefigured of the true apostolical

¹ I must not omit distinctly specifying the addition of the remarkable *Papal Jubilean Medal*, given in my Vol. iv. p. 95 : a medal for which I am indebted to my friend J. Bateman, Esq. of Biddulph Grange.

ministerial succession of that epoch ; i. e. of the successors of the apostles not lineally alone, but in doctrine and spirit.

In conclusion the Author must beg permission to add a few words on the *religious bearing* of his Work. He could not but be sensible, when first launching it into the world, as well of its exceeding importance in this point of view, *supposing it to be really based on truth*, as of the probability of its being questioned and objected to on that very account, by such as on the controverted points of religious doctrine, here involved, took other and contrary views to his own. So especially with regard to his view of the *Popedom* and *Papal Rome* as the very antitypes of the *Apocalyptic Beast* and *Babylon* ; and that of the *spiritual body* of true believers, included within the *Church visible*, as distinctively the object of the chief and highest Church promises. Accordingly Mr. Arnold has vehemently reprobated the former view ; and others, the Author knows, have similarly shrunk from the latter. In either case, however, he has the comfort to know not only that the objectors have failed of disproving the asserted clear accordance of these his views alike with the Apocalypse, and whole tenor of the Bible ; but moreover that they are distinctly and precisely agreeable to the doctrines of the beloved Church to which he belongs. In England, as well as in Switzerland and Germany, the Reformation, as Bishop Warburton most truly states, was begun and carried on upon the principle of the Pope and Church of Rome being the Antichrist of Scripture prophecy.¹ And as to the chief Church of the promises, (in other words the Church of the saved, the Church the Bride,) our Anglican Liturgy defines its constituency (distinctively from the visible Churches that include them) as “the members incorporate in the mystical body of Christ, the blessed company of all faithful people :”² most scripturally and beautifully describing

¹ See my Vol. iv. p. 415, Note 2.

² See my Vol. iii. pp. 53, 54. Vol. iv. pp. 284—290.

their character and history, from its beginning to its end, in the xviith Article of its own authoritative and admirable code of doctrine.—Nor even as regards his *premillennial view*, which many otherwise warmly interested in the Work have objected to, but of the truth of which the Author, after very careful reconsideration, is more and more persuaded, (though of course its evidence cannot equal that of the fulfilled and past, as it cannot be tried by the same testing,) is there any material difference between himself and the admirable men who, in God's providence, defined and founded the Reformed Protestant Church of England. For though opposed, and most justly opposed, to certain wild millennarian doctrines then propounded by German Anabaptists and others, they did yet most distinctly hold, and set forth, the doctrine of *Christ's pre-jubilean advent*:¹ meaning by *pre-jubilean* an advent antecedent to, and introductory of, this our earth's jubilean restoration to happiness; a restoration the theme of all the prophets, and subject surely of every heart's aspiration.—Indeed, so far as the Author is aware, the *whole theology* of the ensuing Exposition, though everywhere most strictly and simply drawn from the Apocalypse itself, it yet all through singularly in concord with that of the Anglican Church; taking the Church's Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies as the expression of its doctrines: (the two latter of course in all doubtful points explained by the former :) and of which, may he be permitted to add, the truest as well as sweetest exponent, (at least of all authors subsequent to the æra of the Reformation,) seems to him to be the admirable *Archbishop Leighton*.

¹ "We require that his kingdom come. For we see not yet all things in subjection to Christ: we see not the stone hewed off from the mountain without work of man, which all-to bruised and brought to nought the image which Daniel describeth, that the only rock Christ may obtain and possess the dominion of the whole world granted him of his Father. Antichrist is not yet slain. For this cause do we long for, and pray, that it may at length come to pass and be fulfilled, that Christ may reign with his saints, according to God's promises: that he may live and be Lord in the world, according to the decree of the Holy Gospel; not after the tradition and laws of men, nor pleasure of worldly tyrants."
—*King Edward's Catechism*.

See too my Vol. iv. p. 233, Note ⁴.

And surely what has past since the first publication of the *Horæ* has only served to show in clearer light the need of such a guide, amidst surrounding darkness, as this record of *God's own philosophy of the past history of Christendom*, this divine Apocalypse. Would there have been on the part of some (men highly thought and highly spoken of in our Church) that secession to *Papal Rome*, after first vainly attempting, by a *non-natural* sense given to its Articles, to make our Church symbolize with Rome, had there been the understanding which this Book teaches, that the Papal system is in very truth that of the *Antichrist of Babylon*? Would there have been such sad and grievous errors under the name of *Church principles*, had the Apocalyptic doctrine been studied and understood, as to what *that Church* is to which attach the everlasting promises? Or, again, such lowering and earthly notions respecting *Christ's Kingdom*? A Kingdom of which alike the Apocalypse assures us, and indeed the voice of our own Church re-echoing it, that it is then and then only to be really *manifested*, when "the number of the elect is complete:" its *present* state being but that mixt and most imperfect one which is connected with the incipient and preparatory gathering of its members, from out of the professing Churches, as well as from among Jews, heathens, and heretics, "throughout this naughty world."

May it please God to bless this Second Edition of the *Horæ* to its readers, in so far as it is accordant with his divine mind and will: that the Holy Book which it seeks to interpret may thus prove to them, what it was doubtless intended to be, "as a light shining in a dark place; until the day dawn:"—a *beacon* light to warn from deadly error; a *guiding* light to truth and Heaven!

Torquay, April, 1846.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE present Edition is for the most part a reprint of the Second. It has however been cursorily revised throughout ; and received many small emendations, with a view to the improvement of the style or argument. More especially this has been found necessary in the two last Sections of the Appendix to the Fourth Volume, containing the Author's critical examination of the prophetic systems of the Futurists and of Dr. Arnold ; which, from the unavoidable pressure of other engagements at the time, were both drawn up and printed somewhat hurriedly and negligently.

As regards the interpretation, the reader will find but one alteration of any consequence ; viz. in that of one of the component parts of the symbol of the third Seal. As the point is one not only interesting to himself, but very confirmatory, he believes, of the truth of his general explanation of the Seals, it may be permitted him to state that it has reference to the measure and the price of wheat enunciated in the voice from the midst of the living creatures. It was his primary strong impression that this price designated the actual average price at the time to which he referred the vision ; that is, the reign of the Emperor Alex-

ander Severus. But while on all other points the symbol precisely suited this epoch, the price seemed much too high : and he found himself obliged in consequence to fall back on the supposition of a certain larger chœnix being meant than the one best known in classic history, and of the price being that current at the time when the Apocalyptic visions were revealed to St. John, not the time to which the particular Seal referred ; a supposition admissible, he deemed, though not altogether satisfactory. In the course however of recent researches on another subject, his attention was directed to an important element in the question which he had quite overlooked before ; viz. *the adulteration of the Roman silver coinage*, which began and went on increasing through the third century. And he had the gratification to find that, at the then well-defined depreciated value of the denarius, the price announced in the Apocalyptic figuration of the third Seal was nothing more or less, according to the best data that remain on which to form a judgment, than about the average price at the time of the æra spoken of, the reign of Alexander Severus.

It may be right to state further, that having had suggested to him the necessity of attention to the authenticity of his illustrative Roman medals, and the want of accuracy and trust-worthiness in some of the writers on medals that he had himself in part depended on, he has gladly availed himself of better opportunities for informing himself on this interesting branch of the medallic science, than he happened to enjoy during the time of his preparation of the two former Editions of the Horæ. The result has been the rectification of some inaccuracies that he had fallen into ; all comparatively unimportant, however, with the exception of one affecting the medal of Maximian : on which, and a point of historic fact connected with it, there is appended a full discussion in the Third Volume. Besides which there has resulted the addition of a disquisition, placed at the end of the present Volume, on the medallic illus-

tration of another historic point of primary importance in the Author's Scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation : and also a general historic sketch, that will be found, he hopes, both useful and interesting, of matters of chief importance respecting the Roman coinage ; with special reference, in detail, to the Roman coins engraved in this Work.

With regard to the controversial Pamphlets, or Letters, that have appeared since the publication of the Second Edition, on the subject of the *Horæ*, (the Author alludes more particularly to Mr. Arnold's later Letters on the Seals in the *British Magazine*, and Dr. Candlish's, in relation to the symbols of St. John's measuring of the Apocalyptic temple and the ascent of the Witnesses,) he has seen no reason, from any thing contained in them, to alter the views previously expressed by him on the several topics that they controvert. And he ventures to hope that in his replies to these writers,¹ it will appear that their arguments have been fully and fairly met : and that it is thus from no undue attachment to his own original opinions that he adheres to them ; but from their having, to say the least, an evidence of truth sufficient to justify his belief. As regards however another point prominent in Dr. Candlish's Pamphlet, viz. the tone of some of his remarks on the Scotch Free Church and certain of its writers, the Author feels himself to have given some reason for complaint ; and gladly takes this opportunity of acknowledging it ; as he has indeed already done more fully in his Pamphlet of Reply. In the present Edition these remarks have been all carefully revised and altered. And though his judgment still remains substantially the same on the points alluded to, yet he trusts it is now so expressed that the members

¹ The Reply to Dr. Candlish, which has been unavoidably delayed by circumstances, will be published at the same time with the present Edition of the *Horæ* : those to Mr. Arnold will be found in various Numbers of the *British Magazine*. The Number for March may especially be referred to, as containing the Author's summary of his whole controversy with Mr. Arnold on the Apocalyptic Seals.

of the Free Church, for many of whom he entertains the highest esteem, may find in his remarks no just ground of offence.

In conclusion the Author has to express his thankfulness for the unusually rapid sale of the Second Edition ; sold off as the whole was within a month from its publication, and with the demand for it still continuing. He trusts that he may regard this as a proof, not only that the important subject which it is its object to unfold, has taken hold in some measure of the public mind, but also that the impression prevails to no inconsiderable extent of the evidence offered by him in its development being on main points satisfactory and convincing. And the favorable testimonies to its usefulness, which he still continues to receive from time to time, induce him the rather to hope that it has not been without the Divine blessing.

Lausanne, March, 1847.

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PRELIMINARY ESSAY
ON THE GENUINENESS AND THE DATE
OF THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

WHEN a Book of any interest or importance is set before us, there are two questions on which we may reasonably wish and expect information, preliminary to its perusal ; —the 1st, *Who is the writer ?* the 2nd, *When written ?* More especially this is the feeling, if the Work be one that claims to be of *Divine inspiration* ; so as in the case of the APOCALYPSE. I purpose, therefore, in the present preliminary Essay, to answer these two questions concerning it. The *first* is one that has obviously a most important bearing on the *inspiration* of the Book ; the *second*, as will be shown, on its right *interpretation*.

CHAP. I.—THE WRITER OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Now on this point a ready and satisfactory answer seems at once to meet the eye in the very text of the prophetic Book itself. For the writer more than once enunciates his own name in it, "John."¹ And the

¹ So i. 4 ; "John to the seven churches which are in Asia, &c.:" i. 9 ; "I John
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authority which it implies to have attached to him, alike from the asserted circumstance of his being Christ's chosen medium for receiving the revelation, and communicating it to the angels or presiding bishops of the seven Asiatic Churches,—from that of his pronouncing a blessing on those several presiding bishops,¹—and yet again from its speaking of the prophets as but his brethren,²—is such as could scarcely belong to any one named John of less than *apostolic* dignity: insomuch that the very *genuineness* of the Book seems involved in the fact of its writer being John *the apostle*. Nor will the corroborative evidence that it offers fail to strike the investigator,—an evidence acknowledged even by the superficial and the prejudiced,—in the holiness and super-human sublimity of the composition.³—Should further evidence have been deemed desirable, the well-known accordant testimony of *Irenæus* will have been ready at hand to the inquirer; a testimony express and often repeated, as will presently appear, to the effect that the author of the Apocalypse was indeed *that beloved disciple*, the *Apostle and Evangelist St. John*.⁴

who also am your brother and companion in tribulation," &c : xxi. 2 ; " And / John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem," &c : xxii. 8 ; " And / John saw these things, and heard them."

¹ Apoc. i. 4 ; " Grace be unto you and peace," &c. Now " without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better."

² Apoc. xxii. 9.

³ In the word *prejudiced* I allude to *Michaelis* more especially. His judgment is given, as will be presently seen, against the genuineness of the Apocalypse. Yet in the xth and concluding Section of his Critique, the subject of which is the *style of the Apocalypse*, he thus expresses himself : " The language of the Apocalypse is both beautiful and sublime, affecting and animating ; and this not only in the original, but in every even the worst translation of it.—The Apocalypse has something in it which enchants and insensibly inspires the reader with the sublime spirit of the author.—A great part of the imagery is borrowed from the ancient prophets : but the imitation is for the most part more beautiful and more magnificent than the original." I quote from Marsh's Edition of *Michaelis*, (Cambridge Ed. 1801) Vol. vi. pp. 533, 534.—The instant and exceeding inferiority of the Christian Fathers that followed on the apostolic age, considered in a literary point of view, will be presently noted and illustrated, as greatly enhancing the force of this argument.

⁴ The testimony of *Irenæus* will be given afterwards.

And considering Irenæus' own very early era, relation to St. John, and character,—that he was an Asiatic Greek, born nearly about the time of St. John's death,¹ that he was a disciple of Polycarp, which latter was a disciple of St. John,²—and that he was moreover one of the most learned, as well as most holy and devoted of the Christian bishops of that age,—his testimony will justly have been considered not only as of high authority, but as almost in itself decisive on the point in question : indeed as altogether sufficient and decisive, except in the case of some strong countervailing evidence.

The fact is, however, that countervailing evidence of this nature has been asserted to exist. The genuineness of the Apocalypse has been questioned by ancient writers of eminence in the Christian Church, as early at least as the third century : more especially I may name *Dionysius of Alexandria*. And it has been questioned too by modern biblical critics of high reputation for learning and candour ; among whom *Michaelis* stands pre-eminent. This renders it necessary that the point in question should be more carefully looked into ; and the evidence,

¹ In Grabe's Prolegom. ad Irenæum, the birth of this Father is placed about the year A. D. 107. Dodwell has placed it ten years earlier, or at the precise date of the Apocalypse.

² Let me illustrate this by the following well-known beautiful extract from a letter of Irenæus himself, preserved by Eusebius, and given in his E. H. v. 20.

"I saw you (Florinus), when I was very young, in the lower Asia with Polycarp.—For I better remember the affairs of that time than those which have lately happened ; the things which we learn in our childhood growing up with the soul, and uniting themselves to it. Inasmuch that I can tell the place in which the blessed Polycarp ate and taught ; and his going out and coming in ; and the manner of his life, and the form of his person ; and the discourses he made to the people ; and how he related his conversation with John, and others who had seen the Lord ; and how he related their sayings, and what he had heard from them concerning the Lord, both concerning his miracles and his doctrine, as he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life. All which Polycarp related, agreeably to the Scripture. These things I then, through the mercy of God toward me, diligently heard and attended to ; recording them, not on paper, but upon my heart. And through the grace of God I continually renew the remembrance of them."—I copy Lardner's translation ; Vol. ii. p. 96. (Ed. 1838.)

as well *against* as *for*, examined in detail. At least it must be done by him who would wish *thoroughly* to satisfy himself on the grounds of our belief in the *genuineness* and *divine inspiration* of the Apocalypse of St. John.—I purpose therefore drawing out the evidence somewhat fully ; and shall first, and with a view to the fairer conducting of the inquiry, set before the reader the strength and substance of the objections of these two, the most notable of ancient and modern objectors.

With regard then to *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the third century,¹ the earliest impugner (at least the earliest of any note)² of the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, this is most observable, that he did not impugn its ascription to the Apostle John on *historical* grounds. He did not allege the testimony of any more ancient writer against it. He did not thus argue (I borrow the language of Michaelis³) ; “ It is not preserved in the archives of the seven Asiatic Churches : the oldest persons in those cities have no knowledge of its having been sent thither : no one ever saw it during the life of St. John : it was introduced in such and such a year, and contradicted as soon as it appeared.” It was simply on *critical* grounds, and *internal* evidence, that he rested his objection : reasoning from certain marked *differences of sentiment and diction* between the Apostle John’s Gospel and Epistles on the one hand, and the Apocalypse of John on the other.—Now the circumstance of an objector so learned as Dionysius having thus failed to appeal to historical evidence, and of certain previous, but evidently rash and

¹ He died A. D. 264 or 265, according to Lardner ; Vol. ii. p. 643, Chap. xliii.

² Dionysius speaks of *certain* before him that had impugned it, but without naming them. *Τίνας μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡγουμένης το βιβλίον*, &c. Ib. p. 693. I shall presently speak of these persons.

³ Chap. xxxiii. § 2. I cite, as before, from Marsh’s Translation, Vol. vi. p. 484.

intemperate objectors to whom he alludes, having equally failed to do so,¹ (nor, let me add, is the case different with the next eminent questioner of the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, I mean *Eusebius*²) constitutes, as Michaelis allows, a considerable,³—I should say an *exceedingly strong* argument, in proof of the point disputed. For had such evidence existed at the time, I cannot but believe that he would have alleged it.—As to his main *critical* argument,⁴ just before stated,

¹ His statement about them (H. E. vii. 25) is, that they set aside the Apocalypse as the work of the heretic Cerinthus. *Τίτες των προ ἡμῶν ᾠθετήσαν καὶ ἀνέκριναν παντὶ το βιβλίῳ, καθ' ἑκάστον κεφαλαιὸν διευθύνοντες· καὶ οὕτως τὸν ἀποστόλων τίττα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅλως τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τότε γεγενῆσθαι ποιήτην τοῦ γραμματος, Κηρίθον δὲ, ἀξίωσιν ἐπιφηνῆσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὀνομα.*—They objected 1. that the *title* of the Book involved a falsehood, it being called *The Apocalypse* or *Revelation*, though most obscure: 2. that the *inscription* was also false; it being said to be written by John, whereas it was written by *Cerinthus*.—Yet, as Lardner justly observes, (Vol. ii. p. 700) the Apocalypse directly contradicts Cerinthus' opinions on the most essential points. Cerinthus (as Irenæus tells us) denied that *God made the world*: the Apocalypse teaches the direct contrary, chap. iv. 11. x. 6, &c. Again Cerinthus taught that *Christ* did not *suffer*, but only the *man Jesus*: whereas the Apocalypse calls Jesus by the name *Christ*, speaks of him as the first begotten of the dead, and adds that he washed us from our sins in his own blood.—Dionysius' case was certainly not helped by such reasoners. Lardner says the objections of those that lived before Dionysius may be considered confuted.

² Hist. E. iii. 25. He refers the decision to the judgment of the reader: "He may either place the Apocalypse of St. John among the *ὑπολογημένα*, or acknowledged Books of the New Testament Canon; or, if he so prefer, among the *ροδα*, or spurious Books." In another place, having mentioned that there was a *Presbyter John* anciently at Ephesus, as well as the *Apostle John*, he says that it was probably the *former* that saw the Revelation; "unless any one insisted that it was the *latter*." Dionysius' objections he details at full length. It is to Eusebius, in fact, that we are indebted for them. But he does not add to them.

³ Ibid. p. 484.

⁴ His objections are thus summed up by Lardner, Vol. ii. p. 719—

1. The *Evangelist John* has not once named himself, either in his Gospel or his Catholic Epistles: but the *writer of the Apocalypse* has named himself more than once.

2. The writer of the Apocalypse, though calling himself John, has not shown us that he was the *apostle* of that name.

3. The Apocalypse does not mention the Catholic Epistle, nor that Epistle the Apocalypse.

4. There is a great agreement in sentiment, expression, and manner between St. John's Gospel and his Epistle; but the Apocalypse is quite different in all these respects, and without any similitude.

5. The Greek of the Gospel and Epistle is pure and correct; that of the Apocalypse has barbarisms and solecisms.

It is evident that the whole force of Dionysius' argument rests on the *two last* objections. As to the others it will suffice to test and refute them by parallel cases. Because St. Paul names himself in other Epistles, not in that to the

he who has marked the difference of style in the case of other sacred writers, when simply writing history, and when rapt by the Spirit into the enunciation of prophecy, (I might exemplify this in the cases of Moses, Isaiah, and St. Peter,¹) will easily perceive the danger of deciding a question of identity of authorship simply on such grounds, and without the corroboration of external evidence:—not to add that there are observable certain remarkable points of similarity² (as well as of dissimilarity) between the writings thus brought into

Hebrews, is he therefore not the author of the last-named Epistle?—Because St. James in his Epistle styles himself simply "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (James i. 1), not an *apostle*, is he therefore not the *apostle* James? Because St. John does not in his second and third Epistles name the first, is he therefore not the writer of the first?

¹ Compare the diction of *Moses'* song (Deut. xxxii) with the simply written history which constitutes almost the whole of *Moses's* compositions; *Isaiah's* historical chapters xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii with the more poetical and impassioned of his poetic prophecies; and the second chapter of *St. Peter's* 2nd Epistle, with all his first Epistle. In fact the difference of style and diction in this last case appeared such to Grotius, that he has argued from it (though most vainly) a different authorship to the one Epistle and the other. See Macknight's Preface to *St. Peter's* 2nd Epistle. To the same effect Mill has noted the difference of style between the Canticles and Ecclesiastes, and between the historic and the dramatic parts of Job.

² These have been drawn out by Mr. Twells and others. I subjoin a few.

1. In the Apocalypse (xix. 13) Christ is called, "*The Word of God.*"

2. In the Apocalypse Christ is called "*The Lamb,*" (v. 6, 12, vii. 17, xiv. 1, &c. &c.) *aprios*.

3. In the Apocalypse Christ is called "He that is true," "He that is faithful and true." (iii. 7, xix. 11).

4. In Apoc. i. 7, Zechariah's prophecy (xii. 10) is referred to; "Every

1. In John's Gospel (i. 1) Christ is styled "*The Word,*" and in his first Epistle (i. 1) "*The Word of Life:*" * and *there only* in the Bible.

2. In John's Gospel Christ is called "*The Lamb of God,*" (i. 29, 36), *ὁ ἀγνός του Θεου*. (To which I may add the application of the type of the paschal lamb to him, John xix. 36; "A bone of it shall not be broken.") The only other passages in the New Testament where Christ is called *the Lamb*, are Acts viii. 32, 1 Peter i. 19.

3. In St. John's Gospel and Epistle, Christ is called "He that is true," "Full of truth," "The truth;" i. 14, xiv. 6, 1 John v. 20.

4. In John's Gospel (xix. 37) the same prophecy of Zechariah is referred

* 1 John v. 7, "The Father, *the Word*, and the Holy Ghost," might be added, but that the genuineness of the passage is suspected, and indeed more than doubtful.

comparison ; indeed such as to make Michaelis suggest in explanation the idea of the Apocalyptic phraseology being in these points a *forged imitation* ¹ of that of St. John's Gospel.—Again the Evangelist's Apocalyptic *Hebraisms* may be accounted for on the at least supposable hypothesis, in the absence of authentic contradicting testimony, of his late domiciliation in Greek Asia, and publication of the Apocalypse first, of the Epistles and Gospel afterwards.²—Nor let me here omit to observe that Dionysius himself, though incredulous as to the *Apostle John* being the author of the Apocalypse, had yet the conviction,—in part derived from the holy character of the book itself, in part from its general recep-

eye shall see Him, and they also who pierced Him."

* Sept. *Επιβλεψονται προς με αυθ' ου καταρχησαντο*. With which compare, John xix. 37 ; *Οφθεται εις ου εξεκνητησαν* and, Apoc. i. 7 ; *Οφεται αυτον παν οφθαλμος, και οστινες αυτον εξεκνητησαν*.

to (and in it alone of all the Gospels) ; "Again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced."

Michaelis (p. 535), in quoting the above, observes justly that Mr. Twells has not given this example of parallelism all the force he might : because in the Apocalypse the quotation from Zechariah is made not according to the text of the Septuagint ; * but with a certain different reading, the very same that occurs in the Gospel citation.

As an example of similar construction and phrase, also urged by Mr. Twells, I may select the expression "*to keep the words*," or "*word*," *τηρειν λογους*, or *λογον*, occurring in Apoc. iii. 8, 10, xxii. 7, 9 ; but which occurs no where else in the New Testament, except in St. John's Gospel, viii. 51, 52, 55, xiv. 23, 24, xv. 20, xvii. 6, and his Epistle, 1 John ii. 5.—Michaelis (ibid.) adds that the similar but antithetical phrases *ποιων αληθειαν* and *ποιων ψευδος* are used, the one 1 Ep. John i. 6, the other Apoc. xxii. 15.—Let me add that in Apoc. xviii. 24 the true reading, according to Griesbach and Scholz, is *αμαρτα* in the plural (*εν αυτη αμαρτα προφητων ευρεθη*) ; which somewhat remarkable use of the word, though not very infrequent in the Septuagint, is found, I believe, no where else in the New Testament except in St. John's Gospel, i. 13, *Οι ουκ εξ αμαρτων*, &c.

¹ "These instances will not prove that the Apocalypse was written by St. John the apostle : for the author of it may in some instances have imitated St. John's manner, in order to make his work pass the more easily for the composition of St. John." Ibid.—Strange that Michaelis could image the possibility of such a forgery, and at such a time !

² Of the *Apocalypse*, as most allow, A.D. 96 ; of the *Gospel*, as Mill, &c. A.D. 97 ; of the *Epistles*, as Basnage, A.D. 98.—Perhaps St. John may have long sojourned among the *Parthian Jews* before visiting Asia ; and hence the ancient tradition have arisen of his 1st Epistle being addressed to the *Parthians* : see Augustin. Quæst. Evan. ii. 39 : though I am aware that another and different explanation has been offered of this tradition. See Macknight's Pref. to the Epistles of St. John.

tion in the Christian Church,—that it was the writing of a *holy man* of that name, indeed of one *inspired by God*.¹

It is *Michaelis*' judgment, however, that there exists, over and above the *internal* evidence alleged by Dionysius, direct *historic* evidence also against the fact of the beloved disciple being the writer of the Apocalypse ; and indeed against its divine inspiration. He alleges² that the two earliest of the fathers, cotemporaries of St. John in his old age, and whose writings must be dated very soon after his death,—I mean *Ignatius* and *Papias*,—the one in his Epistles still extant, though addressing in them three of the seven Apocalyptic Churches, viz. those of Smyrna, Ephesus, and Philadelphia, does yet take no notice of any thing written to those Churches in the Apocalypse ; and that the other, notwithstanding his well-known and strong advocacy of the doctrine of a *Millennium*, does yet, according to Eusebius, ground it only on *unwritten tradition* from the Apostles, and (as if he were either ignorant of, or disbelieved that book's divine authority) not on the *Apocalypse of St. John*. Thus, on the whole, Michaelis inclines to conclude that this book is a *spurious production* ; introduced into the world *about the year 120*, after St. John's death, and between the times of Papias' and Justin Martyr's writings.³

Such is the substance of the chief objections of these two objectors. And I cannot but at once remark with reference to them, that it is plain that both Dionysius with his followers, in *his* time, and also Michaelis in *his*, conducted their inquiries not without a very considerable

¹ Ἄλλου μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τινος καὶ φεσπνέουσι συναίνων it being added, Οὐ μὴν
 ραδίως αὖ συνθεμῆναι τούτων εἶναι τὸν ἀποστόλου, τὸν υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 Ἰακώβου· ὃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγράμμενον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ.

² Chap. xxxiii. § 2, pp. 462—466, and again p. 486.—*Godfrey Less* has made
 very much the same objections.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 466, 484, 487, 528.

though perhaps unconscious bias à priori against the point at issue,—I mean the genuineness and apostolical origin of the Apocalypse.¹ Its *millenary doctrine* could not but prejudice the *Alexandrian Bishop* against it: considering that he was not only himself a strong anti-millennarian in sentiment, but that it was in the act of writing against Millennarians that he pronounced judgment against the genuineness of the Apocalypse.² Again, the *failure of expositors*, in Michaelis' judgment, to show any thing like a clear fulfilment of the *Apocalyptic prophecies*,—which yet, if the book were genuine and therefore inspired, ought, he was persuaded, to have been long ere this in great part fulfilled,³—operated, it seems evident, quite as powerfully to prejudice the *German critic*.⁴—Now the ungroundedness of these presumptions will, I hope, be made soon apparent. I trust in the ensuing historical Exposition of the Apocalypse to show, on such evidence as may satisfy even the most cautious and severe examiner, that its predictions have indeed been fulfilled, and that with exactitude most remarkable. Moreover I may perhaps, ere its conclusion, be enabled to show that much of the objection felt by Dionysius and others, alike in ancient and modern times, against the *millenary doctrine*, has been founded in misconception. For the present it may suffice to repeat that what

¹ For its apostolicity, as Michaelis allows, involves its divine inspiration.

² See the account in Eusebius.

In illustration of what a bias such a man must be expected to have felt, let me cite a passage from Michaelis (p. 466) about the Millennarian Papias. "If Papias really knew and received the Apocalypse," argues the German critic, "he is by no means an important witness in its favour; because it is a book to which his millennarian principles must have made him partial." Must not then the *anti-millennarian* views of Dionysius, by parity of reason, have made him prejudiced against it?

³ "If these prophecies are not yet fulfilled, it is wholly impossible that the Apocalypse should be a divine work; since the author expressly declares that it contains things which must shortly come to pass." p. 503.

⁴ See Michaelis' recurrence to the fact of this universal failure of Expositors, (according to his judgment) in Sections i, v, vii of the same Chapter xxxiii.

has been stated shows the importance, as was before said, of our looking more accurately and particularly into the actual historical evidence,—whether *against* or *for*,—on the point in question : especially into such evidence as the *three half centuries* may furnish that elapsed next after the publication of the Apocalypse : that is, from near the end of the first century, (such will be proved our commencing date in the second Chapter of this Essay) to the time of Dionysius, about the middle of the third.

The which division of the term into *three half-centuries* offers, I think, a very convenient chronological classification of the Christian fathers and authors, whose testimonies to the Apocalypse of John we have to investigate. Nor will any but the *first* cause the least difficulty, or detain us long.

I. As to the *primary half-century*, ranging from A.D. 96 to about A.D. 150, it comprehends the last of those *apostolic men* who conversed, or might probably have conversed, with the apostles ; viz. *Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias* : as well as one of very different and inferior authority, whom it may be well at once to examine and despatch, I mean *Hermas*.

1. I speak of the work of *Hermas* in this manner, under a full conviction of the correctness of Dr. Burton's judgment¹ both to its *age* and *character* :—its *age* as not long before the middle of the second century ; its *character* as most probably that of a spurious publication, palmed on the Christian Church, agreeably with a custom already at that time too prevalent, under the name of *Hermas*, a companion of St. Paul.² Hence even

¹ History of the Christian Church, chap. x. p. 203.

² Dr. Burton says that it cannot indeed now be *ascertained* that such was the

though the evidence of the writer's acquaintance with the Apocalypse of St. John be, as I think it is, conclusive, and indeed of his borrowing from it just in the same manner that he does from the older and undoubted canonical scriptures of the New Testament,¹ yet this will little help us in our present inquiry; Michaelis' theory, which we have to refute, being, that the Apocalypse was a forgery published after St. John's death, somewhere between the time of Papias and that of Justin Martyr,

case in the Book of Hermas. But he adds, "It is certain that many spurious publications were circulated at this period, which professed to have been written by apostles, or companions of the apostles." So too Mosheim ii. 2. 3. 16.

The passage in which a certain *Hermas* is mentioned as one of St. Paul's friends and companions, occurs in his Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 14; "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, *Hermas*," &c.—The earliest extant quotation of the Book of the Pseudo-Hermas is by *Irenæus*: Adv. Hæreses, Lib. iv.

¹ So Lardner, Vol. ii. Chap. iv. p. 70, &c. Indeed the evidence seems to me even stronger than Lardner has represented it. And as Dean Woodhouse,—under the singular impression that Hermas' work was published before the Apocalypse of St. John, perhaps as early as A.D. 75, albeit, as Lardner observes, there is a sentence in the book itself which speaks of the apostles as being all then dead,*—has in his Preliminary Essay expressed an opinion that no such evidence is apparent, it may be useful if I subjoin a notice of two palpable points of parallelism to that effect.

1st. There are repeated references to a certain *well-known great tribulation*, as at hand, indeed the great tribulation. So Vis. ii. 2 (Wake, p. 347); "Happy ye, as many as shall endure the *great trial that is at hand*;" Lat. *pressuram supervenientem magnam*:—ibid 348; "Thou wilt say, Behold there is a great trial coming;" Lat. *Eccæ magna tribulatio venit*. Now this cannot be the *great tribulation* noted in Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. xxiv. 21; because *that* was to happen to the *Jews*; *this*, which Hermas speaks of, to *Christians*. Moreover that it was to be one great *κατ' ἐξοχην* appears from Hermas' referring to former persecutions in which Christians had suffered unto death. And what then *this expected great tribulation*, and where predicted? It can, I think, be none other than the one predicted in Rev. vii. 14, "These are they that are to come out of the *great tribulation*;" εκ της θλίψεως της μεγάλης. This is confirmed by what is said in the vision next following, Vis. iv. 1; "I saw an emblem of the tribulation now at hand;" *Aguram tribulationis superenturæ*: the emblem being one of "a *great Beast*, as long as a whale, with four colours, black, red, golden, and white, on his head,—and fiery locusts coming out of his mouth." "This Beast (365) is the figure of the *trial that is about to come*:" and again, 366, "Here ye have the figure of the *great tribulation about to come*." Now, in the Apocalypse, in similar manner, after mention of the great coming tribulation, there appears a great red dragon seeking to swallow up the woman, the true Church, and again a vast ten-horned wild beast, the enemy of the saints. And the very colours of the head of Hermas' beast seem to have been borrowed

* Simil. ix. 16: "These apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received his faith and power, preached to them who were dead before." So Archbishop Wake's Translation. The Latin is; "Hi apostoli, &c. cum defuncti essent, prædicaverunt illis qui ante obierunt," &c. Bibl. Patr. Max. ii. 53:—*death* being here used in the *literal* sense of the word.

(perhaps about A.D. 120,¹) and consequently early enough for the soi-disant Hermas to have become acquainted with it:—while the mere *judgment* of this writer as to what was truly inspired scripture, and what was not, is of very little weight.—But in another point of view I deem the work eminently to our purpose, and on that account indeed have made this mention of it: viz. as showing us what kind of *forgery* of a Sacred Book of Visions and Revelations the Christian writers of that age were capable of, almost *at their best*; this being one very highly esteemed by the early Church. To a candid and sensible man, wanting time or opportunity for examining into the direct historic evidence of the genuineness and divine inspiration of John's Apocalypse, I scarce could advise anything, I think, more calculated to produce presumptive belief of it, than simply that he should read one after the other, even if it were but for the space of one brief half hour, the *Revelations of Hermas* and the *Revelation of St. John*.

2. I proceed to *Ignatius*, the venerable Bishop of An-

in chief part from the colours of the four Apocalyptic horses (*white, fiery-coloured, black, pale*); and the *fiery locusts* coming out of his mouth, from the imagery of the fifth and sixth Trumpets,—the *locusts from the abyss* in the one, and the *fire* from the mouths of the horses in the other.—(This parallelism has not been noted by Lardner, nor, I believe, by any other writer on the subject.)

2. As Lardner observes, there is the parallelism between Hermas' *tower* and the Apocalyptic *city*, the *New Jerusalem*.—In either case the seer was carried into a high mountain to see it (Wake, 431, Apoc. xxi. 10);—either is *square* (Wake, 432, Apoc. xxi. 16);—the stones alike of the one and the other are *resplendent*, and the tower and the city each shining as the sun (Wake, 440, 450, Apoc. xxi. 11, 23);—the *foundations* in either case (at least Hermas' in part) are the *apostles* (Wake, 354, 448, Apoc. xxi. 14);—the tower of Hermas is the woman the Church, (Wake, 352,) as the New Jerusalem is the Church, the Bride, Apoc. xxi. 9, 10;—they who were to enter the *tower* had crowns of *palms*, and *white garments*, and the *seal* or *name* of the *Son of God* (Wake, 420, 425, 448); just as they that were the saved in the Apocalypse (and who were to walk in the light of the New Jerusalem) had the seal or name of God on their foreheads, were clothed in white robes, and had crowns of gold, and palms in their hands.—Apoc. vii. 3, 9, 10, xxi. 24.

It is to be observed that Hermas (as Lardner has remarked) makes no express citations from any of the Books of the New Testament, or indeed of the Old Testament. "It was not," says Lardner, "suitable to the nature of his writing to quote books." His use of the Apocalyptic visions is just similar to his use of, and reference to, some of the parables in St. Matthew, and other scriptures.

¹ See *suprà*, p. 8.

tiach, ordained, it has been thought, to that See by the hands of apostles, somewhere about A.D. 70, or a little before the destruction of Jerusalem;¹ and who, after some thirty or forty years' faithful labour in the Church, suffered martyrdom, A.D. 107, in the reign of Trajan.²—It was in the course of a forced and hurried journey from Antioch to Rome, the scene of his martyrdom by wild beasts, that he wrote seven Epistles (the same substantially that are still extant, as it has hitherto been judged on apparently good evidence,³) to the *Ephesian* Christians, the *Magnesians*, *Trallians*, *Romans*, *Philadelphians*, *Smyrneans*, and *Polycarp*. And Michaelis makes this, as we have seen, one of the two strong grounds of his disbelief of the genuineness of the Apocalypse, that Ignatius, in these Epistles of the date A.D. 107, makes no mention of it; and consequently seems either not to have known, or at least not to have recognized it as holy Scripture: his non-reference to it being the more remarkable, as it was a work published in the very locality of those churches which he was addressing; and this only some ten years, or a little more, before the time when he wrote.

Now it is not without reason that Dean Woodhouse⁴ calls attention to the circumstances under which Ignatius wrote these Epistles, “a prisoner, guarded by soldiers, whom from their ferocity he compares to leopards, and

¹ Lardner, Vol. ii. pp. 73, 74. For example, Chrysostom (as cited in Lardner) says that Ignatius conversed familiarly with the apostles, was perfectly acquainted with their doctrine, and had the hands of the apostles laid upon him.

² Eusebius places the death of Ignatius in the tenth year of Trajan, i.e. A.D. 107; in which Dupin, Tillemont, Cave, and Lardner, not without reason, follow him. Others, as Bishop Pearson, Pagi, and Le Clerc, date it a little later, about A.D. 116. See the argument on this point, Lardner, p. 77.

³ See the evidence drawn out in the Preliminary Dissertations prefixed to the Epistles of Ignatius, in Pearson's or Smith's Editions of them in the original, in Wake's Apostolic Fathers, p. 141, &c. or Chevallier's Translation of the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp and Ignatius, p. xlv; which last writer has abridged from Bishop Pearson.

⁴ p. 13, second Edition.

by them hurried forward in his passage to Rome." In such circumstances it is to be expected, the Dean adds, that he would write with perpetual interruptions, and his quotations depend for the most part on memory. It is yet more important to note with him Lardner's remark¹ on Ignatius' usual mode of reference to the Books of the New Testament; as made almost always by allusion only, or unacknowledged adoption of their language: St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians being the one and only Book *expressly named* by him.—This premised, the Dean suggests the following two passages² from Ignatius, as passages in which he judges the language to have been borrowed from the Apocalyptic extracts that I have placed in the parallel column; and so borrowed as from one of the sacred Books.

Ignat. ad Rom. ad. fin.
Εν ὁποίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ignat. ad Ephes. § 9.
Λίθοι ναοῦ Πατρὸς ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς
ἀποδομὴν Θεοῦ, . . . κατὰ πάντα κεκοσ-
μημένοι ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Apoc. i. 9.
Εν ὁποίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Apoc. xxi. 2, 19.
Τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν καταβαινοῦσαν
ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην
κεκοσμημένην τῇ αὐτῇ.
Καὶ ὁ θεμελιῶν τὸν τοίχον τῆς πόλεως
παρτί λίθου τιμῆς κεκοσμημένοι.

To these Mr. J. C. Knight, in a late interesting little Publication³ has added a *third*.

Ignat. ad Philadelph. § 6.
"If they do not speak concerning
Jesus Christ, εἰς ἐμοὶ εἰλαί εἰσω (καὶ
ἐξω) ⁴ νακρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται
μενον ὀνόματι ἀνθρώπων.

Apoc. iii. 12; Ep. to the Philadel-
phian Church.
Ὁ νακρῶν ποιεῖται αὐτοῦ εὐλογεῖν ἐν τῇ
ναφ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ μου.

And I must express my persuasion, that they may all very reasonably be deemed allusions to the Apocalypse,

¹ Lardner, p. 78.

² He gives a *third* also; which, however, as grounded on a needless and entirely unauthorized correction of *ναοὶ* into *λαοὶ*, it is not worth the while to quote.

³ Entitled, "Two New Arguments in Vindication of the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Revelation of St. John."

⁴ Omitted in Mr. K.'s citation as parenthetical.

so as supposed. The *first*, though brief, is yet an exact case of parallelism; and in a phrase not usual, and which does not occur in that precise form any where else in the New Testament.¹—In the *second* there might seem a simple reference to 1 Peter ii. 5, “Ye also, as living stones, *λιθοὶ ζῶντες*) are built up a spiritual house,” in so far as the *general* idea of *stones* for a sacred building is concerned; or perhaps to a similar passage in Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians.² But Ignatius’ two specified *particulars* respecting the stones,—of being *prepared* for God’s building, and *adorned* with Christ’s commands,—cannot be referred to either of these two passages; nor, I believe, to any so well (if at all) as to the Apocalyptic passage cited by Woodhouse: in which last alike the figure of *temple-stones*, and the adjuncts about their *divine preparation* and their *adornment*, do conjointly occur. This I leave for the reader’s consideration.—As to the *third*, I cannot but agree with Mr. Knight in thinking it a remarkable case of antithetical parallelism; and the rather because Ignatius is writing, as he observes, to the *very same Philadelphian Church* to which the Apocalyptic passage had been addressed. Now the promise in the Apocalyptic Epistle was, “Him that overcometh I will make a pillar in the temple of God; and upon him, (or it, *ἐν αὐτῷ*) shall be written the name of my God, and the name

¹ The peculiar use of the genitive must be observed. It does not signify the persons exercising this patience, so as in Luke xxi. 19, *Ἐν τῇ ὀκνησὶ ὑμῶν*, “In your patience possess your souls;” and as also in 2 Thess. i. 4, Apoc. ii. 2, xiv. 12, &c.:—nor is it a genitive expressive of the sufferings which their patience had to endure; as 2 Cor. i. 6, *ἐν ὀκνησὶ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ἔν καὶ ὑμεῖς πασχαμέν.* But it is the genitive of an object patiently waited for. Of which use of the genitive with *ὀκνησὶ* the only other example occurs 2 Thess. iii. 5; “The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and *eis ὀκνησιν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, into the patient waiting for Christ:” where, however, the case is different, being the accusative, not ablative.

² Ephes. ii. 20, 21; “Being built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building (*οικοδομῆ*), fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.”

of the city of my God :”—a promise partially indicative of even the *present* state and character of them that might rightfully appropriate it among the Philadelphian Christians ; their reward being its glorious and everlasting completeness and perfection. But what of *false professors and teachers* in the Church, such as Ignatius was addressing ? They were not, nor would be *living pillars in the living temple of God* : and on them there was not, and would not be, written *the name of God*. Rather they were the very antithesis and contrast of the Apocalyptic figure. They were but “ *sepulchral pillars*, and upon them were written *only the names of men*.”¹ Such, we have seen, is Ignatius’ description of them. And it is Mr. Knight’s argument that the antithesis of figure that it presents is almost too complete to allow the idea of his not having had the Apocalyptic passage in mind.—That the allusion was intended by Ignatius is rendered yet the more probable by his use of the word *only* : for this is a word that *implies* reference ; and reference not merely to a something different and better, but a something also known alike to writer and reader as the object of contrast. Now on *pillars* generally, such as were known to the Philadelphians by sight or by description, what fitter or better inscription could there be than that of the *names of men* ? Since then the implied antithesis was not one that these earthly pillars could explain, the reference must almost necessarily have been to some *otherwise* known to the Philadelphian Christians. And how so naturally as from some use of the figure in their *sacred Scriptures* ? In

¹ Perhaps Ignatius had also in his mind the Apocalyptic expression *οὐρανὸν ἀσπορῶν*, chap. xi. 13 ; used of certain that were to be killed in an earthquake, and consequently *devoted to death*.

² Alike *sepulchral* pillars, and those that were used for the inscription of *testaments*. For an example of the first, see 2 Kings xxiii. 17. “ Josiah said, What *title* is it that I see ? And they told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God.” For examples of the second, see Demosthenes, *De Corona*, &c.

the which, however, no one book supplied the antithetic figure with distinctness except *this* book of the *Apocalypse*, in the verse just quoted.¹

Let me add two other apparent references to the Apocalypse, that have struck me in my own perusal of the Epistles of Ignatius. The *first* is from his *Epistle to the Trallians*, § 3 ; where he charges them to reverence the *Bishops* like Jesus Christ the Son of the Father, (so I read the clause with Bishop Pearson)² and the *presbyters* as *the sanhedrim of God*, *πρεσβυτερος ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ* : an expression certainly remarkable, and which we may very naturally conceive to have had allusion to the Apocalyptic imagery of the *twenty-four presbyters*, that appeared in vision *seated εν συνέδριῳ, round the throne of God and of the Lamb*.³—*Secondly*, in this same *Epistle to the Trallians*, he speaks of a true member of the Church of Christ under the figure of being one “*within the altar*,” *εντος το θυσιαστηριου* ; and of him that did not really belong to it as “*without the altar*,” *εκτος*.⁴ Now this is the characteristic figure of the true Christian Church (as we

¹ St. Paul's designation of the Church as “the pillar and ground (στυλος καὶ ἰδρυμα) of the truth,” and notice of Peter and James as *pillars*, (1 Tim. iii. 15, Gal. ii. 9,) are the only other passages, I believe, that could be even suggested for comparison.

² Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντροπεσθῶσαν τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὅντα διὰ τὸ Πατρός, τὰς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ. So too, if I recollect rightly, Cotelierius. In the last clause, about the *presbyters*, there is no difference of reading.

Somewhat similar expressions occur elsewhere in Ignatius' Epistles. So e. g. in his Ad Magnes. 6, Προκαθήμενος τὸ ἐπισκοπὸν εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον τοῦ συνέδριου τῶν ἀποστόλων. Also ib. 13, Τοῦ αξιοπρεπέστατον ἐπισκοπὸν, καὶ πνευματικὸν τεφانوῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτηρίου where τεφانوῦ is, I suppose, in the sense of κυκλῶν.

³ Apoc. iv. 4.—On Cyprian's expression, Epist. i. “Presbyteri qui nobis assidebant,” the commentator (Oxford Ed. 1682) quotes the passage from Ignatius' Ep. ad Magnes. § 13, given in the note preceding, and then remarks, “Theodor. v. 3, docet quod ὁ μέσος θάκος ad Episcopum pertineat ; imo viri eruditi ad hunc episcopi in cleri medio sedendi morem, trahunt quæ habentur Apoc. iv. 4.” This will confirm my argument.

⁴ Ὁ ἐντος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθάρος ἐστὶ . . . ὁ δὲ ἐκτος ὢν οὐ καθάρος ἐστίν, &c., § 7.—With which compare the similar figurative expression in Ignatius' Epist. ad Ephes. § 5 ; Εὰν μὴ τις ᾖ ἐντος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὑπέρκειται τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοῦ. The *apros* being the *shew-bread* of the Jewish temple.

shall see strikingly illustrated in the course of the ensuing Commentary) in the Book of the Apocalypse. So especially Apoc. xi. 2 ; " Rise and measure the temple of God, *and the altar, and them that worship in it* : but the court that is without the temple, cast out ; for it is given to the Gentiles." In either passage,—both that of Ignatius and that of the Apocalypse,—the word *altar* seems used to include the *altar-court* ;¹ in either the figure of worshipping *within the altar-court* to signify *true church-membership*. The figure here too is certainly very remarkable ; nor do I think of any other passage in the New Testament² that could have supplied it to Ignatius.³

¹ Ignatius' meaning to this effect is illustrated by the following from his Epist. ad Magnes. § 7, Παῖρες οὐν ὡς εἰς ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦν Χριστῷ, and a passage in Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. ; Εἰς τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν θυσιαστηρίον ἐστὶναὶ, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ ἀβροῖσμα τῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀνακείμενων, μὴν ὥστερ ἔχον φῶσιν τὴν κοίτην, καὶ μίαν γυνῆν.

On the *Apocalyptic altar* Vitringa (on xi. 1) writes ; " Per altare intelligendum ipsum altare holocausti, cūm subdiali arē in quā hoc altare locatum erat."

It is to be observed that in Ignatius' time, and for some time afterwards, the word *θυσιαστηρίον*, or *altar*, was only used as a *figure* from the Jewish ritual. It was not till some time after, and as the *apostacy* was developed, that the term was adopted and applied to the *communion tables* of the Christian Churches. That they were not in the *primitive Church*, says Sulcer on *θυσιαστηρίον*, is "*meridianā luce clarius*." And so Lardner, iv. 212, from Basnage.

² 1 Cor. ix. 13, " They that wait at the altar are partakers with the altar," said of Christian ministers' right to a sustenance, and Heb. xiii. 10, " We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle," said of Christians generally,—are little comparatively to the purpose.

³ Let me suggest also a comparison of the following passage from Ignatius' Epistle to the Magnesians, § 5, Ὡστερ ἐπὶ νομίσματα δύο, τὸ μὲν Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ κόσμου, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἰδίον χαρακτῆρα ἐπιεικόμενον ἔχει, [ὅτις] δι' αἰσίου τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, δι' ὃ τοῖσι ἐν ἀγῶνι χαρακτῆρα Θεοῦ Πατρὸς [ἔχουσιν], with what is said of persons having the *mark of the Beast*, and others having *God the Father's mark*, in Apoc. xiii. 16, xiv. 1.

I have in the above only referred to the seven Epistles that are almost universally acknowledged to be genuine Epistles of Ignatius. In another more doubtful, that to the Christians of *Tyrus*, (which, however, Bellarmine and other Roman Doctors receive as genuine,) there occurs a direct recognition of the John that wrote the Apocalypse as the *Apostle John*, in the passage following ; " Quid unquam ? Petrus crucifixus est ; Paulus et Jacobus gladio cæsi sunt ; *Johannes vera relegatus est in Patkmo*." I cite from the Latin Translation in the *Bibl. Patr. Max.* Vol. ii. p. 102 ; not having access to the original Greek.*

* Since the above was printed in my Second Edition, Mr. Cureton has published his Translation of Ignatius' Epistles from an ancient Syriac manuscript ; in which appear only the Epistles to the Ephesians, the Romans, and Polycarp.

3. I now pass on to *Polycarp*. And though in his own very brief Epistle to the Philippians,—the only writing of his now extant,—we cannot trace allusion to St. John's Apocalypse, any more than to St. John's Gospel, or sundry other acknowledged books of the New Testament, yet in the *Narrative of his Martyrdom*, written by the Smyranean Church over which he presided *immediately after that event*, we can trace it; and, as Lardner justly observes,¹ the testimony of his Church then given, may be considered as 'Polycarp's own testimony. And first Dean Woodhouse cites the following clear case of parallelism with, and reference to, the Apocalypse.

In *Polycarp's Martyrdom*,
the body of the suffering martyr is re-
presented,
οὐκ ὡς σαρὶ καίωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς χρυσὸς
καὶ ἀργυρὸς ἐν καμνῷ πυρῶμενοι.

In Rev. i. 15.
the feet of the Son of Man are described
as ὅμοιοι χαλχολίβανῳ ὡς ἐν καμνῷ πε-
πυρωμένοι.

And in Rev. iii. 18 we read,
χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρὸς.

Now the writer may very possibly have had in view in the first instance, observes Woodhouse, that passage in 1 Peter i. 7, where the Apostle compares the suffering Christians to "gold tried by the fire." But, why, instead of Peter's *δια πυρὸς δοκιμαζόμενοι*, in the sequel of that passage, the phrase *ἐν καμνῷ πυρῶμενοι*? There seems to be no passages in Holy Scripture that could at all probably have

¹ Lardner, ii. 110.

It is for others more competent than the Author of this Apocalyptic Comment to decide on the general question, thus brought afresh before the literary world, of the genuineness or spuriousness of the other Epistles not found in the Syriac Version. Suffice it to say that his Ignatian argument touching the genuineness of the Apocalypse is not affected thereby. The two first cases of parallelism that I have adduced were from two of Ignatius' Epistles (*viz.* those to the Romans and the Ephesians) given in the Syriac. And as to the others, whether Ignatius' composition, or that of a later Writer, the parallelisms offered from two of them, *viz.* the Epistles to the Philadelphians and the Trallians, seem to me to exhibit proof of the Writer's testimony to the Apocalypse as a Book of inspired Scripture.—Of course, though supposing them substantially genuine, we may yet admit the Epistles to have been here and there interpolated; agreeably with the impression of Dr. Burton.

suggested the change of phrase, except these of the Apocalypse.¹

Moreover Woodhouse cites from the same beautiful Narrative, those commencing words of Polycarp's sublime prayer, at the moment when the fire was about to be lighted under him, *Κυrie ὁ Θεος ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, as being the identical words used Apoc. xi. 17, in the prayer of the elders, *Κυrie ὁ Θεος ὁ παντοκράτωρ*.

4. There remains *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis near Colosse: a man that belongs also to the apostolic age, and one said by Irenæus to have been a hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp.² Now of his writings, which were in five books, entitled *Λογὸν Κυριακὸν Εξήγησις*, "A narrative of the sayings of our Lord," there remain to us only a few short fragments, preserved by Eusebius: which treating, however, not of the Apocalypse, but of other subjects, (chiefly two of the Gospels,) furnish no data from which an inquirer may form his own independent judgment on the point, whether Papias

¹ The only two passages in the other books of the New Testament where *καμινος* occurs, are Matt. xiii. 42 and 50; where however it is used of the *furnace of fire* into which the wicked are cast at the end of the world, not of a *purifying furnace*:—the only other passages where *υποσῶμαι* is used, are 1 Cor. vii. 9, 2 Cor. xi. 29, Eph. vi. 16, 2 Peter iii. 12; in not one of which, as the reader will see by turning to them, is it used in Polycarp's sense of *refining*.

² Irenæus adv. Hær. v. 33. The passage is as follows. "Hæc autem," (viz. the *millenary doctrine* of which he had been speaking) "*Papias, Johannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet, (Greek, ὑποσῶμενος συμπατριώτης*, Euseb. H. E. lii. 39,) in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti."

Eusebius, who had these books before him, says, that it does not appear from the Preface that Papias himself heard or saw any of the apostles, but only that he had received the things concerning the faith from others who were well acquainted with them: adding that he mentioned the names of "the disciples," Aristion and John the presbyter, as well as of the apostles Andrew and Peter, John and Matthew, Thomas and James, as those into whose sayings he had made inquiry: Aristion and John the presbyter being mentioned in the present tense, "What they say," as if coteremporaries; the apostles in the past, "What they were wont to say." Hence Eusebius inferred that the John whose hearer Irenæus says Papias was, was probably this John the presbyter, not John the evangelist.—Jerome however (Ep. 29, ad Theodor.) viewed the matter otherwise; for he speaks of him as "*Papize, auditoris Johannis Evangelistæ*." Perhaps in his boyhood he heard the Evangelist John himself; in the researches of his manhood only heard of him from others, St. John having died in the interval.

knew and received the Apocalypse, as the genuine writing of the Evangelist John, and as inspired scripture, or not. And we are thus thrown back on ancient testimonies to resolve the question. But so it is, that on looking into them, we find, as Michaelis observes, contrary testimonies in two writers, each of eminence in their day; viz. *Eusebius*, the celebrated Bishop and Historian of the 4th century, and *Andreas*, Bishop of Cæsarea, about the middle, probably, of the 6th.¹ The former, says Michaelis, implies that Papias had no acquaintance with the Apocalypse, by thus writing: "This writer has mentioned several things which he says he learnt by *oral tradition*; such as parables and doctrines of our Saviour, not contained in the Gospels, and also some things which are fabulous: among which may be reckoned the assertion, that, after the resurrection of the dead, Christ will reign in person a thousand years on earth. I suppose that he acquired this notion *from his inquiring into the sayings of the apostles*, and his not understanding what they had delivered figuratively."² Such is Michaelis' version of *Eusebius*' testimony: and as it implies clearly that Papias made no mention of John's Apocalypse, in support of his millenary views, his inference is natural that Papias did not know the book; for surely, says he, he would have done so had he known it.—On the other hand, *Andreas*, who himself wrote a Comment on the Apocalypse still extant, and of some repute for its learning,³ and who professes to have both consulted and largely used the earlier patristic works

¹ He is placed by Cave and Lardner about the year 500 A.D.; but I think 550 may be probably more nearly the date of his Apocalyptic Treatise, for reasons that will be given in my notice of *Andreas* in the Appendix to my 4th vol.

² Ibid. p. 465.

³ See the Jesuit Peltan's testimony to him in the *Biblioth. Patr. Max.* 589. prefixed to *Andreas*' Commentary.

noticed by him, declares expressly that Papias, for one, testified to its inspiration : saying, " Of the divine inspiration of this Book I need not treat at large ; since so many holy men, Gregory the Divine, Cyril of Alexandria, and before them *Papias*, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, have given their testimony to it."¹

Thus the representation of Eusebius is met by that of Andreas : and the correctness of the former appears doubtful, *even as Michaelis puts the case*. Nor, I think, will reasons fail to appear for believing Andreas right in his statement, not Eusebius. If Eusebius was two centuries older than Andreas, and moreover the more learned man of the two, on the other hand Andreas assures us that he had studied Papias', as well as the other writers' works, to which he refers :² while we have no assurance that Eusebius did so : and, considering the contempt he expresses for Papias' understanding,³ it seems hardly likely that he would. Again, Eusebius was a man strongly prejudiced against Papias' millenary doctrine ; and therefore biassed against connecting either him or his doctrine with the apostle John :⁴ whereas Andreas could have had no prejudice on this account in Papias' favour, he not being himself a pre-millennarian.⁵—More-

¹ " Constat namque beatos illos viros patresque nostros Gregorium Theologum, Cyrillum Alexandrinum, multoque hisce vetustiores *Papiam*, Irenæum, Methodium, et Hippolytum, divinum fideque dignum esse non uno loco tradere : à quorum monumentis occasione acceptâ nos ad hoc consilium venimus : sicuti multas quoque sententias ex eorundem scriptis mutuavimus, hisceque nostris commentariis inseruimus." So the Latin translation of Andreas in the B. P. M. v. 590.—On what he here says of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the very equivocal soundness of Michaelis' argument from it against Andreas' accuracy, see Note 1, p. 33, *infra*.

² See the Extract in the Note preceding.

³ *σφοδρὰ γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὡς τὸν πονηρὸν, &c.* See the quotation from Eusebius in Note 1, p. 23. A eulogistic reference to Papias found in another passage of Eusebius seems to be spurious. Lardner ii. 119.

⁴ See Note 2, p. 9, *suprà*, giving Michaelis' sentiments on the effect of this prejudice.

⁵ See his Comment on Apoc. xx ; B. P. M. v. 626. The following sentence will suffice to show his anti-millennarian views. " Mille igitur anni, ut credibile est, complectuntur totum illud tempus quod interluit inter Christi incarnationem et Antichristi adventum."

over, in point of fact, both Michaelis will be found, if I mistake not, to have given a rather unfair version of Eusebius' testimony; and Eusebius to have shown, by a decidedly unfair and incorrect statement respecting another millennarian in the very passage cited, how incorrect he may probably have been in the testimony really given by him about the millennarian Papias. *First*, I say, it will be seen from the original¹ that Eusebius does not make Papias expressly *say*, so as *Michaelis'* translation does, that he *learnt* these doctrines by oral tradition; but that Papias so set them forth *as if* they had come to him through it; a statement explicable perhaps on the supposition of his having in his *ἑξηγήσεις* mixed up *traditionary collectanea* on the subject with the Apostle John's simpler doctrine of the millennium: and again, and more especially, that he does not attribute Papias' adoption of millenary views to his *inquiring* into the *sayings* of the apostles, but to his *misapprehension*² of their διηγήσεις, or *narratives*: a word used by St. Luke³ of *written* histories; and which we may here also not improbably explain of the canonical written Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.⁴—*Further*, Eusebius' untrustworthiness and tendencies to inaccuracy on any *millenary*

¹ Καὶ ἀλλὰ θεὸς αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς (Πάπιας), ὅς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγραφῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα, παρατίθεται, ζῆνας τε τινὰς παραβολὰς τὰς Χρηστος, καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτῆς, καὶ τινὰ ἀλλὰ μυθικώτερα· ἐν οἷς καὶ χίλια ἐταῖα φησὶν εἶναι οὐκ εἶναι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῆς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταύταισι τῆς γῆς ὑποσησομένης· ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεδεξαμένον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτὸν μυστικῶς εἰρημίαν μὴ συνειρακτότα· σφοδρὰ γὰρ τοὶ σμικροὶ ἐν τῷ νουν, ὥς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηραμένοι εἰπεῖν φαίνεται. Πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῆς διόξῃς παραιτίος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιοτῆτα τ' ἀνδρὸς προβεβλημένοι, ὥστερ ἐν Ἑβραίων, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ταῖς ὁμοίᾳ φρονῶν ἀναπεφάνεν. H.E. iii. 39.

² παρεκδεδεξαμένον.

³ Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διηγήσιν, &c.; "to set in order a history." Luke i. 1.

⁴ Lardner's translation is, I see, substantially the same as that which I have given: viz. "which opinion, I suppose, he was led into by *misunderstanding the apostolic narratives*."—How this might be will well appear from comparing *Mr. Grenwell's* case; who confesses his inability to explain the *Parables* in the written Gospels except on the *millenary* principle.

subject, appear sufficiently from the very sentence just cited. For in its ending clause he attributes the millenary opinions of both Irenæus and each other ancient father that adopted that view, to the weight which *Papias*' opinion (that silly old man, as he calls him) had with them. Whereas, possessing (as we do) the works of both Irenæus and of other early millennarists, we *know* from them, (as will be seen almost immediately,) that these later fathers did *not* rest their opinions on *Papias*' authority, but on written scripture, alike of the Old and New Testaments ; including specially the Apocalypse of St. John.¹

My conclusion is, that *Papias* did precisely the same ; that Eusebius' insinuation about him was groundless ; that Andreas is correct in mentioning *Papias* among the witnesses to the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse, just as we know him to have been correct in respect of the other four ancients whom he quotes as authorities ;² and that *Papias*' millenary doctrine was founded in part on the Apocalyptic Book, as well as on the many other scriptures well agreeing therewith, both of the Old and New Testament.

II. So we come to the writers of the *second half century* subsequent to the publication of the Apocalypse ; a period extending from A.D. 150 to 200, and which includes the honoured names of *Justin Martyr*, the *Narrator of the Lyonnese martyrdoms*, *Irenæus*, *Melito*, *Theophilus*, *Apollonius*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertul-*

¹ See especially in the last chapters of Irenæus' 5th Book on Heresies, his reference to, and argument from various Books of Scripture. I believe the little sentence quoted in Note 2, p. 20, above, is *all* that he says of *Papias*.

² Viz. Irenæus, Hippolytus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Cyril of Alexandria. Gregory is the only one about whose testimony on the point in dispute there can be no doubt. And see on it p. 33, Note 1, *infra*.

lian. And in regard of all these our task is indeed brief and easy. Their testimony to the apostolic authorship and divine authority of the Apocalypse is uncontroverted and notorious.

1. First, *Justin Martyr*,—a Christian philosopher, born at Sichein,¹ it is supposed, about A.D. 103, converted to Christianity about 133, and who suffered martyrdom about 165,—this man, to whose learning and piety testimony has been borne by nearly all the succeeding fathers, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*,² written probably about the year 150, thus expresses himself: “A man from among us, by name *John*, one of the apostles of Christ, in the *Revelation* made to him, has prophesied that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand years in Jerusalem; &c.”

2. Some twelve or fifteen years after this, the *Narrative of the Lyonnese martyrs* was written by one of the surviving Christians of that city; that is about A.D. 177. It was addressed by the Gallic Churches, as a letter to the Churches of Asia (Proconsular Asia) and Phrygia, including of course the seven Apocalyptic Churches among them, and by Eusebius has been preserved to us entire. And in this letter there appears (as Lardner has remarked) the remarkable expression, in description of a true disciple, “Following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth,” ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ Ἀρνίῳ ὅπου αὐτὸς ἵσταται—*the very words* (thus adopted as from scripture) of the Apocalypse.³

3. It was very soon after these martyrdoms that *Irenæus*, previously a presbyter of the Lyonnese Church, became its bishop.⁴ He wrote his *Book on Heresies*

¹ See Lardner for the authorities.

² Cited *ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 137.

³ *Viz.* Apoc. xiv. 4: ὅσοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀκολουθῶντες τῷ Ἀρνίῳ ὅπου αὐτὸς ἵσταται. It also refers to Christ as τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μαρτυρί, καὶ πρωτοτοκῷ τῶν νεκρῶν, so as Apoc. i. 5, iii. 14.

⁴ So Eusebius, H. E. Lib. v. p. 170; “When Pothinus had been put to death

probably between A.D. 180 and 190. And in it he testifies many times most clearly on the point in question ; speaking of the Apocalypse as the work of *John the disciple of the Lord, that same John that leaned on his breast at the last supper* ;¹ declaring (as will be seen in the second chapter of this Preliminary Essay) the time when it was written ; and speaking of exact and ancient copies of the Book as then existing, confirmed by the agreeing testimony of those who had seen John himself.²—In short a more clear and decisive testimony on almost every point on which information might be desired, could scarcely have been given.

4. Next may be mentioned his cotemporary *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, about A.D. 170 ; and who consequently may have presided over that See at the very time when the letter from the Gallic Churches was sent to it.³ He wrote a Treatise on *the Revelation of St. John* ; and is allowed by Michaelis to be one of the witnesses in its favour.

5. Of *Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch about 181, Eusebius says that in a work of his against the Heresy of Hermogenes, he therein made use of testimonies or quotations from John's Apocalypse.⁴ It was undoubtedly, Michaelis allows, received by him.

6. *Apollonius*, called by Jerome an eloquent man (whether or no the same that, when accused before Perennis, the Prætorian Prefect under Commodus, made an eloquent apology before the Senate, and then suffered mar-

with the martyrs in Gaul, Irenæus succeeded him in the bishopric of the Church of Lyons."

¹ De Hær. iv. 37, 50, pp. 335, 353 (Ed. Grabe) ; also, v. 26, 30.

² This occurs in his disquisition on the name and number of Antichrist : " These things being thus, and this number being in *all the exact and ancient copies*, and *they who saw John attesting the same thing*," &c.—On which passage the thought suggests itself, were not both *Papias* and *Polycarp* among the persons referred to by him in the plural, as having seen St. John ?

³ So Dean Woodhouse.

⁴ Lardner, Vol. ii. p. 214.

tyrdom, about A.D. 186)—is also noted by Eusebius as one that acknowledged the Apocalypse, and borrowed testimonies from it.¹

7. Its reception by *Clement of Alexandria*, an inquisitive and learned writer who flourished, as Lardner gives the date, about 194, is as undoubted. He has frequently quoted from it, and referred to it, as the work of an *apostle*:² and adds, as we shall presently see, his testimony to fix its *date*.

8. Finally in this half century comes *Tertullian*, the cotemporary of Clement; the most ancient, and one of the most learned, of the Latin fathers. His testimony to the Apocalypse is most full and ample. He quotes or refers to it in more than seventy passages in his writings; appealing to it expressly as the work of the *apostle* John, and the same that wrote the 1st Epistle of St. John.³ He defends the authenticity of the book against the heretic Marcion and his followers, by asserting its *external evidence*: thus appealing to the Asiatic Churches on the point; "We have churches that are disciples of John: for though Marcion rejects *the Revelation*, the succession of bishops, traced to its original, will rest on *John* as its author."⁴

Thus far not a single writer of *the Church* had impugned the genuineness, or the divine inspiration, of the Apocalypse of St. John. Only the *Alogi*, an *heretical sect* that rose up ere the end of this half century, (so Epi-

¹ Lardner thinks him a different person from the martyr of that name, and a few years later. Ib. p. 393.

² He refers to Apoc. xxi. 21, ("The twelve gates are twelve pearls," &c.) as the work of an *apostle*.—Pæd. Bk. ii. Again, referring to Apoc. iv. 4, he says, "Such an one, though here on earth he be not honoured with the first seat, shall sit upon the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people: as John says in the Revelation." Strom. Bk. vi. Lardner, ii. 245.

³ See Lardner, ii. 295.
⁴ "Habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias: nam, etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuat, ordo tamen episcoporum, ad originem recensens, in Johannem stabit auctorem." Adv. Marcion, l. iv. c. 5.

phanus tells us,) and derived their name from an absurd antipathy to the term *Logos* (*The Word*,) did on this account reject both the *Gospel of John* and the *Apocalypse of John*, which alike gave the obnoxious title to Jesus Christ.¹ The only other objection they pretended against the latter, was that there was no Church of Christians existing at the Apocalyptic station, *Thyatira*:² of which statement, if referred to *St. John's time*, they offered no proof; and, if referred to *their own time*, the circumstance did not militate against there having been one some sixty or eighty years before.³ Their ascription of the Book to Cerinthus,—whose obviously it could not be, as I have already shown,⁴—did not help their case. And altogether, Michaelis confesses, “the estimation in which they were held by their cotemporaries was not such as to inspire respect for them in a critic of the present age.”

III. In the early part, however, of the *next half century*, a man of some repute in *the Church* rose up to impugn the genuineness of the Apocalypse; I mean the Roman presbyter *Caius*. But this was evidently under the influence of strong anti-millennarian prejudices, and with almost as little just pretension to authority as his Alogistic predecessors: since he appears to have urged no argument against it, except its (by him misunderstood) millennial doctrine; and, with the same absurdity as the Alogi, to have ascribed it to Cerinthus.⁵ This was

¹ See Michaelis, *ibid*, p. 468.

² Καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν. So Epiphanius reports their language. Gibbon could not find in his heart to pass by the objection. See his *History*, ii. 359.

³ So Michaelis *ibid*.

⁴ See Note 1, p. 5.

⁵ The following are the words of Caius, as reported by Eusebius, H. E. iii. 28: ‘Cerinthus also,—who, by his revelations, as if written by some great apostle, imposes upon us monstrous relations (*τερατολογίας*) of things of his own invention, as shown him by an angel,—says, that after the resurrection, there shall be a terrestrial kingdom of Christ, and that men shall live again in Jerusalem,

about A.D. 212. And certain writers in Egypt cotemporary, or nearly cotemporary,—evidently under the same prejudices against and misconceptions of the Apocalyptic doctrine of a Millennium,—attacked it as obscure, unconnected, and indeed false in statement:—inasmuch as it called that a *revelation* which was covered with *darkness*, and represented *John* to be its author, when in fact it was the work of *Cerinthus*.¹ These continued the line of *objections* and *objectors*, from their first origin with the Alogi down to *Dionysius*:—that same *Dionysius*, Bishop of Alexandria about the middle of the 3rd century, of whose arguments I have already given a succinct account;² and who, we have seen, though he entered with better judgment and temper on the inquiry, was yet as unable as his predecessors to adduce any historical evidence whatsoever, of the least weight, to aid his argument.

Meanwhile the chain of testimony was continued still onward to the genuineness and divine inspiration of the Apocalypse. 1. First *Hippolytus*,—a Christian Bishop who flourished, according to Cave and Lardner, about A.D. 220, in early years a disciple of Irenæus,³ and in more mature life a martyr to the cause of Christ,—not

subject to sensual desires and pleasures. And, being an enemy to the divine Scriptures, and desirous to seduce mankind, he says there will be a term of 1000 years spent in nuptial entertainments."

It seems to me not without reason that Lardner (in his later judgment on the point) and Michaelis have concluded that the Revelation here referred to by Caius was probably the *Apocalypse of St. John*; and not the spurious *Revelation of St. Peter*, written in the 2nd century, or any other.

¹ See Michaelis, p. 477. These seem to have been the *Allegorists* whom Nestor opposed in his *Ελεγχος Αλληγοριστων*. And it was either *these*, or *Caius*, or *the Alogi*, that *Dionysius* must have meant, when he spoke of previous questioners of the inspiration of the Apocalypse. See Note 1, p. 5. ² p. 4, &c. *suprà*.

³ So Photius cited by Lardner, ii. 424: *Μαθητης δε Ειρηναίου ὁ Ἰππολύτος*. Photius eulogizes him as in his style clear, grave, concise: *την φρασιν σαφὴς ἐστι, καὶ ὁρσεμενός, καὶ ἀπεριττός*. He was bishop of some place called *Portus Romanus*: but whether the modern *Ostia* at the mouth of the Tiber, or the modern *Aden* at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, each of which bore that name in ancient times, has been a point controverted. See Lardner, ii. 427; also my own notice of Hippolytus in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

only elsewhere and otherwise bore testimony to it,¹ but moreover wrote an express commentary on the Apocalypse:² and this with so much weight of influence from his character, authority, and talents, that Michaelis attributes to it very principally the general reception of the Apocalypse thenceforward in the Christian Church.³— 2. After him (not to speak of the Egyptian Bishop *Nepos*, and of his *Ελεγχος Αλληγοριων*, to which Dionysius' work was an answer,⁴) *Origen*, the most critical and learned of all the ecclesiastical writers of his time, though a decided anti-millennarian,⁵ did yet receive the Apocalypse into the canon of inspired Scripture; and this without the slightest doubt, so far as appears, of its genuineness. "What shall we say of John," is his observation in one place, "who leaned on the breast of Jesus? He has left us a *Gospel*: he wrote likewise a *Revelation*, in which he was ordered to seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered: also an Epistle of a moderate length; and *perhaps*" (I beg the reader to mark the discrimination exercised by him) "*perhaps* a

¹ So in his work on Antichrist; "St. John saw in the isle of Patmos awful mysteries, which he taught to others without envy:" and, presently after; "Tell me, holy John, *thou apostle and disciple of Christ*, what thou hast seen of Babylon."

² Jerome mentions among the writings of Hippolytus one entitled, "On the Apocalypse."—Again, on the curious marble monument of Hippolytus, dug up near Rome in 1551, and of which an account is given in Lardner (p. 428), a list is engraved of his writings, and one of them is recorded as "*On St. John's Gospel and Apocalypse*."—Similarly Ebedjesu, (Bishop of Nisibis in the Nestorian Syrian Church, near the close of the 13th century. See Lardner, iv. 320,) in the 7th chapter of his metrical catalogue of ecclesiastical writings, mentions among other works of Hippolytus,

Chapters against Caius;
And in defence of the Apocalypse,
And the Gospel of St. John,
The Apostle and Evangelist.

His Commentary on the Apocalypse is referred to several times by *Andreas* of Caesarea; also by Jacob the Syrian, Bishop of Edessa from A.D. 651 to 710. Michaelis, p. 479. ³ Ibid. p. 478. ⁴ See Lardner, ii. 655, 691, &c.

⁵ Michaelis with his usual candour notes this; "*Origen, notwithstanding his warm opposition to the doctrine of the Millennium, received the Apocalypse;*" &c. p. 480.



second and third."¹—3. And with Origen, in *Eastern Africa*, there doubtless agreed on the important point of our inquiry his cotemporary, the eminent bishop and martyr of *Western Africa*,—*Cyprian*.²

So ends our catena of testimonies to the genuineness and divine inspiration of the Apocalypse, traced as proposed through the three half centuries that followed after its publication. Alike from East and West, North and South,—from the Churches of the Asiatic province and the Syrian, of Italy and of Gaul, of Egypt and of Africa,—we have heard an unbroken and all but uniform voice of testimony in its favor.³ Nay, even what there is of *contrary* testimony has been shown only to confirm and add new weight to that which it opposes : for it proves how unable they who most wished it were to find evidence or argument of this kind, of any real value, and such as could bear examination, on their side of the question.

Let me just add, by way of supplement to my sketch of the earlier historic evidence, that in what remained of the 3rd century, while no other *opponent* to it appeared of any note, the Apocalypse was received as the work of the inspired apostle John, alike by the schismatic *Novatians* and *Donatists*,⁴ and by the most eminent writers of the *Catholic Church* ; e. g. *Victorinus*,⁵ *Metho-*

¹ Quoted by Eusebius, H. E. vi. 25.

² See Lardner, iii. 47. Cyprian in several places cites it, and speaks of it as inspired Scripture. In the only passage where he mentions the name of the writer, he simply calls him *John* : but I conceive, in the absence of any such distinguishing appellation as *John the Presbyter*, there can be no reasonable doubt that he meant the most eminent person of that name, viz. the apostle John.

The same might be said of an author cotemporary, as it would seem, with Cyprian, and whose Treatise is one of these that has been often joined with Cyprian's works.—See Lardner, iii. p. 64.

⁴ Lardner, iii. 121, 565. The *Novatian* schism began about A.D. 251, the *Donatist* about 311.

⁵ Bishop of *Pettau* on the *Drave*, about A.D. 290, according to Lardner ; and who suffered martyrdom in the persecution by Diocletian. He wrote a *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, as Jerome informs us, evidently as a book of divine inspiration : his other Commentaries, mentioned by Jerome in association with

dios,¹ *Arnobius*,² *Lactantius* :³—further, that in the earlier half of the 4th century, while *Eusebius* doubted,⁴ *Athanasius* received it ;⁵ and in its later half, while *Cyril of Jerusalem* apparently hesitated respecting it,⁶ and *Gregory Na-*

this, being on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles ; all books of the canon of scripture.—See Lardner, iii. 163.

Whether the book still extant under the title of Victorinus' Commentary on the Apocalypse, be really his, and the one meant by Jerome, is another question. It is one on which I shall have to remark *affirmatively* in the second Chapter of this my Preliminary Essay ; and also in my Treatise of Victorinus in the Appendix to my fourth Volume : to which latter I must beg especially to refer the Reader.

¹ A cotemporary of Victorinus ; bishop first of *Olympus* in Lycia, afterwards of *Tyre* ; and who similarly suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. So Jerome. He often quotes the Apocalypse as a Book of Scripture, speaks of it as written by "the blessed John," (ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης,) in all probability meaning the apostle John ; and is mentioned by Andrew of Caesarea in conjunction with Irenæus and others, as among those who had borne testimony to the divine inspiration of the book.—Lardner, iii. 181, 198.

² On Psalm cii he says, "Si vis videre divitem et mendicū, Sancti Apostoli Johannis lege Apocalypsim :—" besides elsewhere referring to it as to Divine Scripture. Lardner, *ibid.* 480.

³ He expressly quotes the Apocalypse as a book of Sacred Scripture, and as written by John. Inst. vii. 17, Epit. c. 42, 73, 74, &c.—See Lardner, iii. 541.

⁴ A person might put it, he said, among the *δηλοϋόμενα*, the acknowledged Scriptures of inspiration, unless he preferred to put it among the *ρῆθα*, or *apocryphal*. Lardner, iv. 103. (I have already noted this, p. 5, note 2 *suprà*.)—It is to be remembered that he seized on the fact of Papias having mentioned John the Presbyter, as one whom he had learnt from, as well as John the Apostle, and of the tombs of either being according to traditional report at Ephesus, as a ground-work for the theory of its having been not improbably the simple presbyter John that saw the Apocalypse : Εἰκός γὰρ τὸν δευτέρον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐκ' ὁρμήματος φερόμενην Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψιν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι. H. E. iii. 39. On which doubt as to the apostolicity of its origin was mainly founded his doubt as to its inspiration.—Lardner observes that he never refers to the Apocalypse for authority : adding that he was probably influenced in his judgment on this point by regard to the arguments of Dionysius : as well as by aversion to the millenarian doctrine, which the Apocalypse of St. John was brought forward to support.

⁵ The Apocalypse is often and largely quoted by *Athanasius*. Moreover in the *Festal Epistle*, generally allowed to be his, the list of sacred books given by him coincides with that of our own received Canon, and ends like it with the Revelation of St. John.—In one place, again, he gives John the *Evangelist* the title of John the Theologos, or Divine : so expressing his conviction of the author of the *Apocalypse*, "John the Theologos," as it is headed, being the same as the author of the *Gospel*. Lardner, iv. 155, 156.—I may here add that in the *Synopsis* of sacred Scripture, usually joined with the works of Athanasius, but of the real author of which there exists some doubt, "the Apocalypse seen by John the Evangelist and Divine in Patmos" is reckoned among the Canonical Books. Lardner, iv. 163.

⁶ He not only excludes it from his Canon of Scripture, but in his Chapter on Antichrist very significantly omits all reference to it as an authority ; grounding his doctrine wholly on *Daniel's* prophecy, and apparently reflecting on the Apocalypse (for it seems the book referred to) as *apocryphal*. Βασίλευσι δὲ ὁ Ἀντιχρὶστος τρία καὶ ἡμῶν ἐτη μακά. Οὐκ ἐξ ἀποκρυφῶν λεγόμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ

zianzen,¹ and *Chrysostom*,² though not rejecting, did

Δασιλ. Φησι γαρ, Καὶ δοθησεται ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἑως καιροῦ καὶ καιρῶν καὶ ἡμῶν καιροῦ. So the Benedictine Editors of Cyril, and Lardner, iv. 175. This insinuation against the genuineness of the Apocalypse had struck my own mind, previously to reading their remarks, precisely in the same way as it did these learned writers. But, since the publication of my first Edition, my attention has been directed by the works of Professor Lücke and Moses Stuart on the Apocalypse (the former at p. 335, the latter vol. i. p. 361) to Cyril's unquestionable reference in his Catechism, xv. 12, 13, 27, to the Apocalyptic figurations of the Dragon and the Beast in Apoc. xii, xvii; speaking, as he does, of "another head of the Dragon;" (τοῦ δρακόντος ἐν ἄλλῃ κεφαλῇ) and of Daniel's fourth Beast in its last form (that of Antichrist,) that he was to be the eighth king: (αὐτὸς ογδοὺς βασιλεύσει. Thus Cyril cannot be regarded as a decided rejector of the Apocalypse.

¹ The opinion of *Gregory Nazianzen* on the genuineness and inspiration of the Apocalypse has been a subject of controversy. His metrical catalogue of the genuine books of the New Testament, begins thus:

Ματθαῖος μὲν ἐγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστοῦ
Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλῶ, Λουκᾶς Ἀχαιοί.

Πασι δ' Ἰωάννης, κηρυξ μέγας οὐρανοφοίτης.

Then he gives the Acts, then the fourteen Epistles of Paul, and the seven Catholic Epistles, viz. one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude. From which Baronius and others infer that Gregory did not receive the Apocalypse; and Lardner (iv. 287) allows that, arguing only from it, this would be the natural conclusion. But he adds that in other of Gregory's remaining works the Apocalypse is twice cited; (in one, Πρὸς δε τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἀγγέλους· Πείθομαι γὰρ ἀλλοὺς ἀλλῇ προσάτειν ἐκκλησίας, ὡς Ἰωάννης διδάσκει με διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως: in the other, Καὶ ὁ νῦν, καὶ ὁ πν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχομενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ)—also that *Andreas* of Cæsarea, in his Apocalyptic Commentary (as likewise his imitator *Arethas*) names Gregory as one by whom the Apocalypse was received.—And, let me add, not only does *Andreas* so speak of him at the beginning of his work, but he actually quotes him several times in it. Besides which, in the very verse itself of Gregory about John the Evangelist, there seems to me a not improbable argument for his reception of the Apocalypse. For if, instead of Lardner's figurative rendering of the οὐρανοφοίτης, enlightened with the heavenly mysteries, we render it literally, "who went to heaven," it can only allude to John's rapture to heaven in the Spirit, so as described in the Apocalypse.* And if so, it is a direct testimony to the fact of John the Evangelist being the Apocalyptic John, and may have been meant to couple together in brief his two chief works, the Gospel and the Apocalypse.—The circumstance of its being alluded to out of its order in the canon is not any strong argument against my inference. Order is by no means always observed in the patristic lists. For example, Chrysostom begins his List of the Books of the N. T. with St. Paul's Epistles. Lardner iv. 537.

This controverted point about Gregory Nazianzen I have the longer dwelt upon, because Michaelis, on the assumption of *Andreas* being grossly incorrect in his statement that Gregory recognized the Apocalypse, has unduly used it to shake his testimony respecting *Papias*: pp. 466, 490.

² Lardner iv. 549, says that Chrysostom no more notices the Apocalypse than

* Just as Prudentius in his Cathem. Hymn vi, (Lardner v. 5) referring to St. John's Apocalyptic rapture to heaven;

Quàm clara, quàm tacenda,
Evangelista summi
Fidissimus magistri
Nebulis vides remotis &c:
Tali sopore justus
Mentem relaxat heros,
Ut spiritu sagaci
Cælum peragret omne.

yet but sparingly refer to it as Inspired Scripture, it was on the other hand fully and unhesitatingly acknowledged, among the Greeks, by *Epiphanius*,¹ *Basil*,² and *Cyril of Alexandria* :³ as well as by *Ephrem the Syrian*,⁴ and, among the *Latins*, by *Ambrose*,⁵ *Jerome*, and *Augustine*.⁶—Subsequently in the *Greek Church*, though the Book was never formally rejected by any Ecclesiastical Council,⁷ yet the same variety of opinion was expressed by its chief authors as by those of the 4th century.⁸ On the other hand, by the *Latin Church* it was universally received ; and in the third Council of Carthage, held A. D. 397, and presided over by the great Augustine, was solemnly declared to be included in the

if he were totally ignorant of it. But the statement requires considerable modifications. For at the commencement of his comment on the Epistle to the Ephesians, he refers to the *Apostle John's banishment* into the parts of Ephesus : an allusion scarce to be mistaken (indeed the learned Benedictines so explain it unhesitatingly) to the *Apocalyptic John's banishment* to the island of Patmos, opposite the Ephesian coast ; thereby almost identifying the author of the Apocalypse and the Gospel : *Και ὁ μακάριος δε Ἰωάννης εὐαγγελιστὴς τα πᾶλλα ἀνδιετρεφεν ἐκεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐξωρίσθη ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε*.—Moreover, as Professor Lücke observes at p. 337 of his *Work on the Apocalypse*, both Wetstein and Schmid have noted many passages in his Homilies on St. Matthew, in which he evidently borrows figures from the Apocalypse, respecting the future consummation, and happiness of the kingdom of God. "So that the statement of Suidas," says Lücke, "seems to be borne out, that Chrysostom besides the Gospel, received also the three Epistles and the Apocalypse of St. John." (*Δεσχεταὶ δε ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς τρεῖς, καὶ τὴν Ἀποκαλύψιν*.)

¹ E. g. in the passage following : *Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης, διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν Ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μετὰ δόξα*. Cited by Lardner, iv. 190.

² This is my conclusion from his having thus cited the Apocalypse in his Second Book against Eunomius ; "And the same Evangelist" (he had been referring to John i. 1) "in another Book says, 'Which is, and which was, even the Almighty.'" Lardner, iv. 279. This seems to me decisive ; notwithstanding the fact of his having very seldom referred to the book. *Arethas*, too, mentions *Basil* as one that received the Apocalypse as inspired.

³ Lardner, v. 13.

⁴ So Lardner, iv. 313, to whom I refer the reader.

⁵ He often quotes the Apocalypse : for example, when writing on Psalm xl. thus ; "Et ideo fortassis Joanni Evangelistæ cælum apertum, et albus equus eat demonstratus : " viz. in Apoc. xix. 12—16. Lardner, 335.

⁶ The opinions of Jerome and Augustine are too well known to need the insertion of proofs or authorities. But see Michaelis p. 493, and Lardner.

⁷ Professor Spittler, says Michaelis, p. 489, has clearly shown that the 16th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, held A.D. 363, and which in its list of the Canonical Books of Scripture omits the Apocalypse, is a forgery. And indeed in the chief editions of the Councils the Canon is noted as suspect. So e. g. Harduin, i. 792, notes in the margin, "Hunc canonem Dionysius prætermittit."

⁸ See the summary given by Michaelis, p. 491.

Canon of inspired Scripture. The *Syrian* Church too seems to have received it, both before and after the time of its most eminent Doctor of the 4th century,¹ just before alluded to, *Ephrem Syrus* :—a Church which had its ramifications, not only in Assyria and Mesopotamia, countries nearest to the mother Syrian Church, but also in Arabia, Persia, Tartary, China. With reference to the *Nestorian* branch of which Church a very curious illustrative memorial, found in that last-named distant country of China, has furnished decisive evidence of the fact of the Nestorian Churches there receiving it. I allude to an ancient monument (the interest of the locality, as well as of the subject, bids me here to particularize) dug up at Sanxuen, in the Chinese province of Xensi, in the year 1625 ; a monument, as Michaelis is convinced,² really ancient and genuine. It bore two inscriptions,—one in Chinese, the other in Syriac,—referring its erection to the year of the Greeks 1092, or A.D. 781 ; at which time, as well as some centuries later, there was a very numerous colony of Nestorian Syrians, who regularly received their bishops from the Nestorian patriarch. And on this monument mention was made of the New Testament as containing *twenty-seven* books :—a proof, adds Michaelis, that the Apocalypse must have been included in the number.

CHAP. II.—THE DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

This is my *second* preliminary point of inquiry, and one on which also the historical evidence will be found both direct and conclusive. For the testimony of *Irenæus*,

¹ See Michaelis, p. 495.

² Michaelis, p. 497, from whom I abstract.

—Polycarp's disciple, let it be again remembered, who was himself the disciple of the apostle John,—is as express to the point in question as it is unexceptionable. Speaking of the name and number of the Beast in the Apocalypse, he says, that had this been a matter then to be made known, it would have been disclosed by him who saw the Apocalypse: "For it" (the Apocalypse evidently) "was seen *no very long time ago*; but *almost in our age, towards the end of the reign of Domitian*."¹ The attempts that have been made to get rid of this testimony, and force another meaning on Irenæus' words, by those whose views and theories made them wish to do so,² have utterly failed.³ It is as clear a testimony on the point it relates to, as there can be found to any other fact in any other historian.

¹ The following is the passage, which I quote in full from Eusebius, H. E. iii. 18. Γραφον γέ τοι ὁ Σιρηνεῖος περὶ τῆς ψῆφου τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίχριστον προσηγορίας φερομένης, ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένῃ Ἀποκαλύψει, αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἐν πεμπτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου φησίν. Ἐἰ δὲ εἶδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῇ νῦν καιρῷ κηρυττεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τούτο, δι' ἐκεῖνος ἀν' ἑρρεθῇ τὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκαλύψιν ἰωρακοτός· εἶδε γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἰωραθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τελείῃ τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.

² Michaelis, p. 525, thus candidly acknowledges the origin and object of these attempts. "Several modern commentators, who wish to refer the *Apocalypse* to the reign of Nero, that they may be better able to explain its prophecies, contend that the words of Irenæus have been misunderstood by ecclesiastical writers, and that Irenæus did not mean to say that the Revelation was seen in the reign of Domitian."

³ It will only need, I am persuaded, to mention the three several new constructions proposed of the words of Irenæus, in order to convince the intelligent and candid reader of their absurdity and extravagance.

1. *Wetstein* proposes to apply the verb ἰωραθῆναι not to Ἀποκαλύψις, (notwithstanding the ἰωρακοτός τὴν Ἀποκαλύψιν of the clause immediately preceding, (but to Ἰωάννης: in the sense that *St. John* was seen at the end of Domitian's reign!!

2. *Knittel* would apply the same verb ἰωραθῆναι to the ὄνομα of the clause next but one preceding; in the sense that the name of *Antichrist*, viz. Τετταν, (which, together with Λατίνος, had been mentioned a little before as a likely solution of the enigma,) had been discovered only at the close of Domitian's reign: Domitian's prenomen being *Titus*; and his character, as a θεομαχος, and persecutor, and fit type of Antichrist, then at length made known by his persecutions of the Christians!—This, let it be observed, though the verb in Irenæus' text is ἰωραθῆναι, not εἰρεθῆναι, or ἑρρεθῆναι,—the noun Τετταν not Τίτος,—and the real name declared to be still a mystery, and only the subject of conjecture!!

3. *Harenberg*, admitting that the ἰωραθῆναι must be construed with the Ἀποκαλύψις, as its nominative, proposes to give that nominative noun quite a different sense here from what it had in the clause preceding: and whereas it there meant

Nor is it unsupported by other testimony. First, (not to insist on *Tertullian*,¹) *Clement of Alexandria* indirectly, but clearly confirms the statement. Relating the well-known story of St. John and the robber, he speaks of it as enacted by the apostle on his return from exile in Patmos, "*after the death of the tyrant*;"² and represents him as then an infirm old man.³ Now "*the tyrant*," whose death is referred to, must necessarily be either *Nero* or *Domitian*; as these were, up to the end of the first century, the only imperial persecutors of the Christian body. And *Nero* it can scarcely be: since at the time of Nero's persecution, St. John was by no means an infirm old man; being probably not much above, if indeed so much as, sixty years of age.⁴ Thus it must rather have been, so as Eusebius explains Clement, the tyrant⁵ *Domiti-*

the *Apocalyptic vision* seen by St. John, here to make it the *Apocalyptic Book*, or *Volume*; which *Book*, says he, was not seen,—that is, not seen by the *Christians in Gaul*,—till the end of Domitian's reign: the words, "by the Christians of Gaul," or something tantamount, being thus further supplied!!

Michaelis (p. 525) allows the great improbability of this solution. Yet it is an explanation somewhat like it that was the best Sir I. Newton could devise, in order to escape from the force of Irenæus' testimony: "Perhaps he *might* have heard from his master Polycarp that he had received *this book from John* about the time of Domitian's death, or indeed John *might* himself at that time have made a *new publication of it*; from whence Irenæus *might* imagine it was then but newly written."—Let me add that Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (ad Ann. 14 Domit.) gives his construction of Irenæus' sentence, according to common sense and grammar, thus: *εἴθα τὴν Ἀποκαλύψιν ἔωρακεν, ὡς ὅλοι Εἰρηναῖος.*

¹ Tertullian in his *Apolog.* ch. 5, says that *Domitian*, the next persecutor after Nero, soon recalled those whom *relegaverat*:—a word this often used elsewhere of John's banishment by Domitian; and in Eusebius, H. E. iii. 20, expressly said to be so meant by Tertullian.

² So in his *Quis Dives Salvetur*, Chap. xlii; a story copied by Eusebius into his H. E. Book iii. ch. 23, and which begins thus: *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, τὸ τυράννης τελευτήσας αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῆς Πατμῆς τῆς νῆσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον.*

³ The statement, *ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτοῦ*, and the appellative *τοῦ γεροντα*, both occur in reference to him: the latter twice over.

⁴ For he is supposed to have been considerably younger than our Lord. The traditional reports of his age at the time of his death, all tend to that conclusion. And Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.* Lib. i, says expressly of his age when first called by Christ, "*Ut autem sciamus tunc fuisse puerum manifestissimè docent ecclesiasticæ historiæ.*" Now Nero's persecution broke out in the year of our Lord 64, and ended with Nero's death, A.D. 68.

⁵ Compare with Clement's emphatic designation of *Domitian*, as I suppose, under the appellation "*the tyrant*," the undoubted application to Domitian of the same title, in the same emphatic manner, by the author of the *De Mortibus*

an.¹—Secondly, *Victorinus* (Bishop of Pettaw, and martyr in Diocletian's persecution) in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, written towards the close of the third century, says twice over expressly, and in a part that bears no mark of interpolation, that the Apocalypse was seen by the Apostle John in the isle of Patmos, when banished thither

Persecutorum, whether Lactantius, or some cotemporary; "recissis actis tyranni." M. P. c. 3. ad fin. So also in Apollonius Tyaneus' celebrated second sight notification of Domitian's death; "Strike the tyrant," &c.

¹ I must not omit to mention that Sir I. Newton endeavours to draw a contrary conclusion from this story; and to make it support his theory of St. John's having been banished to Patmos, and seen the Apocalypse, under *Nero*. His statement is this. "Chrysostom says that the young reprobate continued captain of the robbers a long time. Therefore this is a story of many years: and requires that John should have returned from Patmos rather at the death of *Nero* than of *Domitian*; because between Domitian's death and that of St. John there were but two and a half years." (So too argues Dr. Tilloch.) But Chrysostom's "long time" is indefinite. And that it was not meant to signify many years appears pretty clearly on reference to the original; since the reprobate is there designated as still a young man when recovered by St. John.* It must be added that St. John is supposed to have lived more than two and a half years after his return: the time being three years according to *Care*, four according to *Basnage*. See Lardner, v. 427.†

Very much the same limitation of the interval between this man's first conversion and recovery appears in *Clement's* narrative, who is the original relator of the story. He depicts the subject of the story as a youth nearly grown up, when first seen and presented to the bishop of the place by St. John; προσβλεψας νεανίσκον ἰκανόν τῃ σωματι, &c. He speaks of the interval simply thus: χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ. "A certain interval of time past." And St. John's later visit, in which he reclaimed this young man from the bishop, is spoken of as if his next and second visit: made on occasion of some affair arising in the district church, which caused them to send for him. Χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ καὶ, τινος ἐπιτεσεύσεως χρείας, ἀνακαλόναι τὸν Ἰωάννην—just as if he had in the interval still lived at Ephesus, within call; and meanwhile no particular occasion had arisen for his personal presence, till then.

* The passage (Ad Theodor. Laps.) is this. Τα δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον τὸν πρότερον μὲν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου γενομένου μαθητὴν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν λησταιχρησάτων χρόνον, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ μακαρίου θηρευθέντα χεῖρων. . . . οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖς. . . . καὶ σου πολλὰκις ἤκουσα θαυμάζοντος τὴν συγκατάβασιν τὴν πολλήν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν αἵμαχθεῖσαν πρῶτον ἐφίλησε δεξιᾷ τῇ δεξιᾷ περιχυθείς, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τα προτέρα ἐπανήγαγε. Where mark the τῇ δεξιᾷ in the conclusion.

† Let me add that Chrysostom, in common with other of the ancient Fathers, (followed, I might add, by Whitby, Macknight, and many other learned moderns,) dated St. Paul's 2nd Epistle to Timothy (then Bishop of Ephesus) just before St. Paul's martyrdom, near the end of Nero's persecution (Δοκεῖ μοι πρὸς τὸν πέλει εἶναι αὐτῇ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη, φασί, σπένδομαι. Homily on 2 Tim. ad init.) And is it likely that he supposed St. John to have addressed the church of Ephesus, and the other six Asiatic churches, so as described in the Apocalypse, at the very time when St. Paul (himself the apostolic superintendent of the Ephesian church) was yet living; or just immediately after his death: so as the notion of Chrysostom's having referred St. John's exile in Patmos to Nero's persecution requires?

by the Roman Emperor Domitian.¹—To the same effect, thirdly, is the testimony of an Apocryphal author who wrote a history of St. John under the name of *Prochorus*, one of the seven primary deacons mentioned in the Acts;² a work, I conceive, of the third century, and the same perhaps as one noted among the spurious by Athanasius³—Again, *Eusebius*' testimony may be cited

¹ The two passages are as follows, taken from the edition of the work given in the *Bibliotheca Patr. Max.* Vol. iii. pp. 419, 420.

1. On Apoc. x. 11, "Thou must prophesy again," he observes; "Hoc est quoniam, quando hoc vidit Joannes, erat in insulâ Pathmos, in metallum damnatus à Domitiano Cesare. Ibi ergo vidit Apocalypsim: et cum senior jam putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano omnia judicia ejus soluta sunt; et Joannes, de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat à Domino Apocalypsim."

2. On Apoc. xvii. 10, about the Beast's seventh and eighth heads, he writes: "Intelligi oportet tempus quo Scriptura Apocalypsis edita est. Quoniam tunc erat *Cæsar Domitianus*; ante illum autem fuerat Titus frater illius, et Vespasianus pater, Galba, Otho, et Vitellius. Hi sunt quinque qui ceciderunt: unus extat *sub quo scribitur Apocalypsis*;—*Domitianus* scilicet. Alius nondum venit; Nervam dicit."

I have alluded to the work now come down to us as Victorinus' Commentary, and from which I have quoted the above, as *interpolated*. Of this there can be no doubt, supposing it to be really in the main Victorinus' Commentary: for Jerome speaks of Victorinus' Comment as millenarian, whereas the Comment extant ends with a direct reprobation of millenarianism.* Hence a doubt as to its genuineness. Of this, however, I am, in conjunction with Tillemont and I think Lardner, (see his Vol. iii. p. 167,) well persuaded. For the anti-millenarian closing sentence (as also another that involves an anachronism †) is evidently patched on by some transcriber or editor of those sentiments; and there still remain in the body of the piece *millenarian passages*, of the precise character described by Jerome. Lardner has cited one of this kind, which I subjoin in a Note.‡ Another, still more decisive, has met my own eye. On the passage, "Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth," (Apoc. xiv. 18) the Comment explains it of the destruction of the unbelieving nations "in *adventu Domini et apertione regni sanctorum*." B. P. M. iii. p. 420. See for fuller information my notices of Victorinus in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

* Acts vi. 5; "They chose Stephen and Philip and Prochorus, &c."

† Such is Bellarmine's conjecture, ("Fortasse hæc *Prochori Narratio de rebus Gestis Sancti Joannis*, est liber ille qui sub nomine "*Circuitus Joannis*" inter Apocrypha recensetur à Sancto Athanasio in Synopsi,") prefixed to the work in the B. P. M. ii. 46. It is under an impression of the probability of this being the work referred to by Athanasius, that I have placed it in the third century at latest. Forgeries under the names of apostles, &c, began almost before the end

* "Ergo audiendi non sunt qui mille annorum regnum terrenum esse confirmant." B. P. M. p. 421.

† One in which *Theodore's Epitome* is referred to, a work of the sixth century; "Sunt autem libri Veteris Testamenti qui accipiuntur 24, quos in Epitomis Theodori invenias." Ibid. p. 417. This sentence is so entirely detached, that it might be taken out without at all disturbing the sense of the context.

‡ "In Judæa ubi omnes sancti conventuri sunt, et Dominum suum adoraturi." Ibid. p. 415.

on the date of the Apocalyptic revelation, (though he doubted about its author,) as expressing his deliberate adoption of the statement of Irenæus.¹—The same is the recorded judgment of *Jerome*;² the same of *Sulpitius Severus*.³—Further, we find a distinct statement of similar purport in *Primasius*, an eminent Augustinian commentator on the Apocalypse, of the sixth century. In his Preface to this Commentary, he speaks of the Apocalyptic visions having been seen by St. John when banished and condemned to the mines in Patmos by the Emperor Domitian.⁴—And more might yet be added.⁵

of the first century (see *Mosh.* i. 2. 2. 17, ii. 2. 3. 15), and continued (as in the notable case of *Dionysius the Areopagite*) even in the fourth. The Pseudo-Prochorus is very full on the subject of *Domitian's* concern in the persecution; and gives the Emperor's pretended Rescript, addressed to the Ephesian heathens who had applied for it, condemning the apostle to the mines in Patmos. Chap. xiv. B. P. M. ii. 53.

¹ Immediately before the quotation made by him from Irenæus, which I have given at full in the first Note of this chapter, Eusebius says, "In this persecution (under Domitian) it is reported that John the Apostle and Evangelist, being yet alive, was banished into the island Patmos, for the testimony of the word of God." The whole of this report, however, he gives as from Irenæus. And the date, as well as mention of the Apocalyptic John as John the Apostle and Evangelist, might perhaps be deemed a part of that report, rather than his own opinion. But in another passage, viz. H. E. iii. 29, soon following, he adds a statement showing that he too judged that to have been the time of the vision, whichever John was the seer: for he says; "About this time (Domitian's reign) was the Heresy of the Nicolaitans, which continued for a short time; of which also the Revelation of John makes mention."—And so too in his *Chronicon*; where he places St. John's banishment at the 14th year of Domitian.

In Note 5. p. 43, it will be shown that there is nothing contradictory to this in his statement on the same subject in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*.

² "Vidit enim (sc. Joannes Apostolus) in Patmo insulâ in quâ fuerat à Domitiano Principe ob Domini martyrium relegatus, Apocalypsim." Adv. Jovin. Lib. i. So again in his De V. I. chap. 9, where he speaks of John's banishment as an event that occurred in the 14th year of Domitian's reign. Lardner, iv. 446.

I may add that in the *Epist. 44 Paulæ et Eustochiæ ad Marcellam*, given in Jerome's works, Tom. iv. ii. 549, (Bened. Ed.) the Apocalypse is spoken of as written after the destruction of Jerusalem.

³ "Interjecto deinde tempore Domitianus, Vespasiani filius, persecutus est Christianos: quo tempore Joannem Apostolum atque Evangelistam in Pathmon insulam relegavit: ubi ille librum Apocalypsin conscriptum edidit." Hist. Sacr. Lib. ii. chap. xxxi. (al. xlv). Lardner, iv. 575.

⁴ I quote from it as given in the B. P. M. x. 288. "Hæc autem eo tempore videre promeruit, quo in Patmos insulâ pro Christo à Domitiano Cæsare exilio missus, et metallo damnatus, terminis arcebatur inclusus."

⁵ E. g. the testimony of *Isidore of Seville*, about 600 A.D. in a chronicle of his own; (see Lardner, v. 140;) and somewhat later of the venerable *Bede*. See his Homily on St. John the Evangelist, and also his Prologue to the Seven Catholic Epistles, quoted in Lardner. v. 145.—Lastly the old *Roman Martyrology*,

Such is the *later* and *subsidiary* Patristic testimony still extant, to the fact of St. John having seen the Apocalyptic visions in Patmos under the reign of *Domitian*:—a chain of testimony not to be viewed (so as Tilloch would quite unwarrantably represent it)¹ as but the repetition of that of Irenæus, whom indeed for the most part these writers do not even refer to ;² but as their own deliberate independent judgment, formed on *all* the evidence that then existed. As to any contrary *early* tradition respecting the date, if such there was, (as Sir I. Newton and Tilloch, still without any warrant of historic record, have assumed,³) it can scarcely have been unknown to them. And their total silence respecting it is only explicable on one of two suppositions ; viz. either that it did not exist, or that they deemed it undeserving of credit, and not even worth the notice.

Nor can this be wondered at : seeing that as to any contrary statement on the point in question, there appears to have been none whatsoever until the time of *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, in the latter half of the fourth century : a writer whose work is decried by Mosheim as “ full of blots and errors, through the levity and ignorance of the author : ”⁴ and who in his statement on this very point,—supposing it correctly

as Whitby observes on Heb. iv. 3, asserts that *Antipas*, mentioned Apoc. ii. 13, suffered martyrdom under *Domitian* ; so fixing the date of the Apocalypse to a time after that event. This martyrdom of Antipas is, I presume, the same that Andreas of Cesarea in his Apocalyptic Commentary told us he had seen.

¹ “ However numerous the authors are who ascribe it to the end of Domitian's reign, the testimony of all of them may be resolved into that of *one individual* whom they copied, (p. 9, “ whom they refer to,”) namely, Irenæus.” Tilloch on the Apocalypse, p. 14. So again pp. 8, 9, 41. He adds, p. 6, after Sir Isaac Newton, that Irenæus *first* introduced this opinion.—Why not rather *Papias*, or *Polycarp* ?

² I pray the reader to refer back to the extracts as evidence on this point.

³ They dwell much on this hypothesis. Sir I. Newton calls it “ a tradition in the *first churches*.” Tilloch says, p. 9, “ Epiphanius followed some other ” (of course earlier) “ authority now lost : ” p. 10, “ *Early* commentators held the opinion,” &c.

⁴ iv. 2. 2. 9.

written, and not an error of transcription in our copies,—so exemplifies this ignorance, as well to justify its silent neglect by those writers of our catena, viz. *Jerom*, *Sulpitius*, and *Primasius*, who lived after him. For he speaks of St. John having prophesied when in the isle of Patmos, in the days of the *Emperor Claudius* : '—a time when, as Michaelis justly observes,² it does not appear from history that there was any imperial persecution of the Christian body whatsoever ; and when moreover the probability is that of the seven Apocalyptic churches scarce one was as yet in existence,³ and the Apostle John moreover in no way associated with the district.⁴ But indeed one is almost forced to suspect some strange error in the transcriber. For Epiphanius elsewhere implies John's age to have been ninety at the time of his return from Patmos.⁵ And can we suppose that he really thought John to have been *ninety* years old before A.D. 54, which was the latest year of the life of Claudius, or about *seventy* when called by Christ to be his disciple ? ⁶—Besides whose strange theory we are re-

¹ Αυτον δε προφητευσαντος εν χρονοις Κλαυδιου Καισαρος αυτατω, οτε εις την Πατμον νησον οπηρξεν. Ημερ. 51, n. 33, quoted by Lardner, iv. 190.

² Ibid. p. 520.

³ See Note ² p. 47.

⁴ The reader should remember, that in the Acts and Apostolic Epistles we have an authentic history, or historical notices, of the state of the Christian Church throughout the whole of the reign of Claudius, which lasted only from A.D. 41 to 54. So that we are perfectly in a situation to compare the facts of the case with the theory, as to the time of the Apocalyptic publication thus broached in Epiphanius, and so convince ourselves of its falsehood.

⁵ The passage I refer to is one in which Epiphanius speaks of John writing^{*} his Gospel, given in Lardner, iv. 188. Διο ουταρον αναγκαζει το αγιον Πνευμα τον Ιωαννην, παρα του μνον ενναγγελισσασθαι δι' ευλαβειαν και ταπεινοφροσυνην, επι τη γηρατεια αυτου ηλικια, μετα ετη εννενηκοντα της αυτου ζωης, μετα την αυτου απο της Πατμου επανοδοσ, την επι Κλαυδιου γενομενην Καισαρος και μετα ικατα ετη του διατρεφαι αυτον απο [f. επι] της Ασιας αναγκαζεται εκθεσθαι το ευαγγελιον. Where we may most naturally understand the "*after ninety years of age*," as in chronological apposition with the "*after the return from Patmos, which was under Claudius the Emperor*."

⁶ See Note 3 p. 37. *supra*.—At p. 190 Lardner expresses his suspicion of an error of transcription in the passage given in my Note ¹ above. And Vitringa intimates that he should have thought the same, but from the circumstance of Epiphanius twice over making the statement.—The same suspicion, and the same difficulty, must have crossed the mind, I should think, of every inquirer.

minded by Newton and Tilloch of yet another testimony to the early date of the Apocalypse. The *subscription* to a Syriac version of the book, written about the beginning of the sixth century,¹ is thus worded; "The Revelation which was made by God to John the Evangelist in the island of Patmos, whither he was banished by the Emperor *Nero*." But of what value is this opinion, then first broached, as it would appear?²—Or again, of what that of the commentator *Arethas*, promulgated still two or three centuries later,³ to the effect that the Apocalypse was written *before the destruction of Jerusalem*;⁴ an opinion contradicted indeed elsewhere in the body of his work by himself?⁵—Alike the

¹ "The Syriac version of the Apocalypse is now known to be a part of the Philoxenian version, which was made by Polycarp at the beginning of the sixth century." Michaelis p. 521.

² May not the mistake have arisen from *Domitian* having sometimes the title of *Nero* given him; and in fact the *original* writer of the Syriac subscription have meant *Domitian*, not *Nero*?

Thus Juvenal iv. 37:

Quum jam semianimem laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma *Neroni*.

On which Rupertus observes: "Alteri *Neroni*. Nota sunt Ausonii verba;

Et Titus imperii felix brevitate, sequutus

Frater, quem Calvum dixit sua Roma *Neronem*."

Similarly Tertullian, in his Apolog. ch. 5, speaks of "*Domitianus portio Neronis*."

³ On Apoc. xiii. 2, "The beast that I saw was like to a leopard, and his mouth like a lion's," he writes; "Per os leonis regnum designatur Babyloniorum, cui *Saracenorum* regnum manifestè successit, quod in hoc usque tempus regia eorum *Babylone* sit." B. P. M. ix. 771. Now the Saracen capital of Bagdad near Babylon was not built till A.D. 762.—It seems strange that this clear evidence of a date attaching to *Arethas*, at least as late as near A.D. 800, should have been overlooked by so many critics, who have spoken of him as of the sixth century. For it does not look like an interpolation. See my notice of *Arethas* in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

⁴ "Nondum enim vastatio à Romanis illata Judæos involverat, ubi hæc Evangelista oracula suscipiebat." Comment. in Apoc. vii. 4; B. P. M. ix. 759.

Andreas had previously mentioned that certain preceding expositors supposed an allusion to this event in Apoc. vii; Ταῦτα τινες εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανου βασιλεως πολιορκίαν ἐξέλαβον ἀπαντα, τὸν εἰρημίων ἐκασον τροπολογησάντες; and Michaelis, p. 524, suggests that *Hippolytus'* lost Comment must be the one referred to. But I find what answers to *Andreas'* statement in *Tichonius'* still extant Commentary, Homily xiii; an expositor of the fourth century. This, however, is meant in a *retrospective* sense simply; just, for example, as *Faber's* view of the Seals. See my notice of *Tichonius* in the Appendix.

⁵ On Apoc. i. 9, he cites with approbation Eusebius' date; "Relegatum ipsum

one and the other slept unnoticed for centuries. And if waked up by critics of a more modern age, it has only been (as Michaelis, we have seen, confesses) from the supposed necessity of such dates, in order to any possible explanation of the Apocalyptic prophecies.¹

It does not need that I discuss at all prominently certain points of *indirect* and *subsidiary historical* evidence, in favour of an early date, which these writers have also called in to their aid. A sufficient notice of them will be found below : and it will appear that they all, like the *direct* testimony just discussed, prove weak and worthless on examination.²—Nor will the only other

in Patmum insulam sub Domitiano fuisse Eusebius Pamphili in Chronica sua citat." B. P. M. 743. ¹ See Note 2 p. 36 supra.

² There are two points of subsidiary historic evidence urged by Sir I. Newton, in proof of the Apocalypse having been written in Nero's persecution ; besides the story from Clement already noticed Note 4, p. 37.

Of these two the *one* is thus stated by that eminent author, "Eusebius in his Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History follows Irenæus : but afterwards in his Evangelical Demonstrations he conjoins the banishment of John into Patmos with the deaths of Peter and Paul : and so do Tertullian, and Pseudo-Prochorus ; as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that John was put by Nero into a vessel of boiling oil, and, coming out unhurt was banished by him into Patmos. Though this story be no more than a fiction, yet was it founded on a tradition in the first churches, that John was banished into Patmos in the days of Nero."

On this I observe.—

1. *Eusebius*, after briefly sketching the earlier persecutions of the apostles and disciples, as related in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, adds that subsequently to these (*ἐν τοῖς*) James, the Lord's brother, was stoned to death ; and then passes to the following notice of Peter, Paul, and John, which is the passage referred to by Sir I. Newton ; *Καὶ Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ κεφαλὴν ταυρουῶν, Παῦλος τε ἀποτίμνεται, Ἰωάννης τε νησὶ παραδίδεται*—a passage followed by the general statement that the surviving disciples, undeterred by these things, persisted in their Christian profession and designs. Eusebius Dem. Evang. Lib. iii. p. 116. (Paris 1628.) Thus we see that there is here no intimation whatever of synchronism between the two events.

2. In *Tertullian's* Treatise De Pres. Hær. c. 36, (who was the *first author* of the story referred to*) the conjoined mention of John's being thrown into boiling oil, and Paul's and Peter's death, is not at all a *chronological* but a *local* conjunction. Speaking of *Rome* he says ; "Ista quàm felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cùm sanguine profuderunt : ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur ; ubi Paulus Joannis [s.c. Baptistæ] exitu coronatur ; ubi apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur." *Not a word is said* of this last transaction having taken place under Nero. On the contrary, tradition, we shall now see, referred it to the times of *Domitian*. For first *Jerom* adv. Jovinian (Lib. i.) repeats the story immediately

* See Lardner, ii. 286.

† Aliter, *Statu felix*. So *Pameli*us.

evidence offered on their side,—evidence *internal* in its character, and which has been urged of late years with great earnestness and some effect¹ by Dr. Tilloch and others, after Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton,—be found at all better able to bear examination.

For what is the main argument? It is founded on certain marked similarities discoverable, as they suppose, in sundry Epistles of Peter and Paul, written before Nero's

after the clause given in Note 1 p. 40 *supra*, wherein he states *Domitian* to have been the Emperor that banished St. John to Patmos. Further Sir I. Newton's own witness.

3. *Pseudo-Prochorus* is as directly against him. For after telling the story at full length, and similarly conjoining the mention of this event with that of Paul's and Peter's martyrdoms, as a mere association of *place*, (for he supposes it to have occurred at Rome, and that thus the *Porta Latina* in that city became a memorial of the one apostle, as the *Porta Vaticana* was of the two others,) after this, I say, he expressly states the Emperor by whom St. John was thus thrown into the oil to have been *Domitian*, (who soon after banished him to Patmos,) not *Nero*. "*Audiens Domitianus de adventu ejus (Joannis), jussit ut proconsul duceret ante Portam Latinam, et in ferventis olei dolium, illum vivum dimitti.*".... "*Deus enim per crudelem tyrannum consilium suum disponebat, ut, sicut virtutibus et signis Joannes et Petrus socii fuerunt, ita in urbi Romæ memoriam haberent sui triumphi. Sicut enim Porta Vaticana,*" &c. *Domitian* is again and again mentioned by this writer as the Emperor concerned in the persecution of St. John. B. P. M. ii. 52.

One cannot but greatly regret that such a man as Sir I. Newton should have written what was not only so incorrect, but so calculated to mislead. Perhaps, however, he may have transcribed from others, and not looked into the originals.

The *other* point of subsidiary historic evidence urged by Sir Isaac, and repeated by Dr. Tilloch with an air of great confidence and triumph, p. 41, is the early existence of *pseudo-Apocalypses* in the professing Christian Church; especially one by *Cerinthus*, who, they say, lived so early as to withstand the apostles in the first Council at Jerusalem, (Acts xv,) and died before St. John;—which false *Apocalypses* implied the previous existence of the true.—But what the authority for assigning this early date to Cerinthus and his *Apocalypses*? It is well known to be a controverted point (as Mosheim says, i. 2. 5. 16, and Lardner viii. 409) whether Cerinthus was of the first century or the second. Epiphanius,—the inaccurate and most untrustworthy Epiphanius,—is the only author of the story of Cerinthus being at the Council at Jerusalem. On the other hand Irenæus dates the Cerinthians after the Nicolaitans; which last he deemed (as his date of the *Apocalypse* proves) to have been of Domitian's time. Theodoret implies (as Lardner observes, *ibid.*) that Cerinthus did not arise till the old age of St. John; and Epiphanius himself puts the Cerinthians elsewhere after the Carpocratians, whom all place, I believe, (See Lardner 393) after the end of the first century.

Let me add, had these perverters of *St. John's Apocalypse* written as early as Tilloch asserts, might we not presume that they would have been as specifically reprobated, as those that wrested *St. Paul's epistles*, in 2 Peter iii. 16?

¹ See the notices of it by *Burgh* in the Appendix to his Comment on the Revelation, and by a *Reviewer in the Investigator*, Vol. i. p. 213. The former entirely adopts and approves the argument; the latter however much more cautiously, and only in part.

death, to passages in the Apocalypse ; whence they infer that the Apocalypse was written first, the Epistles afterwards.¹ Now in a question of this kind it is important to distinguish between cases of *reference* to some antecedent writing,—whether *direct*, or by means of the *article* or *pronouns demonstrative*,—and those of mere *similarity* of thought or expression. Of the *former* class of examples, adduced by these critics from the apostolic epistles, there is not one, I believe, which is not explicable as a reference to the previous prophecies of the Old Testament.² As to cases of mere *similarity* and *coincidence of thought*, if we may often see much of it even in *uninspired* writings, without implying imitation on the part of one or other of the writers, how much more may we expect undesigned resemblances in *inspired* writings, such as are both the Epistles and Book of the Apocalypse spoken of ; seeing that, though written by different human penmen, they were inspired by one and the same *divine Spirit* : ³ which Spirit may just as well be supposed to have dictated an idea or brief sketch to St. Peter or St. Paul, which was afterwards to be developed in the finished pictures of the Apocalypse of St. John, as to have spoken by those first-mentioned Apostles in terms or figures borrowed from the pre-

¹ See the enumeration of them in Sir I. Newton and Dr. Tilloch. The most striking, I think, are those from St. Peter about the church at *Babylon*, the *royal priesthood*, and *new heavens and new earth* ; and those from the Hebrews about the *heavenly sabbatism*, the *general assembly*, the coming unto *Mount Zion*, the *city that hath the foundations*, the *heavenly Jerusalem* : also, as Dr. Tilloch adds, p. 99, and his Reviewer in the *Investigator*, the expressions in 1 Cor. xv. 52, about the *last Trumpet's sounding*, and in Gal. iv. 26 about the *Jerusalem above*, which is the mother of us all.

² E. g. St. Peter's *promised new heavens and new earth* may be referred to Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22, as well as to Apoc. xxi. 1 ; the *city which hath the foundations* to Isa. liv. 11, as well as to Apoc. xxi. 14 ;—the *last trumpet* to Exod. xix. 16, (compared with Heb. xii. 19, 26 and 1 Thess. iv. 16,) as well as to Apoc. xi. 15.

³ 2 Peter i. 20, 21 : " No prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation : for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

viously promulged pictures of the Apocalypse. All this is very evident; and with it the exceeding danger of arguing, so as Newton and Tilloch have done, for the chronological priority of the Apocalypse, from any supposed imitations of it which they may think to trace in one and another of the apostolic epistles. But it is to Dr. Tilloch himself that we owe the setting forth of the utter unsoundness and error of this their argument in the clearest light. For he has plainly shown that *on this principle* there must be allowed proof of reference to the Apocalypse in St. Paul's *two Epistles to the Thessalonians*,—proof as conclusive as in any other case:¹—the which Epistles were, however, notoriously written² (and indeed other of the Epistles also³) before ever a Christian church was founded at Ephesus: much more

¹ Tilloch, Diss. ii. § 11, pp. 110—122. In the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, he says, p. 110, there are several expressions, which, "if we believe that the writer often has allusions to the Apocalypse in his other Epistles, we can hardly have reason to doubt have reference to the contents of that prophecy:" instancing the *wrath to come*, the *coming of Christ with all his saints*, the *coming as a thief in the night*, the *trumpet of God*, and the *signs and periods*, which the Christians addressed *perfectly knew*; 1 Thess. i. 10, iii. 13, iv. 16, v. i, compared with Apoc. vi. 16, xix. 11—14, xi. 15, xiii. 5, &c.—Again of the Second Epistle he writes, p. 117: "To the author of this work it appears certain that in these passages of the first chapter (viz. verses 7, 8, 'Rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire,') the allusions to the Apocalypse are quite obvious."

² Both these Epistles were written, while Timothy and Silas were with Paul, from Corinth: (compare Acts xviii. 5, 1 Thess. i. 1, iii. 1, 2, 6, 2 Thess. i. 1): and it was not till after leaving Corinth that he first touched at Ephesus, where there was then no Christian church, but only a Jewish synagogue (Acts xviii. 19); nor till his second visit, on returning from Jerusalem and Antioch, (Acts xix. 1, &c.) that he formed a church in that city,—indeed Tilloch allows this, pp. 21, 112.

³ E. g. the first Epistle to the Corinthians. For it was written from Ephesus, as all allow, and is indeed most manifest (see 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 19), during St. Paul's sojourn at Ephesus, mentioned Acts xix. in which he *founded the Ephesian Church*.⁴—I might add the same of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, which bears date probably yet earlier. See Lardner and Macknight on the Chronology of St. Paul's Epistles.

⁴ Would St. Paul have simply said 1 Cor. xv. 8, "Last of all he was seen by me also," if St. John had subsequently, yet before St. Paul's writing to the Corinthians, been favoured with the vision of Christ in Patmos; and not rather pointedly referred to that extraordinary vision in further proof of Christ's resurrection?

before it had any episcopal angel presiding over it, such as was addressed in the first of the Apocalyptic Epistles by the Lord Jesus.¹—Such is their *main* argument to prove an early date from *internal* evidence. Of the lesser and subsidiary I add a brief notice below.²

One word, ere I conclude, on two or three partially corroborative points of evidence drawn from *profane* history and historians. *First*, it would seem from their report very questionable (nor does any authentic ecclesiastical history decisively contradict it) whether *Nero's*

¹ There is a passage in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, hitherto unnoticed in this controversy, which seems to me very illustrative. He writes thus, § 11 ; " St. Paul in the beginning of his Epistle, glories of you in all the churches which then only knew God ; for we did not then know Him." That is, that at the date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, or *as late as about the year A.D. 62*, the Christian Church of *Smyrna* (which was one of the *Apocalyptic* churches) had not been formed.

² First Sir I. Newton draws a subsidiary argument from the *Jewish* allusions prominent in the Apocalypse ;—" allusions," says Sir I. " to the temple and altar and Holy City, as then standing." But surely this is taking for granted a point essential to be proved in the first instance, (and which, let me beg to say, I am persuaded never can be proved,) viz. that these terms are to be construed *literally* of the old Jerusalem, not *figuratively* of the Christian Church. In a Book that confessedly abounds in symbols, is not a symbolic use of these terms natural, and almost to be expected ?—Of the same class, and as obviously invalid, are Professor *Moses Stuart's* arguments, given very recently in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. ii. p. 349 : arguments drawn, 1st, from the exemption of Christian *Jews*, so he *explains* the sealed in Apoc. vii. and also of the inner sanctuary of the Temple, Apoc. xi. from impending destruction ; 2nd, from the express naming of the city to be destroyed as the place where our Lord was crucified, viz. Jerusalem ; " which," says he, " consequently could not then have been destroyed." Would the professor argue that the literal Sodom and Gomorrah were yet standing while Isaiah prophesied, because of his address. Isa. i. 10. " Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye Rulers of Sodom, give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah ?" As to the constant and consistent *symbolic* use of these figures in the Apocalypse, it will abundantly appear in the ensuing Commentary.*

Somewhat of a similar kind is *Michaelis'* argument from the designation of the presiding bishops of the seven churches as *angels*. In the Epistles, he argues, the governors of the Churches are called *ἐπισκοποι*, *bishops* : and from St. John's calling them *angels* we may perhaps infer that the Apocalypse was written before this *episcopal* appellation came into use ; i. e. before the Epistles.—As if the *symbolic* use of that term, as well as of others borrowed from the Jewish ritual, did not sufficiently explain the thing ! See a Note on that verse of the Apocalypse which mentions *angels*, in the Introduction, chap. ii.

* Since this was printed in the Second Edition, Professor Stuart's Commentary on the Apocalypse has been published ; developing more fully his reasons of this class, as well as other reasons, for preferring the *Neronian* date. A full examination of them will be found in the Appendix to this first Volume.

persecution of Christians extended *far beyond the precincts of Rome itself*:¹ a circumstance which, if true, negatives of itself the proposed theory of St. John having been banished in *his* persecution to the mines of Patmos.—*Secondly*, they furnish no evidence that in *Nero's* persecution *banishment to the islands*, with its usual penal accompaniments, was one of the punishments then put in force against accused Christians: whereas, on the other hand, we have direct profane historic testimony in proof that that particular punishment *was* enforced against persons accused of Christianity in the persecution by *Domitian*. The illustrative case of the noble Senator *Clemens'* noble wife *Domitilla* will readily occur to the memory of the classic reader.²—To which let me add, *thirdly*, that it appears from Tacitus³ that about the sixth year of Nero, or A.D. 61, the city of *Laodicea* having been destroyed by an earthquake,—in which earthquake, according to Eusebius,⁴ the adjacent cities of *Colossæ* and *Hierapolis* were also involved,—*Laodicea* itself was almost immediately after rebuilt: whereas there is no historic evidence of the restoration for a half century, or more, of the other two of those fallen cities.⁵ I note this in answer to Tilloch's rash ar-

¹ See Neander, Engl. Transl. i. 90.—As to the inscription in Lardner, vi. 623, given from the archaeologist Gruter, which would make Nero's persecution to have extended into Portugal, Dean Waddington (Hist. of Christ. Church, p. 42) says, "The forgery of the Lusitanian inscription, according to which 'Nero purged that province from the new superstition,' is now universally admitted."

² The history is found in both Suetonius, on Domitian, and Dion Cassius Lib. 67; extracted by Lardner, Vol. vi. 647, vii. 342. Or see Burton's History of the Church, p. 159, and Neander, p. 91.

Let me observe that Dion Cassius mentions also expressly the liberation from exile of those whom Domitian had banished on the charge of atheism (i. e. of Christians) by the Emperor Nerva on his accession; 'Ο Νέρωνος τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τοὺς φευγόντας κατήγαγε' a fact precisely agreeing with all ecclesiastical tradition respecting St. John, on that Emperor's death (whoever he was) that had banished him to Patmos.

³ Annal. xiv. 27. See also Pliny, N.H. v. 29.

⁴ I agree with Mr. Knight in supposing Eusebius to mean the same earthquake as Tacitus, though he places it in the tenth year of Nero.

⁵ See my Introduction to the Prophecy. Ch. ii. ad init. infra, for authorities.

gument, that the circumstance of the Church at *Colossæ* not being mentioned in the Apocalyptic Epistles, justifies an inference that the Apocalypse was seen and written before the first founding of the Colossian Church.¹

Thus (to conclude) the varied historical evidence that has been inquired into, all concurs to confirm the date originally and expressly assigned by *Irenæus* to the Apocalypse, as seen and written *at the close of the reign of Domitian*: that is, near the end of the year 95, or beginning of 96.² Accordingly, the most approved modern ecclesiastical historians and biblical critics,—writers who have had no bias on the point in question, one way or the other, from any particular cherished theory of Apocalyptic interpretation,—for example alike Dupin, Basnage, Turretin, Spanheim,³ Mosheim, Milner, Le Clerc, Mill, Whitby,⁴ Lampe, Neander, Lardner,⁵ Tomline, Burton,⁶ &c. &c,—have alike adopted it.⁷ And we may, I am persuaded, depend on its correctness with as un-

¹ "These passages (viz. 'John to the seven churches in Asia,' 'The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches,') prove that the Apocalypse was written before there was a church at Colossæ or at Hierapolis: for Dean Woodhouse has not ventured to state that these churches had *ceased to exist* at the date he assigns to the Apocalypse." Tillich, p. 32. And so again, p. 38.—Dean Woodhouse, it seems, in accounting for the omission of these churches, had simply said they were probably not mentioned from the circumstance of *their having become of less importance*.

² Domitian was assassinated in the *September* of A.D. 96. Burton, 163.

³ Spanheim in his *Eccles. Hist.* speaks of it as among the things *certain*.

⁴ On Heb. iv. 3.

⁵ So Woodhouse, p. 11: "Lampe has asserted, and Lardner fully confirms the assertion, 'that all antiquity is abundantly agreed that Domitian was the author of St. John's banishment to Patmos.'"

⁶ Burton, p. 163, says: "The date of all his (St. John's) writings is attended with uncertainty, except perhaps that of his Apocalypse, which must have been written either in the island of Patmos, or soon after his return to Ephesus." Dr. B. had just before spoken of John's banishment to Patmos as under Domitian.

⁷ So to Bossuet, and other learned Roman Catholic Expositors.

And, let me add, I have reason to know that *Mr. Clinton*, the eminent author of the *Fæsti Hellenici*, considers the date of 95 or 96 as a point clear, and not to be doubted. Moreover *Tregelles*, in his late Critical Edition of the Apocalyptic text (Preface p. x.) accounts for the very much fewer number of the Apocalyptic MSS., as compared with those of the other New Testament Books, from the fact of its having been written, agreeably with *Irenæus'* testimony, at a later period than the rest.

hesitating and implicit confidence, as on the truth of almost any of the lesser facts recorded in history.¹—It seems surprising to me that respectable and learned commentators should have wasted their time and labour in building up Apocalyptic Expositions on the sandy foundation of an earlier Neronic date.² It seems stranger still that they should have allowed themselves so to represent the present state of evidence and argument on the point, as if the fact of this earlier date were a thing admitted,³ and beyond doubt.⁴

¹ *Dean Woodhouse* has largely treated the *primary* subject of this Preliminary Essay, (I mean the *genuineness* of the Apocalypse) in the Essay prefixed to *his* Commentary on the Apocalypse. And it was my original intention simply to have referred to him upon it. But, having drawn up a sketch independently, for my own satisfaction, it appeared to me that there was in it an addition of evidence to that offered by Woodhouse quite sufficient to justify my publishing my own sketch, after comparison with and improvement from his; especially as considering the convenience of the reader.—The same in regard to the other subject of my Essay, i. e. *the date of the Apocalypse*, which has been excellently treated by Lardner, v. 414. My own chapter on it however was mainly drawn up before seeing his; and it has reference to some important points on which he has not entered, especially to objections made by Dr. Tilloch and others to Irenæus' date after his time.

² I may particularize, as most eminent among the living, the Arabic Professor of Cambridge, *Dr. Lee*; Professor Lücke, late of Bonn, now of Gottingen; and the Hebrew Professor of the Andover Theological Seminary in America, *Dr. Moses Stuart*. The *first* published an Exposition of the Apocalypse sometime ago, viz. in the year 1830; the *second*, an Introduction to the Apocalypse in 1832; the *third* has advertized a speedy publication of an Exposition by himself, the result, he tells us, of 20 years' labour; and of which the principles, as referring the main part of the Apocalyptic prophecy to the Roman Emperor Nero, and the destruction of Jerusalem, are sufficiently declared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and denounced in the just criticisms of Prof. Bush of New York. See the Articles on the subject by the last mentioned learned Professor in his *Hierophant*.

³ Professor Lee simply says in his introduction, "I take for granted that the author lived some time before the destruction of Jerusalem. This opinion I ground on the circumstance that no mention of this event as a fact is found in this book." A strange argument surely, as regards a purely prophetic book! And then, in corroboration of this opinion, he simply in a note refers 1. to *Arethas*, stating that the Apocalypse "was written at Ephesus sometime after John had left Jerusalem, and before the war against the Jews had commenced:" not adding however either *Arethas'* own late date; or the fact of his elsewhere expressly stating St. John's exile to have occurred under Domitian: 2. to *Victorinus*, saying that St. John wrote his Apocalypse before his Gospel; without a word on Victorinus' express testimony to the Domitianic date of the Apostle's exile.

Professor Stuart in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. ii. p. 349, actually writes thus: "That the Apocalypse was written under the bloody reign of Nero, or shortly after, is now a matter agreed on by nearly all the recent critics who have studied the literature of this Book!"

⁴ Since this was printed, Professor Stuart's *Apocalyptic Commentary* has come

The important bearing of the true Apocalyptic date on Apocalyptic *interpretation* will soon appear.

into my hands ; the result, it is said, of some twenty years' thought and labour : * and I have carefully looked into it to see by what new evidence or argument he might justify the *Neronian* date, on which in fact his system is mainly based. The argument occupies in his first Volume from p. 263 to p. 284. The greater part of the ground I have gone over ; but there are some points new. And I think it right, as the subject is so important, and the advocate on the side I oppose so well known for ability and learning, to discuss whatever there may be new in his arguments, or indeed in Professor Lücke's, somewhat at large. For this, see the Appendix at the end of the present Volume.

* So the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

EXPOSITION
OF THE
APOCALYPSE.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PROPHECY OF THE FUTURE:

APOC. I—V.

CHAPTER I.

ST. JOHN IN PATMOS.

IT was in the year of *Christ*, as we have seen, 96, or of *Rome* 849, that St. John had the visions of the Apocalypse revealed to him. The two eras in which I mark the date,—eras perhaps the most famous in history,—suggest the kingdoms between which from thenceforward was to lie the visible contest for the supremacy of the world. Of the first, the then living ruler and head was the Emperor *Domitian*, the last of the twelve Cæsars, engaged at the time spoken of in the bitter persecution of the Christians in his empire: of the second, the most eminent member and director (for Head it knew none but the LORD JESUS) was the last and only survivor of Christ's twelve apostles,¹ himself a sufferer in the persecution, *St. John*.

“ I John, your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience (or rather patient expectation²) of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and for the testimony of

¹ Such is the received tradition of the Church, handed down in ecclesiastical history: though of the times, as well as manner, of the deaths of several others of the apostles, precise accounts are wanting.

² *Ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Apoc. i. 9.

Jesus,"—such is the account St. John now gave of himself. He had been banished from his brethren and friends in proconsular Asia,¹ to the barren isle of Patmos, simply for bearing witness to Jesus as the Christ and Saviour of the world : and probably,—if we may form a conjecture from what was common among the Romans in the cases of such punishment,² and from the strength too of the phrase "*tribulation*," used by the Apostle to designate his own experience of it,—was condemned to penal labour in the mines or quarries,³ or perhaps to incarceration in some dungeon of the island. He was now far advanced in life, much beyond the threescore years and ten that have been noted as the measure of the age of man : and at ninety, or nearly ninety years,

¹ Proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital, must be distinguished from Asia Minor, as well as from the vaster continent of Asia. It appears that the word *Asia* was used by the Romans in four senses : 1st, for the *whole Asiatic continent*, as opposed to Europe and Africa ; 2nd, for *Asia Minor* in its *largest* extent, including Cilicia and other districts *beyond the Taurus* ; 3rd, for the *same* in its *smaller* extent, embracing only the provinces *within the Taurus* ; 4th, for *Lydian Asia*, or, as it was also called towards the end of the first century, *Proconsular Asia*, extending along the coast from Pergamos down to Caria, and inland to the Phrygian frontier, or a little beyond it.—It is in this last sense that the word is used, Acts xvi. 6, &c.,—a passage which has been most appositely cited in illustration ; " When they had gone throughout *Phrygia* and the region of *Galatia*, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in *Asia*, after they were come to *Mysia* they assayed to go into *Bithynia*, but the Spirit suffered them not : and they, passing by *Mysia*, came down to *Troas*."—See the Diatribe of the learned Archbishop Usher on the subject ; referred to by Vitringa on Apoc. i. 4.

Perhaps the little maritime district on the Cayster near Ephesus had *first* the name *Asia*, (as Homer uses the word, *Ἀσίη ἐν Λειμῶνι*, *Κασοτρῖον ἀμφὶ πέδον*), and it may thence have extended to a larger and larger signification.

² His being there as one *banished*, and in *exile*, is almost implied in what St. John says of his being the fellow-partaker with the Asiatic Churches in *affliction*, &c ; and it is stated by many of the ancients. So Ignatius to the Tarsenses, *ἑσθυσάμενος ἐν Πατμῷ*—an epistle very ancient, doubtless, if not of Ignatius' own writing : and so too almost all the other early fathers cited in the Essay preceding.—Dr. Tilloch stands quite alone in his strange idea (pp. 12, 15, 16,) of St. John having voluntarily gone to Patmos (itself an almost barren island !) merely to preach the Gospel.

Daubuz (ad loc.) observes from Grotius ; " By the Roman laws this was the punishment of seditious persons ; among which were reckoned those who broached and published new superstitions."—And, as it appears from Dion Cassius, (l. lxxvii. 14) that many who suffered under Domitian suffered under the conjoint charge of *atheism* and *Jewish manners*, (*εὐχέλεια ἀθεοφροσύνης* and *ἰουδαίων ἥθη*),—a charge, as Neander observes (Vol. i. p. 91), clearly pointing out *Christians*,—it is evident that this punishment among others would naturally be adjudged to them.

³ So Victorinus, quoted p. 39, Note ¹.—And after him Primasius, quoted p. 40, Note ⁴.

privation and penal labour, like this, must needs have been peculiarly painful. But the spirit of the man had that within it which might well sustain his infirmity; the peace, hopes, and joys of the Gospel:—joy at suffering for Christ; joy in communion with him, through that Holy Spirit whose light no dungeon could exclude; joy in looking for a speedy re-union with Him, and the triumphant establishment, soon it might be or somewhat later, of his kingdom in glory.

How peculiar, how different from those of the few rude inhabitants, and perhaps ruder governor of the island around him,¹ were the thoughts and feelings, recollections and anticipations, joys and sorrows, that filled the mind of the aged saint! In part and measure it is not difficult for us to picture them to ourselves. For besides certain historical notices of his life, we have the expression of his mind in his own writings still extant,—his Gospel, his Epistles, his Apocalypse. Nor, I think, can we better prepare ourselves for an intelligent and profitable consideration of the extraordinary prefigurative visions just at this time accorded to him, than by endeavouring, though but partially and briefly, to picture these his thoughts and feelings to ourselves: and this as they embraced within their scope, alike *the past, the present, and the future.*

1. *The past.* It was now above sixty years since the ascension of his blessed Lord. Surely that was an event and scene that could never fade from the beloved disciple's recollection:—then, when He led them out as far as Bethany on the mount of Olives, and there for the last time blessed them, and as He blessed them was parted from them, till a cloud received him out of their sight.²—It was then that two Angels, robed in heavenly white, stood by them; and said, “Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye so gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus shall

¹ Daubuz on Apoc. i. 10, says, “It is likely that St. John was exiled into the island of Patmos, because there were as yet no Christians therein.”

² Luke xxiv. 50.

come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.”¹ These were heart-cheering words, never to be forgotten; —words indeed that were but the repetition of many to the same effect that Jesus Himself had before spoken to them.² At first the idea, the joyful idea, in their minds was, that the promise of his coming would very speedily be fulfilled; and, long before the generation then living had wholly passed away, this dearest wish of their hearts have its accomplishment.³ But the years that had since passed, (above sixty years we have seen,) had already shown some error in their expectations on that point: yet only so as, by unfolding the fulfilment of other of Christ’s predictions, that needs must come first in order of time, to confirm, and render yet more certain, their assurance of the fulfilment of this best promise in its due course also.

Thus, in regard to *Jerusalem*, when they witnessed the Lord’s ascension, that “holy city”⁴ was yet standing. As they returned from Mount Olivet, the hum of busy life rose from its thronging population: and with its towers and pinnacles, its forts and palaces, and its temple the mightiest and most splendid of all its mighty buildings, Mount Zion seemed still, as in the olden time, the queen amidst the hills that surrounded it. But Christ

¹ Acts i. 10, 11.

² It will be found interesting to note these predictions in the order of time, and with regard to the occasions on which they were given: e. g. Matt. xvi. 27, xix. 28, xxiv. 30, xxv. 31, Mark viii. 38, Luke xvii. 24, John xiv. 3, &c. &c. It will thus appear, 1st, that it was not till after the lapse of a certain time from the calling of his disciples, that He opened to them the subject of his second coming in glory: 2nd, that it was not until he had mentioned to them the *sufferings* and *humiliation* that He would have to undergo: and indeed that it was generally in direct connexion with pre-intimations on the subject of his sufferings, or on that of their own coming trials and sorrows.

³ His saying (Matt. xxiv. 34) “This generation (*ἡ γένεα αὐτῶν*) shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled,” was not one that the disciples could overlook; understanding *Christ’s coming*, verse 30, as they doubtless did, of his *second coming in glory*. On which passage (supposing the word *αὐτῶν* read, as we read it, with the aspirate) the question would arise with them, Is the word *generation* to be taken in its chronological sense of thirty or thirty-three years? Or was the term intended by the expression to be measured by the longevity of all then alive, so as only to end with the death of the longest liver; and thus to extend to some ninety or a hundred years, from the time when the prediction was spoken? —Compare too, on this expectation of the disciples, 1 Thess. iv. 17, Heb. x. 37, James v. 8, &c.

⁴ Matt. xxvii. 53.

had foreshown to them its imminent destruction and desolation.¹ Its people had rejected Him who came to save them; and had even imprecated the curse on themselves, when they cried out for his crucifixion, "His blood be on us and on our children." And when yet again,—after that the Spirit had been poured out from on high, and that the apostles, with all its signs and mighty wonders to attest the truth of their mission, had preached and pressed upon them with all earnestness, both at Jerusalem and throughout the provinces, the Gospel of his salvation,² (it was their Lord's last charge to them to do so,³)—when that unhappy people for twenty, thirty, forty years had still rejected, pertinaciously rejected, this witness of the Spirit,⁴ and last offers of mercy,—then at length the Almighty's protection was withdrawn; and wrath came on them to the uttermost.

Not without providential warnings loud and many did it fall upon them. The predicted preliminary signs appeared in course,—of earthquakes and famines and pestilences, of wars and rumours of wars, of false Christs, and fearful sights, sounds, and wonders,⁵ in heaven above and the earth beneath, yea, and even within the solemn recesses of the sanctuary;⁶—signs appointed

¹ To the *disciples*, Matt. xxiv. 2, Luke xix. 41—44, xxi. 24, &c.; to the *people themselves*, Matt. xxi. 40, 41, 43, xxiii. 35—38, Luke xxiii. 28, &c.

² The manner in which St. Paul, in the fulfilment of his mission among the Gentiles, always sought out the Jewish synagogue and the Jews, to whom first to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, is very remarkable.

³ Luke xxiv. 47; "Beginning at Jerusalem."

⁴ Might not what is said, Matt. xii. 31, of the sin against the Holy Ghost, have had some reference to this rejection by the Jews of the dispensation of the Spirit?

⁵ See Bishop Newton's or Lardner's (vi. 402, &c.) historical illustrations of these several points in Christ's famous prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.

⁶ Josephus' report (B. J. vi. 5, 3) of the voice, just before the taking of the city, from within the temple, "Let us depart hence," is known to all. Let me add a singular Jewish tradition of a similar sign said by the Rabbies to have occurred *forty years before*, or just at the time of the rejection and crucifixion of Christ by their nation. It is given in Kimchi's Comment on Zech. xi. 1—3, "Open thy doors, Lebanon," &c. Says he: "Our Rabbies of blessed memory have interpreted this chapter of the desolation of the second Temple, for Lebanon is the Holy Temple. They say that forty years before the destruction of the Temple, the doors of the sanctuary opened of themselves. Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai reproved them, and said, O sanctuary, sanctuary, how long wilt thou terrify thyself? I know that thy end is to be left desolate; for Zechariah has prophesied against thee long since, Open thy doors, Lebanon." On which pas-

as if to force the attention of the Jews, if so it might be, or, if not, of Christians at least, and perhaps of the heathen world itself, to the coming judgments as from heaven. And just after Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and James too in his Epistle, had uttered their last warning voice in vain,¹ first, the *war*, and then, a year or two after, the *siege* began; and with it those unparalleled horrors that had been foretold by Jesus, when He looked on the city and wept over it. The sad story of the catastrophe was but too fresh in St. John's remembrance: the fulfilment of the predicted horrors too complete and notorious. No *Christian* eye indeed had beheld them in their progress. Warned by their Lord, the Christians had quitted the devoted city when first they saw the vanguard of the Roman army plant its idolatrous ensigns,—the predicted "*abomination that was to make desolate*,"—in the holy precincts of the Holy City.² But many a wretched outcast Jew had since wandered into Asia; a living monument of his country's ruin,³ and bearing, like Cain, God's mark of reprobation on his brow. The learned and noble Jew, (alas, not *Christian* Jew) Flavius Josephus, had recounted in his lately published History all the details of the siege in all their horrors, and Titus himself authenticated the narrative.⁴ Moreover the Christian disciples, alike in Rome and in Judea, spoke of memorials of the catastrophe, now visible in either place, a spectacle for the world:—in the one, the *Arch of Titus*, exhibiting in its nicely chiselled sculptures the captured furniture of the once Holy Place,—the table

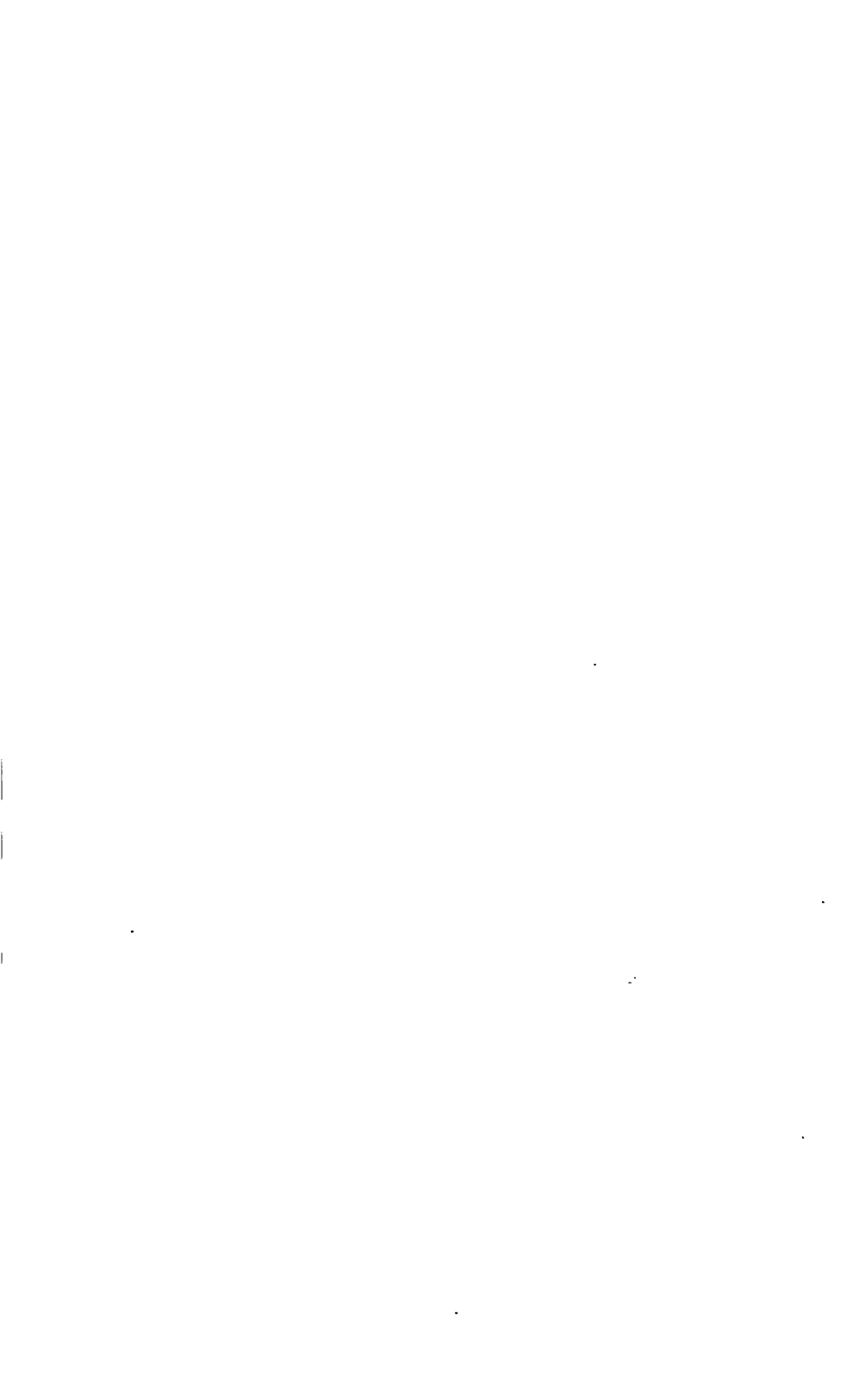
sage see Dr. M'Caul's Note, who says that the tradition is found in the Babylonian Talmud, Treatise Yoma, fol. 39. And compare the fact of the reading of the veil of the temple at that precise time.

¹ The date of each of these Epistles is fixed by Macknight and other commentators at about A.D. 62; only three or four years before the war broke out. Compare the warnings in Heb. x. 37, and James v. 8, on the imminence of the coming destruction of the Jewish polity, if not of the world.

² See Bishop Newton, *ibid*.

³ So the Author of the *Quest. et Respons. ad Orthodox.* appended to Justin Martyr's Works, (Ed. Colon), *Quest.* 108 respecting the *Jews*: *Οἱ δὲ πῶς τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπειθούσας αὐτῶν, τῆς μὲν οὐκείας πατρίδος ἀπελαθόντες εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐλικμύθησαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐθνεσιν εἰς δουλείαν ἐξεδοθήσαν αἰμίον, ὥς τὰ πρᾶγματα στήλης βοᾷ περιφανέστερον.*

⁴ *Χαραῖς τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία*, says Josephus. *Vit.* § 65.



TITUS' MEDAL
ON THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.



for shew-bread, the book of the law, and the seven-branched candlestick; ¹ in the other, the *City itself, desolate and in heaps*; its ruins still stained with blood, and black with fire; and of its Temple especially (just as Jesus had predicted) not one stone left upon another, because the people knew not the time of their visitation.²

Thus Jerusalem was no more; and, as its temple, so the ritual, polity, and dispensation essentially associated with it, overthrown. But meanwhile a better dispensation had been striking its roots far and wide in the world; with a better temple, better worship, better polity, and better hopes and promises attached to it:—its temple the heavenly presence, now opened by the blood of Jesus; ³—its worship a spiritual worship, with Christ Himself the Lamb of God for its high priest and sacrifice;—its polity one constituted by community in a heavenly citizenship; ⁴ the members thereof being God's election of grace, now in process of gathering from out of an apostate world,⁵ and at present scattered, despised, persecuted, but after a little while to be manifested complete in glory, number and union, even at their Lord's coming.—Mighty had been the power of the world, mightier still the malice and the subtlety of Satan, the Prince of this world, to arrest its progress, and stop the promulgation of its doctrine by the Christian disciples. But in vain. In number few,⁶ so as that an upper room might almost contain them, at the time when charged by their risen Lord with the commission

¹ See the engraving in Calmet.—He gives a well-known medal too, struck on the occasion, representing Judah as a woman-captive seated under a palm-tree, and a Roman soldier standing by; with the legend *Judæa capta*. What an illustration to the eye itself of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, "And she being desolate shall sit upon the ground." Isa. iii. 26.

² When the Romans had taken Jerusalem, Titus ordered the soldiers, says Josephus, to dig up the foundation both of the city and of the temple: "τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευαίνων." De B. J. vii. 1. 1.

³ Heb. ix. 24, x. 19, &c.

⁴ Phil. iii. 20: "Our citizenship (πολιτεῖα) is in heaven."—So the beautiful description of Christians in the Epistle to Diognetus, written some eighty or ninety years probably after the Apocalypse, *Ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται*. Lardner, ii. 142.

⁵ *Ἐκκλησία*; lit. an assembly, or gathering, called out of; i. e. out of the world. It is to be regretted that our word *church* should so little convey an idea of the primitive meaning of the original.

⁶ John xx. 19, Acts i. 13.

to go forth and disciple all nations, they had advanced and multiplied into the numbers of a great though scattered people, known through not Judea only, but the whole Roman world.¹ Persecution itself had but strengthened the holy cause. The blood of the martyrs had proved the seed of the Church.—Here too the Lord's prophetic declaration had been advancing towards fulfilment. The kingdom of heaven, He had said, was like a grain of mustard-seed; which, though itself the least of seeds, would become a great tree, such that the fowls of the air might lodge in its branches.²

2. And thus what the *present* state of the Christian cause? Surely scarce a city was there, scarce a town, in the vast Roman Empire, but some little church had been gathered out of it, with its leaven spreading through the villages adjacent, and that would yet more spread. So that when at any time the aged apostle, under permission to emerge to daylight from his subterranean prison, might look round from the rocky summit of Patmos, and follow with his eye in the distant horizon the indented coast of Asia, and then of Thrace and Greece, with its bays, and gulphs, and islands, and far-stretching capes and promontories, it would rest ever and anon on the sites of notable Christian Churches:—first, those of *proconsular Asia*, where Timothy had fallen asleep, and Antipas recently suffered martyrdom,³ and Polycarp still lived a faithful witness for Christ; churches

¹ Compare Christ's predictions, Matt. xxiv. 14, "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations, and then shall the end come," with St. Paul's strong statement, Col. i. 6, 23, that "the gospel had come into all the world, and been preached to every creature under heaven:" which Epistle to the Colossians appears to have been written about four or five years before the Jewish war.—Of course St. Paul's words must be considered the exaggeration of a common colloquism, and to have had reference to the *Roman* world.

It is likely that a larger preaching of the Gospel, even over the *whole habitable world*, was here chiefly intended by Christ; as a sign of the great consummation, and his own second coming, being near at hand. But I conceive there can be little doubt that a subordinate and smaller fulfilment was also intended, on the scale of the *Roman* world; as a sign of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and end of the Jewish dispensation, by his Providential interposition and judgments.

² Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

³ Apoc. ii. 13.

under St. John's own immediate superintendence : then the Macedonian and Greek Churches of *Philippi*, and *Thessalonica*, and *Beræa*, and *Athens*, and *Corinth* :—while yet farther, beyond where the eye might penetrate, he knew that alike in the distant West on the one side, and the South and East on the other, Christian Churches existed there too, instinct with spiritual life, in holy fellowship ; from which the daily incense arose of prayer and praise and adoration to the same Saviour-God and to the Lamb. There was the Church fondly gathered round the ruins of *Jerusalem*, over which the aged Simeon still survived to preside.¹ There was the Church at *Antioch*, with its faithful Bishop Ignatius,² where the disciples had first received the sacred name of Christians. There were the Churches of *Alexandria and Egypt*, founded by the Evangelist Mark,³ of *Cyprus*, where Barnabas had laboured,⁴ and of *Crete*, set in order by Titus.⁵ Yet once more, Westward,—omitting, but not forgetting, the blessed germs of Christianity among the provincials of *Spain*,⁶ and *Gaul*,⁷ and even *Britain*,⁸—there was that numerous and noble Church at *Rome*, where the beloved brothers Paul and Peter, under Nero's earlier persecution, conjointly with many others of the

¹ He is said to have been Bishop of Jerusalem from after the murder of James, A.D. 62 or 63, to 104 or 106 ; (the Christian refugees at Pella having soon after its destruction returned to the vicinity of Jerusalem : at which time he was crucified, on the accusation of certain Gnostics, as a son of David, and so of the Jewish blood royal.

² Bishop of Antioch from A.D. 70 to 107, according to ecclesiastical tradition.

³ He is reported to have died at Alexandria about A.D. 62 ; nearly the same time that St. James was martyred at Jerusalem. So Jerom De V. l. lardner iv. 443.

⁴ Acts xv. 39.

⁵ Titus i. 5.

⁶ Compare Rom. xv. 24, 28. It is quite uncertain however whether St. Paul fulfilled his intention there stated of visiting Spain.

⁷ Mosheim, ii. l. 1. 5, thinks it very possible that the light of Christianity reached Transalpine Gaul before the conclusion of the apostolic age.

⁸ See Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. iii. 5, and Gildæ Epist. apud Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches iii. 3. The notice by Tacitus, ad ann. A.D. 57, (Annal. xiii. 32) of *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of Plautius, just before Governor of Britain, as "externæ superstitionis rea,"—a phrase that can scarcely be understood but as a charge of Christianity against her,—is certainly a remarkable circumstance in reference to the question as to the time when Christianity first entered Britain.

On the whole the slight general notice of Gaul, Spain, and Britain in the text seems quite justifiable : especially as Clement of Rome in his Epistle, § 5, says, that St. Paul had travelled before his death to the farthest bounds of the West.

trary spirit and origin with the pure and holy doctrine of Christ crucified,—this was a weapon of that subtle foe the Prince of this world, the Devil, yet more to be apprehended. Already indeed this corruption had begun to work in individuals and in churches, which yet called themselves after the name of Christ. Those grievous wolves against which the apostle Paul had so solemnly warned the Ephesian elders, when parting from them at Miletus,¹ had already shewn themselves in the professing Church at Ephesus, and Laodicea, and far and wide elsewhere. The lovers of Judaic ritualism and Judaic fables,²—of the figments on heavenly things of human philosophy, and science falsely so called,³—of doctrines of asceticism,⁴ or of the lusts of the flesh,⁵—had each and all every where propagated their tenets, commixedly or separately,⁶ under the Christian name: ⁷ alike superseding Christ's own word, and the apostles', by a human tradi-

¹ Acts xx. 29.

² The first alluded to by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 1, 2, Phil. iii. 2, &c; the second in 1 Tim. i. 4, Titus i. 14, iii. 9, Col. ii. 16, &c.

³ So St. Paul, Col. ii. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil you through *philosophy and vain deceit*;" and 1 Tim. vi. 20, where he speaks of *αυθις της ψευδωνυμου γνωσης*—from their pretensions to which *γνωσις, knowledge* (falsely so called,) the *Gnostics* derived their name. Also Col. ii. 16, "Let no man beguile you in a voluntary humility, and *worshipping of angels*, intruding into those things which he hath not seen," &c.

⁴ So Col. ii. 23, &c.

⁵ So some in the Corinthian Church, spoken of 1 Cor. v. vi; also those of Jude 4; and again the *Nicolaitans* in Proconsular Asia, mentioned Apoc. ii. 6, 15.

⁶ The subject of the heresies that had crept into the Church by the end of the first century is, as Mosheim says, i. 2. 5. 2, one involved in much darkness. But thus much is evident, alike from the inspired epistles and from Irenæus and other early ecclesiastical writers, that *Judaism* and *heathen philosophy* had both a share in their production. And sometimes there was an easy commixture and fusion of the doctrines from one source and the other. For example, the *Judaists*, with their rabbinical traditions about *angels*, (as Tobit, xii. 12, speaks of "the *seven angels* that offer the prayers of the saints,") easily fell in with the *Platonic* doctrine of *demons* and *demon-worship*, as mediators.—Again, in respect of the doctrines of *fasting from animal food*, and *washings and purifications*, they as naturally coalesced with the similar doctrines of the *Pythagorean* philosophy.—*Philo*, the celebrated Alexandrian Jew of this century, affords a notable illustration. (Compare Whitty on Col. ii, Macknight's Preliminary Treatise to the Epistle to the Colossians, and Mosheim i. 2. 5.) And so too the *Gnostics*, under a Christian name.

⁷ So Polycarp, within ten years, or thereabouts, of St. John's seeing the Apocalypse, in Chapters vi, vii of his Epistle: *Απερχομενοι των ψευδαδελφων, και των εν υποκρισει φερωντων το ονομα του Κυριου, οτινες αποσταλινσι κανους ανθρωπων. Πας γαρ δεσ αν μη ομολογη Ιησουν Χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθεναι αντιχριστος εστι και δεσ αν μη ομολογη το μαρτυριον του ταυρου εκ της δεβαλες εστι και δεσ αν μεθοδευσ τα λογια της Κυριας προς τας ιδιαι επιθυμιας, και λεγη μετεωρασιν ειναι, μητεκρισιν, ρυτος πρωτοτοκος εστι της Σατανα.*

tion as the rule of faith; ¹ alike in one way or other superseding Christ himself, in his character of fallen man's only atonement, ² righteousness, prophet, priest, and mediator: thereby teaching apostacy from the Head, ³ and destroying the very essence of the gospel. Indeed they had not only drawn away many insincere professors into error, but partially infected even some of the faithful themselves.—So was the truth of another of the Lord's remarkable parables already illustrated. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept, an enemy sowed tares: and when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also." ⁴—Could things be so, and yet the Apostle not feel anxiety for the Church, as he looked into the uncertainties of the coming future?

3. And this the rather, as he could not forget what had been foreshown respecting this *coming future* to

¹ Irenæus i. i. 6, like Polycarp, speaks of them as "*falsantes verba Domini*," and again, "*Instar Diaboli mendacium abscondunt sub verbis Scripturæ*:" also iii. 2, he tells, in a very remarkable passage, how they made use of *their own tradition*, as authority, when they could not find scripture to pervert to their purpose: "*Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem; (ob quam causam Paulum dixisse, Sapientiam loquar inter perfectos:) et hanc sapientiam unusquisque eorum esse dicit quam à semet ipso adinvenit.*—Cum autem ad eam traditionem quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos, adversantur; tradicentes se, etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse sapientiam."—So Col. ii. 8. 22.

² This vital doctrine of the Christian faith was in a singular manner quite equally set aside by the two great branches of the Gnostic heresy. The one, founded by *Simon Magus* originally, held that our Lord Christ was a *man in appearance* only; a sect called in consequence, *Docetæ*, or *Phantomists*:* and thus made his really atoning death a mere *illusion of the senses* of the bystanders.† The other, that of *Corinthus*, admitting the *humanity* of Jesus Christ, denied his *divinity*; and thus, making his death that of a *mere man*, denied it the virtue whereby it became a full and satisfactory atonement to the Divine Father for the sins of the world.—Moreover the teachers of either class represented themselves as the "great power of God," (Acts viii. 9. 10), &c: and as having in *themselves* those treasures of divine wisdom and knowledge, which, as St. Paul so strongly insists on in his Epistle to the Colossians, resided altogether in the Lord Jesus; hence superseding Christ, and so being, as St. John calls them, and in the proper sense of the word, as will presently appear, *Antichrists*.

³ Col. ii. 19.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 26.

* Ignatius vehemently denounces these heretics in his Epist. ad Smyrnos, § 2; *ὡς ὅτι οἱ τινες λέγουσι, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς πεποιθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν οὐκ ἔσονται, &c.*

† Tertull. adv. Marcion. iii. 6, strongly marks this; saying that if Christ were a phantasm, his was no true atoning death, "and we are therefore yet in our sins."

one and another of the apostles by the Holy Spirit ; and how some grand *apostacy from the faith* was to be expected, ere the second advent of the Lord Jesus. So especially St. Paul had been inspired to write to the Thessalonian Christians ; “ That day of Christ shall not come except there come *the apostacy* first : ” ¹ together with certain memorable words besides, respecting *the chief* of the apostacy ; “ And that *man of sin* be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.” Indeed to himself, St. John, the same issue of events had been revealed ; and he had been directed to remind the Christian Church of this great coming enemy under the very remarkable name of “ the Antichrist.” ² I say a name very notable ! For it was not *pseudo-Christ*, as of those false self-styled Christs, (in professed exclusion and denial of *Jesus Christ*) that the Lord declared would appear in Judæa before the destruction of Jerusalem, ³ and who did in fact appear there and then : ⁴ but was a name of new formation, expressly compounded, it might seem, by the Divine Spirit for the occasion, and as if to express some idea through its etymological force which no older word could so well express, ANTICHRIST ; even as if he would appear someway as a *Vice-Christ*, ⁵ in the mystic Temple,

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3, ἡ ἀποστασία.

² “ Ye have heard that the Antichrist cometh.” 1 John ii. 18. This first Epistle of St. John is thought by many to have been written before his banishment to Patmos, perhaps about A.D. 80 ; by others, as Basnage, as late as A.D. 98, or after the Apocalypse. To myself it seems by no means improbable that this last opinion is correct, as I have already at p. 7 intimated. But the license will readily be allowed me, in the uncertainty of the question, to state the matter as in the text. See Macknight’s Preliminary Essay to St. John’s Epistles.

³ Matt. xxiv. 24, Mark xiii. 22.

⁴ See Josephus, De B. J. or Lardner, or Bishop Newton.

⁵ Ἀντιχριστος. When ἀντι is compounded with a noun signifying an *agent* of any kind, or *functionary*, the compound word either signifies a *vice-functionary*, or a *functionary of the same kind opposing*, or sometimes *both*. The following threefold list of examples will show this.

I.
 Ἀνταδελφος, one in a brother’s stead.
 Ἀντιδικατορος, a servant’s substitute.
 Ἀντιπρεσβευτης, an envoy’s substitute.
 Ἀντιπαμίας, a Roman vice-questor.
 Ἀνθυπατος, a proconsul.
 Ἀντιθεος, one in place of, or like God.

II.
 Ἀνταγωνιστης, an opposing wrestler.
 Ἀντηρετης, an opposing tower.
 Ἀντιπαλαιστης, a counter-wrestler.
 Ἀντισασιωτης, an opposing factionary.
 Ἀντιφυλαξ, a watch posted against another, a hostile sentinel.

or *professing Church*; ¹ and in that character act the Usurper and Adversary against Christ's true Church and Christ himself.—Nor did it fail to strengthen this anticipation, that the Gnostic heresiarchs, and others, did in a subordinate sense act that very part already; by setting Christ *practically* aside, while in mouth confessing Him, and professing themselves *in his place* to be the power, wisdom, and salvation of God.²

But *when, how, and whence*, his manifestation? It was evidently the very same enemy to the Lord Jesus Christ and his saints, that had been long before fore-shown to the prophet Daniel: ³ and very singularly his prophecy seemed to connect this Antichrist with the *Roman Empire*, the last of those four kingdoms that were to hold in succession the supremacy of the world,

Αντιδιδασκαλος, αντιχορηγος, αντιφιλο-
σοφος, &c. a rival teacher, &c.

Αντισυνκλητος, a counter-senate.

Αντιγραφειος, one who keeps a counter-
reckoning, a check clerk.

III.

Αντιστρατηγος, 1. a proprætor, 2. the
enemy's general.

Αντιβασιλευς, 1. a viceroy, 2. a rival
king.—And so, again, Αρτιφραπος.

The following from Dion Cassius, Book liii, respecting Augustus' arrangement of the great Provincial Governors, will well illustrate the *first* of these lists. Τα ονοματα το τε τα στρατηγος και το τε ύπατο εν τη Ιταλιε ετηρηθη: τους δε εξω παρτας, ως και αντ' εκεινων αρχοντας, προσηγορευσεν αντιστρατηγους και ανθυπατους.

In the New Testament the only compounds of the kind are used in the sense of this first class of words; as *αυθυπατος*, *Proconsul*, Acts xiii. 7, 8, 12, xix. 38: and both on that account, and yet more because the old word *pseudo-Christ* would almost have expressed the idea of a *counter-Christ*, I conclude that *this* must be St. John's chief intended sense of *Antichrist*; the further idea however of an antagonist Christ, or rival and usurper of his place in the Church, being also included.—On the word *αντιχριστος*, and also on *αντιθεος*, I shall have to add a further remark or two in my notice of the prophecy respecting Antichrist given in St. John's Epistle, Part iv. Chap. iii. § ii.

I must particularly beg the reader to bear in mind that the word cannot with etymological propriety mean simply a *person opposed to Christ*; but either a *Vice-Christ*, or *Counter-Christ*, or *both*.—The point will recur and be illustrated as we proceed, both from the fathers and from history. It is most important.

¹ Compare the extract from Polycarp in the note ⁷ page 65, just preceding.

² So *Simon Magus*, we read, Acts viii. 9, 10, gave out that "he was the great power of God." And Irenæus says of him, i. 20; "Hic multis quasi Deus glorificatus est, et docuit semet ipsum esse qui inter Judeos quidem quasi Filius apparuerit, &c.;" and again, "Ipsam venisse ut hominibus salutem præstaret per suam agnitionem:" also Jerom on Matt. xxiv, (Tom. iv. i. 114,) "Simon inter cetera in suis voluminibus scripta dimittens, Ego sum sermo Dei, Ego omnipotens. Ego omnia Dei," &c.—Again of the *Carpocratians* Irenæus says, i. 24; "Ad tantum elationis provecti sunt ut quidam se similes esse dicunt Jesu, et secundum aliquid, illo fortiores." And so Epiphanius, i. 30, &c.

³ Dan. vii. 8, 20, and xi. 36.

until the times of the Gentiles were fulfilled; even as if he were to be the head or chief over it, not indeed in its *present*, but in some *subsequent and final form*.¹ With which view well accorded what was added in his prophecy by St. Paul. For he spoke of the seed of the apostacy, which was to bring forth Antichrist, as already sown: ² but that there was *a certain hindrance* first to be removed out of the way,³—a hindrance well understood in the Church to mean *the Roman Empire as at that time constituted*,⁴—ere room could be made for the Antichrist's development.

And when then might the first of these changes occur, and imperial heathen Rome fall to make way for him? Was the awful and increasing moral corruption of the mass of its population,—a corruption which the heathen Juvenal⁵ (even as if in illustration of St. Paul⁶) had just recently been pourtraying in its naked turpitude,—was the alienation of the public mind from its imperial rulers, through disgust at their long and almost uninterrupted career of vice, folly, and cruelty, the subject of Tacitus' dark picturings,⁷—and again were the successes of the Dacian, Parthian, and other barbarians, hovering on the frontiers of the empire, that under Domitian's reign had crossed those frontiers, and boldly attacked and defeated more than once the Roman legions,⁸—were these several signs of the times, internal and external,

¹ This great subject of prophecy will necessarily be again reverted to by me, and claim full discussion in the Commentary ensuing.

² 2 Thess. ii. 7; "The mystery of iniquity doth already work," &c.

³ "Only he that letteth will let until he be taken out of the way: and then shall that wicked One be revealed," &c. Ibid.

⁴ So Tertullian. But I must again refer to the body of my work for the fuller explanation of these points.

⁵ *Juvenal* is said to have died in Trajan's reign: and at the time of the Apocalypse to have been filling a governorship to which he had been appointed by Domitian on the frontiers of Egypt.

⁶ Rom. i. 21—32.

⁷ *Tacitus* too was a cotemporary of the old age of St. John: and, like the latter, died under Trajan.

⁸ *Tacitus* (*Agricola* c. 41) thus briefly sketches the foreign political relations of the empire just before *Agricola's* death, A.D. 93: "Et ea insequuta sunt tempora quæ sileri *Agricolam* non sinerent:—tot exercitus in *Mæsiâ* *Daciâ*que, et *Germaniâ* *Pannoniâ*que, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi; tot milites viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripâ, sed de hibernis et possessione dubitatum."

Suetonius and *Dion Cassius* may be also consulted for the history.

to be regarded as indications that the dissolution of the empire in its present form was near at hand, and so the first great step about to be taken, in the progress of events towards the consummation?—And then as to the *Antichrist* that would follow, how long was to be the time of his triumph? Mystical periods in Daniel were given twice over to measure it: in one place “time, times, and a half time,” or 1260 days;¹ and again in another, yet more particularly, 1260, 1290, and 1335 days;² a period reaching to the time of the enemy’s destruction by some judgment of fire, like that of Sodom,³ and the revelation of the brightness and blessedness of Christ’s coming. But were those days meant as simple days?⁴ Was Antichrist’s reign thus to be very short;

¹ Dan. vii. 25.² Dan. xii. 7, 11, 12.³ Dan. vii. 11, Luke xvii. 29, Jude 7 &c.—Perhaps the very recent and terrible destruction of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii by volcanic fire might occur also to the apostle’s mind, as no inapt illustration, on a small scale, of that later and yet more awful catastrophe.⁴ A curious illustration of the manner in which these mystical periods were thought of about the time of St. John’s being in Patmos, as well by heretical sects that called themselves Christians, as by the faithful Christians themselves, occurs, if I mistake not, in the Apocryphal *Vision of Isaiah*, lately translated from the Æthiopic, and published by Archbishop Lawrence. To which work (chiefly from its speaking of but *one* persecution as then enacted, viz. Nero’s) its translator assigns a date before Domitian’s persecution, and the end of the first century. The writer (a Judaizing Christian Gnostic) thus alludes to the expected coming of Antichrist. “Berial shall descend, the mighty angel, the prince of this world, which he has possessed since its creation: he shall descend from the firmament in the form of a man, an impious monarch, *the murderer of his mother*, in the form of him the *sovereign of the world*:”—thus, according to the well-known expectation of many in the second century (compare Victorinus and the Sybil’s prophecies*) suggesting Nero as him that would revive to act the part of the Antichrist.—The writer adds that he was to have power *three years, seven months, twenty-seven days*. And Archbishop Lawrence explains this of the interval that actually occurred between the time of Nero’s persecution of the Christians, on the conflagration at Rome, and his death. For the latter happened June 9, A.D. 68; and three years, seven months, twenty-seven days, measured back from that epoch, would reach to Oct. 30, A.D. 64, which is *nearly* the time fixed by Mosheim for the commencement of Nero’s persecution.But I would suggest whether, since the period was stated by the writer not as that of a past tyrant’s persecution, but of the duration of an antichristian tyrant yet future, we may not more naturally explain the very singular period, so expressed, by *Daniel’s 1335 days*? For the period resolved into days is as follows:

3 years	=	365	x	3	=	1095 days	} = 1335 days, <i>exactly</i> .
7 first months of the 4th year	=				=	212 days	
Add for leap year	=				=	1 day	
27 days	=				=	27 days	

Indeed I think there can scarcely be a doubt but that this is the true solution.

* See Lardner iii. 167, 173, and the references there given by him.

the apostle himself possibly to live to see its beginning and end ; and so that memorable saying of Christ, " If I will that he tarry till I come," to be fulfilled according to the interpretation which many of the disciples had originally put upon it ? ¹—A clearer light on these grand subjects was needed. And perhaps that light might not unreasonably be expected. For the Lord had promised just before his death, that he would by his Spirit fore-show to the disciples things to come ; ² and the promise had scarcely as yet received its due fulfilment.

I think we can hardly err in supposing that thoughts like these were much in the mind of the beloved disciple, during his time of exile and penal suffering in Patmos ; and that they must have often broken out into fervent prayers. If so, just as in the case of the Prophet Daniel,³ the visions of the Apocalypse may be considered as an answer to them. It was one Lord's day during his sojourn there, (perhaps the *Easter-Sunday*,⁴) before sunrise,—conformably with the season and hour of Christ's resurrection from the dead, just sixty-three years previous,—that a voice was heard behind him which told that the revelation was to be given. " I was in the Spirit," he tells us, " on the Lord's day ; " that is, rapt in extacy from the earthly scene before him : " and I heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last." It was the Lord himself that spoke. The sound of the voice, locally *behind* him, might be meant to imply, according to the mode of interpretation then prevalent,

¹ John xxi. 23 ; " Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that this disciple should not die," &c.—Compare too Matt. xvi. 28 ; " There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."—Another and quite different explanation of either passage may of course be given.

² John xvi. 13.

³ Dan. x. 12.

⁴ So Daubuz, p. 82 ; referring to two passages of Tertullian in which the Easter Sunday seems called *Dominicus dies* *nar' efoxyv*. The Easter day indeed was always kept by St. John on the 14th day of the lunar month, whatever the day of the week. So Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, H. E. v. 24, informs us. For he says that Polycarp could not be persuaded by Anicetus, the Roman Bishop, not to keep it on that day, when not Sunday, " because he had always so kept it with *John the disciple of the Lord*, and other of the apostles." In my text, however, I suppose the then 14th of the moon to have been Sunday.

that the visions about to be shown would have reference to events *yet future and behind* in the course of time :¹ and the Lord's own injunction, "Write the things which are, and *the things which are to happen after them*," expressly declared that such would be in part their character. The hero of the revelation was anticipatively hinted in the words, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the LORD, and the first and the last." Yet once more, the command to send what was written to the seven churches of Asia, showed that the revelation was not intended for the Evangelist himself alone, but for the Church at large : and the declaration added, "Blessed is he that heareth, and he that readeth the words of this prophecy," was alike an injunction and an encouragement from the Divine Spirit to all members of the Church to peruse and study it.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRIMARY APOCALYPTIC VISION, ON "THE THINGS THAT ARE."

It is not my purpose to enter at all fully into the particulars of this primary vision, and of the Epistles therein dictated by the Lord Jesus to the seven Churches of Asia. The subject is one rather for the minister, or the theologian, than the prophetic expositor ; and of matter sufficient in itself to constitute a volume.² I shall only notice in it a few points respecting the *symbolic scene* now apparent in vision,—*the state of the seven Churches severally depicted*,—and *the rewards promised to the faithful in them*,—such as have a bearing on the *visions of the future* subsequently revealed, my more proper subject.

1. *The symbolic scene.*³—And this appears to have

¹ So Daubuz, p. 83 ; who cites from Suetonius the example of Domitian's dream of a golden neck growing out from his own neck *behind*, as the emblem of a *future* race of emperors, who would introduce a golden age. Compare Homer's *ἀνα σπορῶν καὶ οὐροῶν*, said, as the Scholiast explains it, of things present and *future*.

² It constitutes the subject of three out of the four Volumes of Irving's Lectures on the Revelation.

³ Apoc. i. 1. "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to

been a chamber like that of the Holy Place of the Jewish Temple: with not indeed a seven-branched lamp-sconce, but seven separate lamps lighted and burning in it;¹ and Christ walking among and overseeing them, habited as the ancient High Priest; though with the glory of divinity attached to his human priestly semblance.²—Of these seven lamps an explanation was given by Christ himself: they were *the seven Churches* of Proconsular

shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John: 2. Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw. 3. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

4. John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace be unto you, and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne; 5. And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, 6. And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen! 7. Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so, Amen! 8. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

9. I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. 10. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day; and I heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, 11. Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and what thou seest write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. 12. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; 13. And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. 14. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire; 15. And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters. 16. And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. 17. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last: 18. I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death. 19. Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter; 20. The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.

¹ It would seem from the scriptural account, that the seven branches of the Jewish Temple lamp-sconces were removable from the central chandelier: perhaps to typify how under a future dispensation (viz. the Gentile) the Church would lose the form of visible unity that it had possessed under the Jewish, and be scattered in its different branches over the world.

² Apoc. i. 14, &c. Compare Dan. x. 5, &c.

Asia. In which expression the definite article used implied their being either the *only* churches, or the *chief* churches, then existing in the province: an intimation which, with regard both to the omission of St. Paul's famous early churches of Colossæ and Hierapolis,¹ and the specification of their neighbouring church of Laodicea, has been well illustrated from the record of certain physical changes made by an earthquake in the district, just a year or two only after the date of that Apostle's Letters to the Colossian Church and to Philemon.²

Now the *temple scenery* thus presented to view, with Christ's own authoritatively attached explanation of its most notable article of furniture, was precisely that which might best prepare the Evangelist for the similar application to the *Christian Church* of similar symbols, borrowed from the old *Jewish* tabernacle or temple, should they appear, (as in fact they did appear,) in the visions of the *future*:³ a principle of exposition confirmed by the evident use of the word "*Jews*," in one of the Epistles following, in the sense of *Christians*.⁴—In the

¹ That churches were founded at the time of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians in the two neighbouring towns of *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*, appears from Col. iv. 13; "I bear him" (Epaphras) "record, that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in *Laodicea*, and them in *Hierapolis*."

Of these two towns, *Laodicea* was situated some ten or twelve miles north of *Colossæ*, *Hierapolis* the same distance north of *Laodicea*. There seems every probability in favour of Theodoret's and Lardner's opinion, that St. Paul himself, while preaching in Phrygia, founded these churches. See Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23.

² It has been already mentioned (see p. 49 *supra*) that in the time of Nero, the three cities *Laodicea*, *Hierapolis*, and *Colossæ*, were destroyed by an earthquake; also that *Laodicea* was very soon afterwards rebuilt. On the other hand the earliest historical information that we have respecting the restoration of the Church at *Hierapolis*, is that which arises out of the fact of Papias having been its bishop in Trajan's reign, i. e. somewhere between 98 and 117. And as to *Colossæ*, it would seem from the silence of Ptolemy in the second century, and Chrysostom's way of speaking of it in the fourth, that the city and church had not even then been restored. Mr. J. C. Knight, in the publication before alluded to, founds on this undesigned agreement of historical fact with Apocalyptic representation, a secondary argument for the truth and genuineness of the Apocalypse.

³ E. g. viii. 3, xi. 2, &c.

⁴ "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan;" Apoc. ii. 9: and again; "I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are *Jews*, and are not, but do lie, to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee." Apoc. iii. 9. On the former Vitringa writes; "Nomen *Iudeus mysticè* accipiendum est. Erant inter ipsos Christianos qui se appellari et denominari cupiebant *Judeos*, hoc est

same way the emblem here seen, of the *seven stars* that Christ held in his hand,¹ coupled with his explanation of them as meaning *the seven angels*, or *rulers and presiding ministers of the churches*, would prepare St. John to interpret the symbol of *stars* (should they occur in the subsequent visions), of *ecclesiastical rulers*, where ecclesiastical things were concerned—as also of *secular rulers*, I may add, where the subject was of secular things.²—It was observable, that this Holy Place and its candlesticks seemed to represent the state of the churches, not as seen by the eye of man, but by the eyes of Him that seeth in secret; just as the *Holy Place* of the Jewish Temple was only accessible to the priest, while the *altar-court* was the scene of what was *publicly visible* in the worship.³ This was a fact also to be remembered for application afterwards.—Nor was it of unimportant use to note the representation of *Jesus Christ* here given, as the *Priest* of the churches, and the designation of their ecclesiastical presidents or *bishops* simply as *angels*, a term borrowed not from the Temple, but the *Synagogue*:⁴ in token, thus early, that the offices of the Levitical

veritatis purioris confessores." It seems clear to me that there could have been little trial to the Christians from *actual Jews*, at the time of the Apocalyptic visions, when Jerusalem was fallen and its nation outcast; moreover when *actual professing Jews* were by the Christian body universally held in abhorrence. Hence my persuasion that *false professing Christians* were here meant. Nor does difficulty on this head arise from the word *συναγωγή*, synagogue. It is a word used of Christian assemblies by James ii. 2: and even were it only an appellation of *Jewish* assemblies for worship, its symbolic use to signify *Christian Church* assemblies would be only in keeping with the symbolic use in a Christian sense both of the word *Jews*, and of the scenic *Holy Place* of the Jewish Sanctuary.—Compare Gal. iv. 26, vi. 16.

¹ E. g. Apoc. xii. 1, "A woman having on her head a crown of *twelve stars*;" and xii. 4, "And his tail (the Dragon's) drew the third part of the *stars* of heaven, and did cast them to the earth."

² E. g. Apoc. vi. 13, "And the *stars* of heaven fell unto the earth."

³ Compare my observations on the Apocalyptic scenery in Ch. iv. *infra*, and also those on the Temple-scene described Apoc. vi. 9.

⁴ "Dictio Græca ἄγγελοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας respondet Hebrææ שְׁלִיחַ צְבָר, *legatus*, sive *delegatus ecclesie*. Dicebantur autem *Legati ecclesie* in Synagoga exercitati quidam doctique viri, et in his præcipue doctores qui solenniter *delegabantur* ad preces pro cœtu publico fundendas, sive in ordinariis sive in extraordinariis casibus: ut adeo per angelos ecclesie hic intelligi debeant Præpositi ecclesie Christiane, quorum erat preces publice ad Deum in ecclesia mittere, sacra curare, et verba facere ad populum.—Et cum precandi et docendi officium in ecclesia præcipue incubuerit τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Primo Presbyterorum, quem ætas recentior *Episcopum* vocavit, facile patior *Præsides* Presbyterorum ecclesie Christiane hic potissimum à Domino notari." Vitringa ad loc.

priests were to be regarded as fulfilled by CHRIST;¹ and that the functions of the Christian bishop, or minister in the Church, were those of leading the devotions, and directing and animating the faith of the flock; not functions sacrificial or mediatorial, as with the Levitical priests of old.²—To all which let me add the view presented (Apoc. ii. 10) of *the Devil* as the real though unseen actor on the different and hostile scene of *this world*;—the secret indwelling instigator of the persecuting emperors and people of heathen Rome. It would fitly prepare the evangelist for any symbolic picture, or any explanatory comment, in the subsequent visions of the future, embodying or hinting the same great truth.³

2. With regard to *the seven moral sketches of the seven Asiatic churches*,⁴ the question arises whether these had a *prophetic* application, besides and beyond their primary

¹ Compare Heb. x. 21; "Having an high priest over the house of God;" and iii. 6; "Whose house are we," &c.

² The *theological* importance of the point (which will begin strikingly to appear in the history of the Church, when we come to the Sealing Vision, Apoc. vii.) has induced me to quote the above from Vitringa at length. Daubuz (on Apoc. ii. 1) vainly attempts to gainsay Vitringa's view, and to give a *Levitical* character to the Christian ministry, on the strength of his own interpretation of the twenty-four elders in Apoc. iv, as signifying the same. For it will appear, I trust, in the Exposition ensuing, that the twenty-four elders meant no such thing.—The *chronological* argument based on the use of the word *angel* has been already noted and discussed. See p. 48, Note ², *suprà*.

³ Compare Apoc. xii. 9.

⁴ Apoc. ii. 1. "Unto the angel of the Church of *Ephesus* write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks; 2. I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars: 3. And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted. 4. Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. 5. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. 6. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate. 7. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8. And unto the angel of the church in *Smyrna* write; These things saith the First and the Last, which was dead, and is alive; I know thy works, and tribulation and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. 10. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life. 11. He that hath an

and literal application to those Asiatic Churches then existing, and signified further *seven several phases* that

ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

12. And to the angel of the church in *Pergamos* write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges; 13. I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is; and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth. 14. But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. 15. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate. 16. Repent: or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth. 17. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna; and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.

18. And unto the angel of the church in *Thyatira* write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass; 19. I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. 20. Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. 21. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not. 22. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. 23. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. 24. But unto you I say, and unto the rest in *Thyatira*, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden. 25. But that which ye have already, hold fast till I come. 26. And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: 27. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father. 28. And I will give him the morning-star. 29. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

iii. 1. And unto the angel of the church in *Sardis* write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. 2. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. 3. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. 4. Thou hast a few names even in *Sardis* which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. 5. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels. 6. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7. And to the angel of the church in *Philadelphia* write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth: 8. I know thy works; behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. 9. Behold I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before

the Church Catholic would present to the all-seeing eye *in its progress through coming ages*, down to the consummation. Such has been the view taken by not a few commentators; and illustrated at large in a former age by Vitringa, in the present by Mr. Girdlestone. I subjoin a chronological diagram of their respective schemes, for the reader's information.* To myself the view seems quite untenable. For not a word is said by Christ to indicate any such prospective meaning in the descrip-

thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. 10. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. 11. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. 12. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name. 13. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

* Vitringa's and Girdlestone's Schemes of the Epistles to the Seven churches, as prefigurative.

Ephesus.	V.	From John to the Decian Persecution, A.D. 250.
	G.	Do.
Smyrna.	V.	From the Decian to the Diocletian Persecution, A.D. 311.
	G.	Do.
Pergamos.	V.	From the end of the Diocletian persecution to A.D. 800.
	G.	From Constantine to Luther's Reformation, A.D. 1500.
Thyatira.	V.	From 800 to A.D. 1200, and the rise of the Waldenses.
	G.	From Luther to the Persecutions of Protestants on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, A.D. 1685.
Sardis.	V.	From A.D. 1200 to 1500 and the Reformation.
	G.	From the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the formation of the Bible Society, 1804.
Philadelphia.	V.	The earlier times of the Reformation, in its political weakness.
	G.	Bible and Missionary Societies' Æra.
Laodicea.	V.	The lukewarm state of the Protestant Church following its establishment, to 1700, &c.
	G.	Lukewarmness before the Millennium.

tions. On the contrary, in the two-fold division of the Revelations given to St. John, a division noted by Christ himself,—"*the things that are,*" and "*the things that are to happen after them,*"¹—it seems to me clear that the Epistles to the seven Churches were meant to constitute the first division, being a description of the state of things in the Church *as they then were*; and that the visions that followed,—visions separated with the utmost precision from the former, alike by a new summons of the trumpet-voice, and a scene and scenic accompaniments altogether new also,—constituted (alone and distinctively) the visions of the *future*. Indeed, the summons itself expressly so defined it; "Come up, and I will (now) shew thee *the things which must happen hereafter.*"²—With this simple, striking, and strongly-marked division made by the Divine Revealer, the hypothesis of the seven Epistles depicting seven successive phases of the Christian Church appears to me an interference altogether rude and unwarranted. Besides that it were easy to show how ill the states of these seven Asiatic Churches, here described in *local* order,³—I say how ill these severally depicted ecclesiastical sketches answer to any seven chronologically successive phases of the professing Church, or Christendom, that human

14. And unto the angel of the church of the *Laodiceans* write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; 15. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. 16. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. 17. Because thou sayest I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: 18. I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see. 19. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous, therefore, and repent. 20. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me. 21. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne; even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne. 22. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

¹ Apoc. i. 19; *καὶ ἃ εἰσι, καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.*

² Apoc. iv. 1; *ἃ δεῖ γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.*

³ That is, in the order of a circuit such as we may suppose St. John to have travelled in his visitation of them.

wit and research can ever frame out of its actual history.¹

Not but that we may admit of an *universality of application* attaching to the moral pictures here set before us. Such is the case with all the historical and biographical sketches in holy scripture: especially, for example, with the pictures from time to time presented of the moral and religious state of the Jewish people, in the course of their long history. The character which belongs to all holy Scripture, of being profitable always and to all, applies of course to this section of it, as much as to the rest. And, thus considered, where is the Church, where the individual Christian, that may not have made profitable use and self-application of all the several addresses, at one time or another: with their words of searching and inquiry, of warning and comfort, of reproof and expostulation, of sympathy,—exquisite sympathy and compassion,—not for the faithful martyr only, but even for the lukewarm and fallen. The words, “He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches,” are, as Ambrose Ansbert has observed, a direct intimation that this universality of application was intended in them. And, doubtless, he whosoever has seriously and with prayerful mind perused them, has in his own heart experienced the truth of the declaration, “Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.”—But this is very different from the view combated.

I must not omit to add further that these descriptive sketches of the seven Asiatic Churches seem to have been intended by its great Head as representative specimens, if I may so say, of the then chequered state and character of the Church in general.² And in the admix-

¹ It may suffice on this point to refer to my examination of the *Church-scheme of the Seals*, which will be found in the Appendix to the fourth Volume. The reader will easily apply the reasoning there drawn out: and make for himself the necessary *mutata mutanda* in its transference to the argument in the Text.

² So Augustine, Ep. xlix. 2; “Johannes scribit ad septem ecclesias quas commemorat in illis partibus constitutas: in quibus etiam *universam ecclesiam* septenario numero intelligimus commendari.” So too in his C. D. xvii. 4. 4.

ture which they unfold of evil intermixed with the good, error with truth, vice with holiness, there is very strikingly set forth to us Christ's own view of the energizing, even thus early, within its bosom, of the Spirit of the Wicked one, the inrooting of the tares sown by him among the wheat, and budding of that germ of evil which, as St. Paul had foreshown, was not to cease its working till it expanded into the grand Apostacy.

3. With regard to the *promises* made to conquerors in all these various churches, it can scarce fail to strike even a superficial reader, that there is a correspondence very marked between *them*, and the blessings described as the privilege of the saints in the Millenary State, or the New Jerusalem. Thus to the faithful ones that overcame in the *Ephesian Church*, it was promised, "To him that overcometh will I give to *eat of the tree of life* which is in the midst of the paradise of God : " ¹ while in the description of the New Jerusalem it is said, "On either side of the river was the *tree of life*. . . Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the *tree of life* : " Apoc. xxii. 2, 14.—To the conquerors of the Church of *Smyrna* it was promised, "He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the *second death* : " ²—a promise answering to that which we read of those that partook of the first resurrection at the opening of the Millennium, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection ; for on them the *second death* hath no power ; " Apoc. xx. 6 : as also of those who, on the judgment of the *great white throne* proceeding, were found to have their names written in the Book of Life ; Apoc. xx. 12, 14, 15.—The same is the correspondence between the promise to the *Laodiceans*, "To him that overcometh I will give to *sit with me on my throne*," ³ and the millenary privilege of *reigning with Christ* the thousand years, and for ever ; Apoc. xx. 4, xxii. 5.—The considerate reader will easily see

¹ Apoc. ii. 7.² Apoc. ii. 11.³ Apoc. iii. 21.

what important questions are connected with this comparison. On the discussion of the millenary question, at the conclusion of this work, it will be desirable to revert to it.

But it is time to leave this preliminary vision, and proceed to the second and grand division of the Apocalyptic revelations.

CHAPTER III.

THE OPENING VISION OF THE HEAVENLY THRONE AND COMPANY, PREPARATORY TO THE REVELATIONS OF THE FUTURE.

IN the two preceding chapters of the Apocalypse, "the things *that were*,"—the state of the church then existing—had been described to the Evangelist. Then the voice ceased of Him that had been communing with him; and the scene passed from his view of the seven lamps and the heavenly High Priest that walked among them. It remained that the promised revelation should be made of things *future*,—*ἃ μελλοῦ γινεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα*,¹—the things which were to follow on the state then present of the church and of the world.

And for this, another and higher scene was deemed suitable. The revelations to be made him were to be communicated to beings of a higher order also; that so "unto principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known, through (this prefigured history of) the church, the manifold wisdom of God."² So a door appeared open in heaven; and the voice which had before addressed him was heard again speaking, "Come up, and I will shew thee what must happen hereafter." Then again he was in the spirit: and he

¹ Apoc. i. 19.

² Eph. iii. 10.

seemed to enter at the door: and a vision of heavenly glory, and a scene as of a new world, burst upon his view.

The vision is thus described to us. "Behold a throne was set, and One sat on the throne. And He that sat was, to look upon, like a jasper and sardine stone. And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne were four and twenty thrones: and upon the thrones I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunders, and voices. And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God. And before the throne there was a glassy sea, like unto crystal. And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion, and the second like a calf, and the third had a face as a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings about him. And they were full of eyes within. And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those living creatures give glory, and honour, and thanks, to Him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before Him that sat on the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."¹

Thus the vision, like those of Isaiah and of Ezekiel,² exhibited, as its first and grand object, Jehovah, King

¹ I have deviated from the authorized version in the above, in translating *θρόνοι*, *thrones*, instead of *seats*;—*βαλυστή*, *glassy*, instead of *glass*;—and *ζωα*, *living creatures*, instead of *beasts*.

² Is. vi. 1. Ezek. i. 4.

of saints, seated as Lord of all on the throne of the universe. It would seem that a *cloud* accompanied this revelation of God, just as in the Shekinah and other manifestations of the Divine presence;¹—the throne of glory rising (we may conceive) out of it, and the thunderings and lightnings, here and elsewhere spoken of in the Apocalypse, proceeding therefrom. Consistently with which that *glassy sea*, (as it were,²) *like crystal*, spread before the throne, (the space before, or in front of the throne, being the only part unoccupied, and therefore visible³) may be explained, from other parallel Scriptures, as the sea of blue transparent ether in which the cloud floated. For a basement just similar is described as attached to the throne, both in the vision of Ezekiel, and in that seen by the Israelitish elders at Sinai. "There was the likeness," says Ezekiel,⁴ "of a firmament; and it was as the colour of the terrible (*or admirable*) crystal;⁵ and above the firmament was the likeness of a throne." And Moses,⁶ "There was under Jehovah's feet as it were a pavement of sapphire, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness:"—the heavenly firmament reflecting the glow of the sapphire throne immediately beneath it, but melting beyond into its clear and proper blue.⁷—Above was the *Form*

¹ So in the way from Egypt to Sinai, Exod. xiv. 24, xvi. 10:—at Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 16, 18;—in the tabernacle, Levit. xvi. 2;—in Solomon's temple, 2 Chron. v. 13, 14;—in Isaiah's vision, Isa. vi. 4;—in Ezekiel's, Ezek. i. 4: x. 3, &c. See also Psalm xviii. 12, &c.

In the book of Sirach, xxiv. 4, the throne is spoken of as in the pillar of the cloud; ὁ θρόνος μου ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης.

² ὡς θάλασσα θαλάττης Scholz. In which mark the ὡς.

³ Because the thrones of the elders, on either side of the divine throne, would there apparently hide the basement from view.

⁴ Ezek. i. 22—26.

⁵ A Note in the Pictorial Bible on this passage in Ezekiel, says that "the term חֲזָקִים כְּהַרְרֵי דָמָא, rendered *terrible crystal*, seems to have been a term of pre-eminence for the *diamond*; which is indeed an admirable crystal for its brilliancy and hardness."

⁶ Exod. xxiv. 9, 10.—In the Septuagint translation of Ezekiel, the word for firmament is στερεώματα; answering nearly, as does also the word *firmament*, to this "pavement," or "paved work," seen in the vision given to the Israelitish elders.

⁷ So Milton, P. L. vi. 757, after notice of the four Cherubim, as supporters of the chariot of God.

of glory: "Thou hast set thy glory above the heavens." And, resembling as it did in colour the red jasper or sardine, there must doubtless have been something in the appearance very awful, as well as glorious. Nor without meaning. For, indeed, even under the Christian dispensation, "our God is (in his holiness) as a consuming fire." But there appeared round about the throne, as if to re-assure the Evangelist, a *rainbow* in which the soft green was predominant,—“in sight like unto an emerald,”—the well-known and lovely memorial of the covenant of grace.¹ And I think, too, the appearance of the *seven lamps* burning before the throne must have added encouragement. For, placed as they were before the Shekinah, it would be natural to identify them with the seven flames of the seven lamp-sconces of the sanctuary. And whereas these lamp-sconces had been declared² the type of living churches, living be-

Over their heads a chrystal firmament,
Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the showery arch.

The epithet *δαλινη*, applied to the firmamental expanse, like the English *glassy*, or Latin *vitreus*, is a word simply expressive, I conceive, of clearness and transparency; thus answering to the “body of heaven in its clearness,” in the passage from Exodus. Compare Job xxxvii. 18; “Thou hast spread out the sky as a molten looking-glass.”—To which, in illustration of the application of the word *sea* as a simile to the *sky*, let me add from Cowper’s Task, Book V, “Ye shining hosts, That navigate a *sea* that knows no storms,” &c. Indeed the *liquid ether* is, I need hardly observe, a common figure in various languages.—Further the Psalmist’s statement, “He layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters,” may be also fitly compared: the waters there spoken of being interpreted by commentators to mean the *firmamental waters*.

The explanation of the *glassy sea* above given is the same as *Vitrinæ*: and he refers, in support of it, as I do, to the parallel visions in Exodus and Ezekiel. Many other commentators have explained it to signify the *brazen laver*, or *sea*, in the Jewish temple. But, first, the Evangelist is here describing what was in the inner sanctuary, not what was in the court without it. Secondly, it seems difficult to explain why, if the laver were meant, it should be represented as of glass, and not brazen.—I may add that there appears no allusion whatever to a *laver*, such as was in the ancient Jewish temple, in any of the apocalyptic visions. As regards the *sea* described in chapter xv. 2, there can be little doubt of its having no such meaning. Nor indeed can this latter be identified with the *glassy sea* here spoken of. For, as will be then again observed, both the article *the* is there wanting; (it being, “I saw a sea of glass,” not “*the* sea,” which it ought to have been, had a sea been intended spoken of before;) and further, it is described as *mixed with fire*; of which, as regards the *sea* here spoken of, there is not the slightest intimation.

¹ Compare Gen. ix. 12—17, and Isa. liv. 9, 10.

² Apoc. i. 20, Phil. ii. 15.—The word generally used for the temple candle.

lievers,—the seven flaming lamps were here interpreted to him as symbolizing the seven Spirits of God; i. e. as he elsewhere explains the phrase to us, the Holy Spirit, the third person of the blessed Trinity.¹ So that the symbol might seem to represent the two,—the Church and the Spirit,—as in God's eye associated together: and not only to indicate that the holy life, affections, and aspirations of his people were ever before the Lord, but, also, that in them was recognized by Him the presence and the influence of His own Holy Spirit. And this indeed is precisely consonant with what we are told elsewhere. "He that searcheth the hearts," it is said, "knoweth, (in the aspirations thence arising) what is the mind of the Spirit." For it is He that maketh intercession both *in* and *for* the saints; and, as the Spirit of grace and of supplication, dwelleth, and acteth in them.²

But what the meaning of the *twenty-four elders* seated round the throne of the Deity? And what of the *four living creatures*³ yet more nearly surrounding it?

We may be thankful that what is most essential to be known respecting these emblematic beings, in order to our right understanding of the Apocalypse, is expressly revealed to us. Whatever their distinctive characters respectively, both the one and the other were

stick, or rather lamp-sconce, is *λυχνία*, for the lights thereof *λυχναι*. But *λαμπαδες* and *λυχναι* may be regarded as nearly synonymous.

¹ This seems the necessary inference from the association of these seven Spirits with the Father and the Son in chap. i. 4; "John to the seven churches which are in Asia, Grace be unto you, and peace, from Him who is, and who was, and who is to come, and from the seven spirits which are before the throne, and from Jesus Christ," &c.—But for this we might have explained the *seven lamps before the throne* of seven angelic spirits; agreeably with the word *seraphim*, burning ones, and the figurative description in Heb. i. 7, "He maketh his angels a flame of fire."

² Romans viii. 26, 27. See also Matt. x. 20; John xiv. 17, &c.—The numeral of the symbol here used, and derived, as I presume, from the seven lamp-sconces, to designate the *usual* influences of the Holy Spirit in the universal church, may be illustrated by considering how obvious a symbol *twelve tongues of fire* were to designate his *miraculous* communication to the twelve Apostles of the gift of tongues. See Acts ii. 3.

³ *Zoa*. The word is one used by Clemens Alexandrinus in his *Pædag.* i. 8, of *man*. He calls him *καλλιστον και φιλοθεον ζων*.

unquestionably *representatives of the redeemed* from among the children of men. For this was the song of thanksgiving to the Lamb in which they were heard uniting in common chorus soon afterwards, "Thou hast redeemed us unto God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and nation."¹

Moreover, as regards the *elders*, thus much was also evident, that they represented the redeemed saints in the character of a *royal priesthood*. For in their case, the intent of the emblematic insignia,—I mean of the thrones on which they sate, the crowns on their heads, their white robes, and perhaps of what is after mentioned, their incense vials, and their harps,²—was almost interpreted by the song itself, "Thou hast made us unto God *kings and priests*;"³ and well accords moreover with what St. Peter calls the saints, βασιλειον ιερατευμα, a *royal priesthood*.⁴—Again, as to their number 24, it might be explained either, as some expositors suggest, by reference to the twelve patriarchs, the heads of the Old Testament church, and the twelve apostles of the New; or, as others, by reference to the heads of the twenty-four courses of the Jewish priesthood, the fit representatives of the whole priestly body.⁵

But of the *four living creatures* the explanation is more difficult; and very careful consideration is needed to solve the question at all satisfactorily.

The first step to a right understanding of the point in

¹ Dean Woodhouse explains the Apocalyptic living creatures as *angels*; observing that no objection has been made to this explanation, but their joining in the song, "Thou hast redeemed us by thy blood." We might have thought that that one objection would have sufficed to convince him of its untenableness.

Ignatius seems to have had an opinion, and Jerome joins him in it, that the death of Christ was influential in the salvation of angels. See Ignatius's Epist. to Smyrna, ch. 6, and Jerome on the Ep. to Eph. Lib. ii. So that *they* might consistently have entertained the interpretation. But the Dean evidently had no such opinion; and it is indeed altogether without warrant of scripture.—Besides which the living creatures speak of being redeemed *out of every nation and tongue*.

² Αποκ. v. 8; εχοντες φιαλας χρυσας γεμιστας θυμαματων, αι εισιν αι προσευχαι των αγιων. The αι takes its gender from the substantive following, not that preceding; a construction not infrequent. So Mark xii. 42, λευτα δυο δ εστι κοδρανται; also Gal. iii. 16, Eph. i. 14, &c.

³ Ib. verse 10.

⁴ 1 Peter ii. 5. 9. ⁵ See 1 Chron. xxiv. 4—18, 2 Chron. xix. 8, xxxv. 8.

question is obviously a reference to the very parallel vision in Ezekiel.¹ In that, too, Jehovah appeared enthroned in a fiery cloud, not at rest, however, as here, but *chariot-like* in motion : and with *four living creatures* as supporters of the throne, or chariot, which in almost every point resembled the four in the Apocalyptic vision. Their faces were similarly like those of a lion, an ox, a man, an eagle ; they were similarly winged, and similarly full of eyes in their whole body : moreover, emerging, as they were first seen, “out of the midst” of the cloud of enthronization, they might similarly be said to have been *within* the throne, as well as round about it.² Now of these we are expressly told by Ezekiel (x. 20.) that “he knew them to be *the Cherubim*.” To understand his meaning of which word, and the class of beings intended, we must refer to the earlier notices of Cherubim in Scripture. And first there is that memorable record of them in the book of Genesis ; wherein they are described as having been placed by God at the east end of the garden of Eden ; and, with flaming swords that turned every way, keeping the way of the tree of life.³ In which passage the meaning of the word seems unequivocal. They were evidently *angelic beings*.—The next notice that occurs of Cherubim is in the sanctuary figurings ;⁴ which, being figurings ordered by God Himself, were necessarily a true expression of the heavenly realities. In these the same angelic order seemed still intended. And I cannot but just pause to remark, that whereas the first recorded employment of Cherubim was, as we have seen, the expulsion of guilty man from paradise, and guarding against his return to the source of life, the next was that, as *here* represented, of bending in admiration over the mercy-seat, whereby man had a way of access to the source of life again opened to him ;—“which things,” says St. Peter, in evident allusion to the cherubs in the sanctuary, “the angels desire, bending

¹ Ezek. i. and x.

² Gen. iii. 24.

³ Ibid. i. 10, 5 ; x. 12.

⁴ Exod. xxv. 18—20.

over, to look into.”¹ In Ezekiel’s own vision there is yet another evidence of the angelic nature of the Cherubim. For they are symbolized as *burning lamps of fire*; a symbol the same as that applied by St. Paul to angels; “Of the angels He saith, He maketh his angels spirits, his ministers *a flame of fire* ;”² and which serves also, I may add, to identify them with the *Seraphim*, or *burning ones*, seen beside the throne by Isaiah.³

Thus the nature of the four ζῶα of *Ezekiel* was evidently angelical. And what their then employments and functions? They were represented to the prophet as supporting the throne of Jehovah, attending His presence, like as the chief ministers of state might attend that of an eastern monarch, carrying out their glances of intuition on every side into the dominions of their Lord, listening reverentially for his commands, and going and returning on them like a flash of lightning: in short, as the angelical intelligences admitted nearest to his own presence and counsels, and most confidentially employed by Him in His present providential government of the world.—The wheels of the throne that they supported intersected each other like the great circles of a mundane sphere. These they appeared to direct, animate, and move. For “the spirit of the four living creatures was in the wheels: whithersoever the Spirit was to go, they went.”⁴ As to the intent of the mysterious faces assigned them, of a lion, an ox, a man, an eagle, respectively, though all with human hands, and likeness,⁵ we

¹ 1 Peter i. 12, εἰς ἀντιθυμῶσαι ἀγγέλων παρακλῆται. The same word is used in Luke, ch. xxiv. 12, of Peter stooping over to look into the sepulchre; παρακλῆται βλέπειν τὰ ὀστέα.—On the posture of the cherubim over the ark, see Exod. xxv. 20.

² Heb. i. 7.

³ Isa. vi. 2, 3. Their place, (the reader must observe) was *beside* the throne, not *above* it, so as our translation renders the Hebrew word. See Lowth ad loc.

⁴ “The appearance of the *wheels* was like unto the colour of a beryl (sky-blue mixed with green;—Lowth): and their appearance and their work was, as it were, a wheel in the middle of a wheel; . . . and their rings were full of eyes; . . . and when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them. . . . Whithersoever the Spirit was to go, they went; . . . for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels.” Ezek. i. 16, &c.

⁵ Ezek. i. 5, 8.

can but conjecture. Royal thrones were framed sometimes with *material* supporters of these animal forms : ¹ and possibly there might be a certain reference to this custom in the figuration. Whether or not the qualities of courage, patience, intelligence, and heavenly soaring in the Cherubim, might, as some expound the similitudes, ² have been further indicated thereby ; or whether they may have been meant to intimate how these angelical attendants on the divine behests, " themselves instinct with spirit," acted in and upon the animate, as well as inanimate creatures of God, so as to overrule them all in subservience to the designs of His providence, (a view which some others have seemed to entertain) ³ are questions beyond our solution. Nor is the Rabbinical tradition that the animals, whose likenesses severally the Cherubim bore, were the devices on the four grand standards of Israel, (a tradition on which yet another view of the apocalyptic figure has been founded,) ⁴ at all more to be depended on. ⁵ All these ideas, I say, must be regarded as uncertain. ⁶

¹ So in the account of Solomon's throne, 1 Kings x. 18, 19 ; " The king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. The throne had six steps ; and the top of the throne was round behind : and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat ; and two lions stood beside the stays ; and twelve lions stood on the one side and on the other, upon the six steps."

² So Mr. Scott, &c.

³ Perhaps Novatian, quoted below, had some such idea.

⁴ So Sir I. Newton, &c.

⁵ On the uncertainty, improbability, and late origin of this Jewish tradition, see the Note on Numb. ii. 2, in Bishop Patrick.

⁶ Let me add, in further illustration of this difficult subject, the paraphrastic comments of a learned Latin Father of the third century, and of a still more learned English Poet of the seventeenth.

First of *Novatian*, De Trinitate ; ap. Opera Tertulliani, (Rothomag. 1662), p. 1035.

" Pertingit ejus (sc. Dei) ad usque singula quæque cura, cujus ad totum, quidquid est, pervenit Providentia. Hinc est quod et desuper *cherubim* sedet : id est præest super operum suorum varietatem ; subjectis throno ejus *animalibus* præ cæteris principatum tenentibus :—cuncta desuper *chrystallo* contegente ; id est cælo omnia operiente. Quod in firmamentum de aquarum fluente materia fuerat Deo jubente solidatum ; ut glacies robusta aquarum terram pridem contegentium dividens medietatem ; dorso quodam pondera aquæ superioris (sustinens,) corroboratis de gelu viribus.—Nam et *rotæ* subjacent ; tempora scilicet, quibus omnia mundi membra volvuntur : talibus pedibus adjectis quibus non in perpetuum stant ista, sed transeunt. Sed et per omnes orbes stellatæ sunt *oculis* : Dei enim opera pervigili obtutu contemplanda sunt. In quorum sinu carbonum

But from what seems certain respecting Ezekiel's four living creatures, or cherubim, the natural and almost necessary inference respecting the four that appeared to St. John, is surely this, that as in their form and position they resembled Ezekiel's Cherubim, so in their nature and functions they must have resembled them also; and thus have symbolized beings of angelic nature, appointed, in that character, to ministrations near and confidential in the conduct of the Lord's providential government. The only question is, how this could consist with what has been before noticed, —their joining as *Christ's redeemed ones* in the song of redemption: in other words, how the redeemed of the children of men could with propriety be symbolized as in *angels'* places, and with *angels'* employments. A question confessedly difficult. And yet, if I mistake not, there is that in the Scripture revelations of the future which will solve the difficulty, and show satisfactorily how the whole may consist together.

For let it be remembered that this was one of the declarations of Christ respecting the state of the saints after the resurrection on his second coming, that they should be then *ισαγγελοι*,¹ *equal and like to angels*; similarly near therefore, we may suppose, to the divine throne, and employed in similar ministrations. A declaration illustrated, as it seems to me, by the apostle's statement,² that the *world to come*, whereof he was

medius est ignis: sive quoniam ad igneum diem iudicii mundus iste festinat; sive quoniam omnia opera Dei ignea, nec sunt tenebrosa, sed vigent.—Hic est igitur currus Dei, secundum David." (sc. Psalm lxxviii. 17.)

Secondly, *Milton*, P. L. 749;

— forth rushed, with whirlwind sound,
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames; wheel within wheel undrawn
Itself instinct with spirit; but convoyed
By four cherubic shapes: four faces each
Had wondrous: as with stars their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and careering fires between.
Over their heads a chrystal firmament, &c. (See p. 85.)

¹ Luke xx. 35, 36, "They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, are *ισαγγελοι*, equal to the angels."

² Heb. ii. 5.

speaking, was not put into subjection (as *this* world in a manner is¹) to angelic government; but to Jesus the God-man, and conjointly with him to the saints, his assessors on the throne.² Now it is to this their resurrection-state, that is, to their state after Christ's coming and taking the kingdom, that the *elders'* insignia of crowns and priestly white robes,—seem to have had reference. For these were the words of their song, "Thou hast made us to our God kings and priests, and we *shall* reign on the earth." It was not their present enjoyment of those offices that was betokened in the insignia, but *anticipatively* their investiture and appointment to them.³ What, then, more reasonable than to suppose that the appearance and the position of the four living creatures, those other representatives of the redeemed, were intended to symbolize the *angelic*, as well as royal and priestly functions, (indeed the angelic might be deemed the highest of the royal functions) which, in that *world to come*, the redeemed were destined to fulfil?⁴

Thus I conclude that the twenty-four elders and four living creatures of the Apocalyptic vision symbolized

¹ Hence in part, I conceive, the angelic titles, "thrones, dominions, principalities," &c. Col. i. 16, Eph. i. 21, iii. 10, 1 Peter iii. 22, &c.

² 2 Tim. ii. 12, "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him." Matt. xix. 28, "Ye which have followed me, shall in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on his throne of glory, sit also on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." So Luke xxii. 30. Compare Luke xii. 44, 1 Cor. iv. 8, &c.

³ Compare Rev. xx. 4, 6, where the saints were seen to take the kingdom.

So *Victorinus* ad loc. "Viginti quatuor patres et apostolos judicare populum suum oportet;" citing Matt. xix. 28, just quoted by me, and so fixing his meaning to the saints' *future* reign.—So too the yet earlier Father *Clement of Alexandria*. In his *Strom. Lib. vi*, he says; "Such an one, though here on earth he be not honoured with the first seat, *shall* sit upon the twenty-four thrones, judging the people, as John says in the Revelation." In which passage he also evidently refers to Matt. xix. 28, as Lardner observes, ii. 245; and construes the symbols of the twenty-four Apocalyptic Presbyters as *anticipative* of a reign in the *world to come*.

⁴ Would the reader forestal for a moment the fact prefigured in this Book, and realized in history, of a grand usurpation of Christ's royal honour and prerogatives in the professing, but apostatized, Christian Church, let him read the explanation given in a memoir sent to Pope Clement V. and the Council of Vienne, A.D. 1312, of the *four living creatures* of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse: "Utinam Cardinales, qui sunt animalia pennata, plena oculis, ante et retro, talia prospiciant," &c. See Waddington's *Eccl. Hist.* p. 481, referring to Raynaldus. Supporters of the *Papal* throne, the cardinals were identified by the Romanists with the supporters of *Jehorah's*.

the church or collective body of the saints of God.—And whereas there were two grand divisions of that church, the larger one that *of the departed in Paradise*, the other that *militant on earth*, it seems that it is specially the *former* that we must suppose depicted here. Such I conceive to be the inference from the position of the elders and living creatures in the inner Temple, the place of the manifested presence of God. Besides which, there appears in their garb and their demeanour nothing either of that sense of defilement, or fear and awe, which generally characterized God's saints and servants, when admitted, while still in their mortal state, to the sight of God; so, for example, as in the cases of Isaiah, of Daniel, of the High Priest Joshua, or of St. John himself.¹ Nor again was there any change from their garb of triumph to one of mourning, as the figurations proceeded, and the trials and persecutions of the Church on earth were the subject depicted.—Hence, on the whole, they must, I think, be regarded as symbolic representatives specially of the Church in Paradise, or spirits of just men made perfect. Yet not so, but as, in a certain sense, to signify the feelings and the desires of the branch militant on earth likewise: forasmuch as *in heart* the latter also dwells above where Christ is; ² and, in respect of all that concerns the advancement of his kingdom and manifestation of his glory, is with the former in desire and sympathy even as one. Whence perhaps, on occasion of the Apocalyptic Book being opened, the circumstance of the twenty-four elders being depicted with harps and incense-vials, expressing *generally* the prayers and gratitude of the saints.³

The which view of them suggests an illustration of the subject from the words which our Lord used in parable respecting himself, when referring to the interval between his ascending to the Father, and his coming again at the second advent. “A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom,

¹ Isa. vi. 5; Dan. x. 8; Zech. iii. 3; Apoc. i. 17.

² Col. iii. 3.

³ Apoc. v. 8.

and to return.”¹ In which words he alluded to a custom, prevalent in those times, of subordinate kings going to Rome to receive the investiture to their kingdoms from the Roman emperor, and then returning to occupy them and reign; intimating thereby that he was about to receive from the Father, after his ascension, the *investiture* to his kingdom; but with the intention not to *occupy* it till his return at the second coming. Indeed it seems to be in token of this investiture that, in the vision before us, he takes his seat as the Lamb on the divine throne. Just similarly, the twenty-four elders, and the four living creatures, representing specially that part of the church which has past from earth to paradise, appear with their insignia of *investiture* to the high offices destined them in Christ’s coming kingdom; the same of which, in their militant state on earth, they had received the *promise*, and of which the actual *enjoyment*, as we have seen, was yet to come.

Such was a part of the company gathered on this august occasion. Besides which, as we read presently afterwards, there were *Angels* in numbers without number attendant. It was indeed a glorious gathering, albeit only in figure, of no little part of the magnificent assemblage told of by St. Paul to the Hebrew Christians. There was the germ of the general assembly of the church of the firstborn, whose names were written in heaven; there were the spirits of just men made perfect; there was an innumerable company of Angels: all in presence of God the judge of all; and all attent and eager, we may be sure, for the promised revelation.—But who the Revealer that was to open it to them? There was a book in the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne, in which they knew it was written. But the book was closed and sealed. And when an Angel,—a *strong* Angel, as he is somewhat singularly called,²—made proclama-

¹ Luke xix. 12.

² May not the epithet, *otherwise unmeaning*, suggest that it was the individual who in other times talked with Daniel, and bade him seal up the book of

tion if there was any one *worthy* to open it, not an individual could there be found of merit sufficient, among angels or men, in heaven or on earth. Yet one there was worthy, of a higher nature. As the Evangelist, both from personal feeling, and as the *representative* also of the christian earthly church and ministry,¹ (I must beg the reader to mark thus early this his character) was weeping at the disappointment of his hopes, one of the elders bade him "weep not." And he therewith pointed to him a lamb standing in the midst of the throne, and of the four living creatures, and the elders: one that bore marks as if it had been slain; and yet had *seven horns*, the symbol as of *all power* in heaven and on earth, and *seven eyes*, as of the *spirit of omniscience*. It was evidently the Lamb of God, the fellow of Jehovah, that had been slain and now appeared alive again; yea and was alive for evermore, to make intercession, and to receive gifts for his people.—Having made the promise to his disciples, ere ascending, that he would shew them *things to come*,² He now came to fulfil it. Advancing to the throne, He claimed and received the book from Him that sate thereon: and forthwith, taking his seat beside Him, prepared to open the seals, and reveal the secrets of futurity.—Then the acclamations of heaven burst forth in adoration of Him. The song was begun by the living creatures and the elders: and it was re-

his prophecy; him whose name was Gabriel (גַּבְרִיאֵל), or, "My strength is God?"

There are but two other passages in the Apocalypse where the epithet *αρχυος* is applied to an angel. In both of these the subject is of a nature to call for the exertion of strength. The *first* in x. 1, on occasion of a memorable intervention of the Angel of the covenant to vindicate his own rights, and deliver his church, at the time when the gates of hell seemed prevailing: the *second* with reference to the forcible overthrow of Babylon, Apoc. xviii. 21.—Such is not the case here.

The reader need scarcely to be reminded of the close connection of the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse; such indeed that the statement has been made by Mede, that Daniel is but the *Apocalypsis contracta*, (that is, in that which is their common subject, the history of the fourth kingdom) and the Apocalypse *Daniel explicata*. (Mede's Works, Bk. iv. Ep. 32.) Sir I. Newton says more generally, "He that would understand the old prophets must begin with this."

¹ So, I believe, all the patristic Commentators ad loc. and many moderns.

² John xvi. 13.

sponded to by the whole angelic choir, and echoed back from all creation. "When he had taken the book, the four living creatures and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, 'Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth.'—And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many Angels round about the throne, and the living creatures, and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying,¹ 'Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.' And the four living creatures said, Amen! And the four and twenty elders fell down, and worshipped Him that liveth for ever and ever."²

CHAPTER IV.

THE MODE AND MANNER, PLAN AND ORDER, OF THE REVELATION.

AND what then was to be the *mode* and *manner* of unfolding, before the august company thus assembled,

¹ This expression concerning the voice of all creation seems to be *figurative*, denoting the voice that it *seems* to have in the ears of the saints: like that used by St. Paul in Rom. viii. 19, 22, about the longing expectation and groaning of the creation.

² Compare Phil. ii. 6—10, &c. "He humbled himself unto death, even the

this great revelation of the coming future? Was it to be simply, as in the case of some other revelations from God,¹ by the reading out what was written in the Book? Not so. The subject-matter therein contained was, in a manner far more interesting, to be *visibly enacted*, even as in a living drama; and for the requisite scenery and agency alike heaven and earth put in requisition. Nor, again, was the beauty of dramatic *plan* and *order* to be wanting; indeed of plan and order the most perfect.—Before entering on the prefigurative visions themselves, it will be of important advantage to us to consider these two points preparatorily: I mean first, *the scenic imagery* made use of in the development of the prophecy; secondly, its *plan, order, and chief divisions*, as marked in the seven-sealed book containing it.—And,

I.—THE APOCALYPTIC SCENERY.

Now of the *apocalyptic scenery*, as the reader will be aware, no detailed or connected account is given us. We have only incidental notices of it. These, however, occur perpetually; and, if carefully gathered up and compared together, will be found wonderfully to harmonize, so as indeed to indicate a scenery designedly provided for the occasion, consistent and complete. And the importance of an early and familiar acquaintance with it will hence sufficiently appear, in that it is that from which the character and meaning of many important points in the apocalyptic prefigurations is alone to be deduced; and that too which connects and gives unity to them as a whole.

The scene then first visible, and which remained stationary throughout the visions in the foreground, was as of the *interior* of a *temple*; including in its secret and inmost sanctuary the throne of Jehovah already spoken of, and the blessed company attendant round it. For

death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow; of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, &c."

¹ As in that communicated through Jeremiah, Jer. xxxvi. 2, 6, 32.

this did not appear in open space or public: but, as seems manifest in the progress of the prophetic drama, and is indeed in one place directly intimated, within the inclosure of a temple sanctuary.¹—It was a temple resembling Solomon's, or, yet more, the tabernacle framed earlier by Moses in the wilderness; although on a grander scale, at least as regards the inner sanctuary,² and with other marked peculiarities. The which resemblance is also expressly intimated to us. For it was called upon one occasion "the temple of God;" on another, in words only referable to the Jewish temple or tabernacle, "the temple of the tabernacle of witness, in heaven."³—Moreover in its parts and divisions it well corresponded with that of Israel. The temple proper, or *sanctuary*, was similarly constituted of the *holy place* and that *most holy*; save that there was no *vail*, as of old, to separate them: the one being characterized by the *golden altar of incense*, and, as I think also, by the *seven burning lamps*; the other by the *divine glory*, and the *ark of the covenant*.⁴ A *court* too appeared attached to this sanctuary, just as to the Jewish, and one similarly marked by an *altar of sacrifice* standing in it: besides that there was the similar appendage of an *outer court* also, as if of the *Gentiles*.⁵

¹ xvi. 17; "There came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne." Thus the position of the Apocalyptic throne, as of that seen by Isaiah, (Is. vi. 1,) is fixed within the temple: the *public opening* of which is noticed as a *new thing*, Apoc. xi. 19.

² xi. 19; xv. 5. Compare Acts vii. 44; "Our fathers had the *tabernacle of witness* in the wilderness;" also Num. xviii. 2, &c.

³ iv. 5, viii. 3, ix. 13, xi. 19. The absence of a *vail* between the *holy place* and that *most holy* appears from this, that what passed in the one, as well as the other, was alike visible to St. John: whose station, from its commanding the view both without the sanctuary and within it, we may not improbably suppose to have been near its entrance door. This difference might perhaps have been expected in a temple symbolic of the christian church; the *vail* having been rent at Christ's death, and the way made open into the holiest. Compare Matt. xxvii. 51, with the apostle's exposition, Heb. ix. 8, x. 19, 20. See also Bishop Lowth's remarks on Isaiah's vision of Jehovah enthroned in the temple. Isaiah vi.

⁴ The first notice of the *altar* is under the fifth seal, vi. 9; "I saw the souls under the altar," &c.—It is to be observed that wherever in the New Testament the word *altar* (*θυσιαστήριον*) occurs alone, the *brazen altar of sacrifice* seems intended by it. So Matt. xxiii. 19, 35; Luke xi. 51; 1 Cor. ix. 13; Heb. xiii. 10; Apoc. vi. 9, viii. 3, 5, xvi. 7. I might add Apoc. xi. 1, xiv. 18; only that here the *altar-court*, as well as *altar*, seems intended.—Where the *altar of incense* is

As the visions proceeded, other objects appeared in connected landscape, around and beneath the temple. Nearest was the Mount Zion and its holy city :¹ not the literal Jerusalem, which had been levelled to the ground, and was now literally in bondage with her children ;² but that which, though in some things different, sufficiently resembled it to have the likeness at once recognised, and to receive the appellation :—then, beneath and beyond, far stretching, (even as it might have appeared from that high mountain whence were seen in a moment of time the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them,³) the miniature but living landscape of the Roman Empire.—Both the Mount Zion and the temple seem to have appeared high raised above the earth, although not altogether detached from it ; and the former, as well as latter, in near proximity to the heavenly glory within the sanctuary. So that while, on the one hand, the temple might be called “ the temple of the tabernacle of witness *in heaven*,” and they that were true worshippers and citizens in the temple and Mount Zion, “ the tabernacles *in heaven*,”—yet, on the other, the outer court of the temple appeared accessible to the inhabitants of the earth below, and the holy city susceptible of invasion from them.⁴

Such was the standing scenery throughout the Apocalyptic visions. Nor was it depicted before St. John as a mere ornamental appendage ; but was to be made use of, as I have already intimated, both *emblematically* and *chorographically*,—to furnish figures and to designate localities,—just as the scenery of countries elsewhere prophesied of, with a view to the elucidation of the prophecy.

It is to be remembered that the subject of the pro-

meant, it is expressly so designated. So Luke i. 11 ; “ The angel of the Lord appeared unto Zacharias standing on the right of the *altar of incense* ; ” and Apoc. viii. 3, ix. 13 ; “ the *golden* altar before the throne.” The *outer court* is noticed, xi. 1.

¹ Apoc. xiv. 1, xi. 2.

² Gal. iv. 25.

³ Matt. iv. 8.

⁴ Apoc. xii. 12, xv. 5, xiv. 1, 2 ; and xi. 1, 2.

mised revelation was large and complex,—“the things which should happen thereafter.” It was to be the same, in effect, as that which in its retrospective delineation constitutes the combined secular and ecclesiastical history of Christendom:—the former, or *secular*, comprehending the grand political changes and revolutions of the Roman world, with the agencies instrumental in causing them, whether from without or from within: the latter, or *ecclesiastical*, the outward fortunes, adverse or prosperous; of the church; its purity or corruptions of doctrine and worship, its general apostacy in the course of time, the coalescing of the apostatizing church with the world, and the separation, sufferings, faith, protection, and ultimate triumph of the saints, that is, of the true people, the spiritual church of God.

Such being the subject, so large, various, and complex,—and the more complex from the events of its two great divisions, the secular and the ecclesiastical, often intermingling,—the difficulty must be obvious of fitly exhibiting it; especially in respect of marking the due connexion of events, and with the proper unity of effect. The difficulty has been frequently felt and noticed by those who have delineated it in history; and must apply of course in full measure to its foreshowing in prophecy. Which being the case, it is really interesting to consider how suited the provision of the apocalyptic scenery was to lessen, if not to overcome it.

In the first place, to represent CHRIST'S CHURCH in respect of its *worshipping*, (that Church which is “the house of the living God,”¹) there was the hieroglyphic *temple*:—its inmost or *most holy place* including, as the fit locality, that part of the church constituency, the spirits of the just, which was then with Christ in *heaven*, and of which I have, in the preceding chapter, already spoken: its outer sanctuary, or *holy place*, (the vestibule and passage to the former,²) figuring, by what might be

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 15. Compare Eph. ii. 21.

² Compare Heb. ix. 1; “The first covenant had *ἅγιον κοσμικον*, a *worldly Holy Place* ;” or (as appears from verses 23, 24, where the *Holy of Holies* is

noticeable within it, the *secret* spirituality of the worship as seen and accepted by Christ, of his saints *on earth*; and the *temple-court*, and what past therein, what was *publicly observable* in their public and corporate worship. —Further, to symbolize their peculiar *polity* and *citizenship*, there appeared the *holy city and Mount Zion*; the visible picturing of St. Paul's ideal metropolitan city of the Christian body,¹ with its base on earth, its mountain-head towards heaven:—a symbol of the saints, in truth, as significant as it was beautiful: forasmuch as they are members of a city and kingdom different from those of this world;² while in the world being not *of* the world, but having their citizenship, their *πολιτευμα*, in heaven.³—Besides all which, in order the better to signify events, views, or changes of importance affecting or charac-

explained as the symbol of *heaven*) a Holy Place symbolizing the *Church in this world*. So Bishop Hall in his Contemplation on Zachary in Luke i, "The *outer Temple* was the figure of the whole Church on *earth*; like as the Holy of Holies represented *heaven*." An idea adopted and applied in one of our well-known hymns; "The holy to the holiest leads."—Josephus (*Antiquities*, iii. 11) explains the symbol nearly in the same manner; and Clemens Alexandrinus also, calling it *κοσμος τῆς αἰσθητοῦ συμβολον*. Others too of the Fathers might be quoted in illustration.—Bishop Middleton's explanation, in case that we feel obliged to take *κοσμικον* as an adjective, is to much the same effect.

¹ Heb. xii. 22.

² It should be remembered that *heavenly* is a word often used of things on earth which have a heavenly origin, association, or ending. So, Heb. viii. 5, St. Paul speaks of the things in the Jewish temple as a "shadow of heavenly things;" meaning, of things spiritual in the christian church. And so too Christ's kingdom of heaven, spoken of in the gospels, embraces the saints on earth. Similarly what is called "the heavenly Jerusalem," or, "the Jerusalem above," (Heb. xii. 22, Gal. iv. 26,) in either case an ideal city, embraces them also. Thus it was used by St. Paul as a type of the whole christian church,—militant as well as triumphant; and seems in that sense to have been visibly represented to St. John. In Gal. iv. 26, St. Paul contrasts Mount Zion, or the Jerusalem above, as the type of the christian church, with Mount Sinai, as the type of the Jewish. On which passage Macknight observes: "The catholic church, consisting of believers from all nations, which is formed on the covenant published from Mount Zion, is called *the Jerusalem above*, because its most perfect state will be in heaven." And Whitby on Heb. xii. 22; "It is styled the *heavenly Jerusalem*; not that heaven is primarily intended by it, and not the *church of Christ on earth*: but *propter originem et finem*, as having its rise from heaven, and leading to it."

³ Phil. iii. 20, John xvii. 14.—Compare Augustine's well-known similar view of the saints as the *Civitas Dei*, which, "in terris peregrina, in celo fundata est." (Sermon on Luke xi. 9.) Also the beautiful view of them given in the Epistle to Diognetus, by an author, Justin Martyr's cotemporary:—"Christians are not separated from others by country, by language, or by customs. They are confined to no particular cities, use no particularity of speech, adopt no singularity of life. Dwelling in the cities, as every man's lot is cast, following the

terizing at any time *the apostolic line of the Christian ministry*, there was the further and very remarkable help of the apostle John's own presence on the scene, in his *representative* character; himself to take part in the sacred drama, and enact as a living actor the roll assigned him.¹

In contrast with all which, and to represent the WORLD as distinguished from the *saints*, there was the terrene landscape of *the Roman earth*, and *its great city*; the earth being the fit emblem of those who, in heart, only dwelt on earth.² In the event, which was soon to take place, of its inhabitants nationally abandoning Paganism and professing Christianity, the symbol of the Gentile or outer court of the Temple was at hand, as joined on to that of Israel, to represent their profession as proselytes,—as excluded, to mark their complete and recognized apostacy.³—In the firmamental heaven which overlooked the terrene landscape, and its sun, moon, and stars, there was that which might fitly designate, as in other prophecies, the secular powers of the world, whether in the lustre of supremacy, or as eclipsed and cast down. There was in the movement of atmospheric storms, the overflowing of rivers, and other such changes, visibly passing from without upon the landscape, the ready symbol of foreign invasions; and again in its earthquakes, that of political commotions and revolutions from within.—Further, as there seems to have been a *chorographical* truth in the general landscape,

customs of each country in dress, and diet, and manner of life, and like other men marrying and having children, they yet display the wonderful nature of their *peculiar polity*. They dwell in their own country but as sojourners: they abide on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. In a word, they are in the world what the soul is in the body. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body, and Christians through the cities of the world. But the soul, though dwelling in the body, is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world."

¹ So especially in Apoc. vii. x, and the beginning of xi.

² So Apoc. xiii. 12, "The earth and they that dwell in it," in the sense of "the earth, or they that dwell on it;" the one including and symbolizing the other. Just as xii. 12, "The heavens, and they that dwell therein;" and xi. 1, "the altar, and they who worship therein." The figure is not infrequent.—The fitness of the earth as a symbol of the men of this world is noticed by Jerom ad Dardanum, on Apoc. viii. 13.

³ Apoc. xi. 2.

and the four quarters of the Roman earth, and its inland sea, and frontier rivers, and other localities to have been designated,¹ there was a scenic facility of not merely symbolizing the invasions, or other such events occurring, but of visibly marking the particular localities originating or affected by them, if in any case deemed requisite.

To all which, it must be remembered, there was the opportunity of superadding, from time to time, supplemental hieroglyphic signs or pictures,—such as in chap. xii, for example;—associated for the most part with the emblematic landscape.—And, finally, the connection of the histories of the world and of the church,—the intermingling of events secular and ecclesiastical,—might be at once made manifest to the eye in the Apocalyptic imagery, as it glanced from Mount Zion, or the temple, and what passed therein, to the earth below, from the earth to the Temple and Mount Zion.

In what has been thus far observed, I have spoken only of the scenery that appeared *generally* visible in the representation. But we must remember that St. John was himself favoured with the view of what passed contemporarily in the *inmost* or *heavenly* sanctuary also. And thus other things were noted to him of a nature eminently important and interesting: indeed so much so, as that we must not pass them without distinct notice. Before doing this, however, let me observe briefly on that which was to form our *second* Head in this Chapter; viz.

II.—THE PLAN AND ORDER OF THE REVELATION.

It is evident that *plan and order* must have been essential to the distinctness of so extended a prophecy. And while, no doubt, one object of representing the events of the coming future as written in the *Book* in the right hand of the enthroned One, was to mark them as all preordained in his eternal counsels, yet the *chief*

¹ Compare Apoc. vii. 1, ix. 15, viii. 7, 8, &c.

object of their being there written must have been, I think, that of signifying what it is now our purpose to consider,—the plan, order, and grand divisions of the prophecy.

The form of the Book seems to have been that of a *roll*. Such was a common form of books among the Romans; and the almost universal one, I believe, at least of sacred books, among the Jews.¹ The divisions externally and at once apparent on it were twofold. *First*, the Book appeared as one *written within and without*; *secondly*, as one sealed with *seven seals*: the seals being all visible on the outside; and so constituted, as that they could be only opened in succession. (A construction of which kind would be very simple: it being easily conceivable how, in folding a parchment roll, we might at any particular point seal a projecting slip of the parchment to one corresponding in the part previously folded: in which case, ere the unfolding began, one and all of the seals would appear on the outside; and in the unfolding, after each successive seal was broken, the roll only unfold to the point where the next occurred.) Further, when the seventh seal was opened, intimation was given of other divisions. There appeared seven angels with *seven trumpets*: which trumpets were successively sounded, and symbolic visions connected with them successively exhibited;—each, as I conceive, with its counterpart, written, or painted, (for the word *γεγραμμενον* will admit of either meaning) in the columns² of the seven-sealed Book. Finally, on the seventh trumpet's sounding,—and after a *digression* somewhat long and varied,—*seven vials* were poured out, each having its description written in the Book also;—the last reaching to the close of the present dis-

¹ The form of this book as a *roll* is well illustrated by the comparison in chap. vi. 14, where it is said that the heaven was removed from his view "as a book (*βιβλίον*) rolled up." The same form is noticed in Jeremiah xxxvi. 2, "Take thee a *roll of a book*." Compare also Ezek. ii. 9, 10; and Zech. v. 2.

² On Jer. xxxvi. 23. "When Jehudi had read three or four *leaves*, (of the roll) he cut it with a penknife." Lowth observes that these were "*columns*, or *partitions*, into which the breadth of the parchment was divided." Just such *columns*, or *partitions*, I conceive to have been depicted in the seven-sealed Book.

pensation, and the triumph and glorious reign of Christ and his saints.

The question then occurs, what might be the nature and relation of these divisions. What of the *writing within and without*? What of the *seals, trumpets, and vials*?

And as regards that primary mark of division, *its being written within and without*, does it not seem natural to suppose that, according to the forms of writing then customary, what was *without* might be probably intended as a part *supplemental* of that *within*;—supplemental, not accidentally, or, as occasioned by an unexpected and overflowing redundancy of matter, so as was often the case in the rolls of human writing, but purposely and with premeditated design: perhaps so as in fact to answer to and comprehend the very *digression* after the seventh trumpet just spoken of? Such, I think, it will prove.—Again, as to the *relative chronological position* of the Apocalyptic *seals, trumpets, and vials*, would not the most natural arrangement of them seem to be that which supposes each of the latter series of sevens to be consecutive on the former;—the seventh seal comprehending within it the seven trumpets, and the seventh trumpet the seven vials;—the trumpets carrying on the history chronologically from the end of the sixth seal, and the vials from the end of the sixth trumpet? Such, in fact, appears to myself the self-commending simplicity of this view of the Apocalyptic structure, that I think to the mind of the Evangelist it must almost at once have suggested itself, and almost at once have carried its own evidence of truth along with it.

Besides which divisions there were noted from time to time important *chronological periods* in the development of the prophecy; periods most useful,—especially in the case of the great *supplemental digression* spoken of,—to fix the order and connexion of certain of its parts. The most notable of which periods was that of the *time, times, and half a time*, or 1260 *days*:—a period

whereby indeed, it must be observed, not merely was the connexion indicated between different parts of the Apocalyptic drama, but also between them and certain celebrated prophecies of Daniel, to which the same chronological and most remarkable period attached.

Thus was the most perfect *order* and *plan*, as well as the fittest *scenery*, provided for the due unfolding of the Apocalyptic drama.—As to its dignity and grandeur, who can express it? Its *subject* nothing less than the prolonged conflict, even to its termination, between the antagonistic powers of Christ's true Church and the world:—its *moral*, that whereas at the *beginning*, the crown and glory and dominion appeared attached to the potentates of this world, and the Church oppressed and low,—at the *ending*, dominion and crown and glory were seen all to pass away from the men of this world, and to be transferred to the saints and Church of Christ!—And then such a *theatric scene*! such *music*! such an *audience*! Oh, in the comparison, how did the boasted splendor of the grandest of the Roman Imperial theatric displays, exhibited in the proud capital of the world, fade into meanness!¹

And more especially was its pre-eminent grandeur manifest in this additional circumstance characterizing it, that the evangelist was admitted, as it were, behind the scenes in the figuration of the great mundane drama; and, in what past in the secret recess of the *Holy of Holies*, permitted to behold HIM, and *his* acting, who was the Almighty Overruler of all. I have already just hinted at this matter; and I must now beg for a little while to detain the reader, that he may consider with me beforehand somewhat in detail the grand lessons that thus, as the drama proceeded, were set before St. John.

¹ Tertullian in his Treatise *De Spectaculis*, c. 30, on the Roman Shows, makes a somewhat similar turn, in the way of comparison, to the events themselves figured at the close of the Apocalypse: "Quale autem spectaculum in proximo eat! Adventus Domini, jam indubitati, jam superbi, jam triumphantis, Quæ illa exultatio angelorum! Quæ gloria resurgentium sanctorum! Quale regnum exinde justorum! Qualis civitas nova Jerusalem," &c.

And, *first*, there was thus manifested to him the real origin of events in the *throne* of God and of the Lamb. *Hence*, he saw, the lightnings, thunderings, and voices that had their echoes in the changes of this world : *hence* the commissioning of angels with their invisible and mysterious agencies : *hence* the casting of the burning coals of wrath on this earth's inhabitants.—Man is apt in these things to look only to second causes. The inner-temple vision, in the exact spirit of Bible history, directed the apostle's eye to the great first cause of them all, in the glorious high throne of the sanctuary.¹

Secondly, there was thus strikingly marked out to St. John, the very reasons and motives which dictated these counsels of Him that sate upon the throne, thus ordering all things. It is the true and sublime saying of the great philosopher,² that the "divine mind is the sensorium of the universe." And, as the evangelist marked what was said and what was done in the inner Temple, he might see that there was nothing of all that passed on earth unobserved of the divine mind, nothing unfelt by it. Thither, he perceived, came up the memorial of the sins of its inhabitants, while immature as yet, and when fully ripe ;³ each with its own call for judgment : thither, above all, what concerned his own people, his saints of the church militant. Not a sigh could escape from, nor a suffering vex them, but its pulse was evidently felt *there*. Thither tended, as to their proper centre, the cries of the souls slain beneath the altar ; thither, as sweet incense, the prayers and adorations of the saints.⁴ And then mark the result ! It was on the cries of the martyrs rising up that the political heaven, the supremacy of their oppressors, was seen to pass away. It was in requital of its oppression of the saints, that great Babylon was made to drink of the wine-cup of the wrath of God.⁵ And amidst all the commotions and changes, the woes and judgments on

¹ Apoc. iv. 5 ; xiv. 15 ; xvi. 1 ; &c.² Sir I. Newton, Principia.³ Apoc. viii. 5, xiv. 18.⁴ vi. 10, 11 ; viii. 3, 4.⁵ vi. 11, 12 ; xviii. 6.

the earth, he witnessed how declarations by the Spirit were made, and heaven-sent visions given, from time to time, to assure his people of the provision made for their safety, and that all things should work together for their good.¹

A *third* point notable in what passed within the Temple,—and indeed in what passed without also,—was the employment of *angelic agency* in producing the varied eventful changes in this world. Most truly, as well as beautifully, has it been said by Milton, “Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth, unseen, both when we sleep and when we wake.” He has said it truly, because it is precisely according to the uniform representations of Holy Scripture. When the firstborn in Egypt, or the army of the Assyrians was to be slain, it was by the agency of a destroying angel. When Elisha or Peter was to be delivered, it was still, as represented in Scripture, by angelic instrumentality. Under the present dispensation, we are told, they are employed as ministering spirits to the good, destroying spirits to the evil. Similar was the view presented to St. John in this prophecy. Numbers of them, indeed, without number were seen engaged in the heavenly temple in contemplation and praise. But to others he saw given commissions in the sphere of active employment: and in fulfilment of them they appeared afterwards directing the tempests, sounding the trumpets, pouring out the vials, scattering the fire, gathering the vintage.² The language indeed is figurative; but the truth I speak of can scarce be mistaken as exhibited under it.

Yet once more it was evident from what passed within, how in *time*, as well as in measure and manner, every event was ordered,—even to the minutest accuracy. It needed not that there should be any dial-plate in the sanctuary. That infinite mind was seen to be to itself its own measure of succession. *There* was marked the passage and the progress of time, alike in its minutest

¹ Apoc. vii. 3; ix. 4, &c.

² Apoc. vii. 1, 3; viii. 6, 7; xiv. 18; xvi. 1, &c.

moments and largest cycles ; the hour, and the day, and the month, and the year ; the Time, Times, and half a Time ; one day as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day ;—the exact and fittest moment of loosing or restraining, of deliverance or judgment ;—the hour known to no man, no, not to the angels in heaven, of the harvest and the vintage, of the mystery of God ending, the consummation of all things, the day of judgment.¹

I must not forget to observe, in conclusion, that wheresoever explanation might be needed, each class of the blessed ones present in the temple-scene appeared prompt to confer with the Evangelist. *The living creatures*, as the first four seals were opened, invited him in turn to come and see. From the *elders* there came one to point out the palm-bearing multitude to him, and tell their origin and their history. An *angel* was the party to show him the closing scene of Babylon, and the glories of the New Jerusalem. Lastly, voices of an unseen one from heaven, as of the *Spirit of Jehovah*, spake from time to time to him of what he was writing ; as if superintending it, in order that there might be in it no error, no deception. And *Jesus himself*, the beloved one of his soul, as He had begun the revelation, so in his own person and with his own promise ended it : “ Surely I come quickly.”²—It was a beautiful exemplification of that union and communion of saints below with beings of a higher order above, of which St. Paul had written to the Hebrew Christians : “ Ye are come to (or are in association with) the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and an innumerable company of angels, and Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and God the judge of all.” Indeed the whole passage is most illustrative of the subject we have been

¹ ix. 15 ; xii. 14 ; xiv. 15, 18 ; x. 6, 7, &c.

² vi. 1, 3, &c. ; vii. 13 ; xvii. 1 ; xxi. 9 ; x. 4 ; xiv. 13 ; xxii. 16, compared with i. 18.

discussing. For, if we include its previous and commencing clause, "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem," it brings before us the very *scene*, in part, as well as *celestial company* present in the apocalyptic visions. Inso-much that I cannot believe the resemblance fortuitous. The ideal imagery seems to me to have been purposely dictated by God's Spirit to one apostle, as the intended prototype of what was here, near forty years after, to be visibly represented to another in the visions of Patmos. For, "no Scripture is of private interpretation; but holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."¹

CHAPTER V.

ON THE ENSUING HISTORICAL EXPOSITION OF THE REVELATION.

AND now, as the conclusion of this introductory Part, it may perhaps be useful to set before the reader a brief general statement of the *principles, plan*, and (as I hope) *evidence of truth*, that he will find to characterize the following *Exposition* of the apocalyptic prophecy.

Its subject-matter I assume to be *the continuous fortunes of the church and of the world*, that is of *the Roman world and Christian church* settled therein *from the time of the revelation being given*, or time of St. John's banishment, to the end of all things. This its commencing date I consider, as already observed, to have been fixed by Christ's own words, "I will shew thee *the things that must happen* (*ἃ δεῖ γίνεσθαι*) *after these things*:" (*μετὰ ταῦτα*). If the words "these things," mean the state at that time of the apocalyptic churches, as described in the seven epistles,—a point which, I suppose, few will doubt,—then must Christ's declaration, as it seems to me, distinctly and necessarily imply that the foreshowing of the

¹ 2 Peter i. 20: *ἵνας ἐπιλυθῶσι*, of separated, detached interpretation. See Bishop Horsley's Sermon on the passage.

future should begin *from the time of John's banishment*, or soon after. This is indeed admitted by the most competent judges.¹ And the importance of the canon of historical exposition of the Apocalypse thus fixed cannot be over-estimated. It sets aside of itself;—what there is indeed superabundant other evidence also to set aside,—interpretations based on the principle of the Apocalypse being a prophecy figurative only of the times yet future of the Second Advent. I believe the words *ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα* must have positive violence done them, in order to extract therefrom any other meaning than that which I have given.

In the divine foreshowing of its great subject I have felt persuaded, and have carried out my exposition on the persuasion, that the two following rules must have been observed:—*first*, that the *epochs* and *events* selected for prefiguration must have been such as are confessedly the most important and eventful; by *confessedly*, meaning in the judgment of what are considered standard authorities:—*secondly*, that the *emblems* figuring them must have been, in their approved sense, characteristic, and distinctive. Such would be the case were a master-mind among men to develop the great general subject in a series of descriptive sketches or pictures. How then can we suppose it otherwise in the prefigurations of the Omniscient Spirit?

The *direct evidence of truth* hence arising, in case of agreement between the symbol and the historical object it is applied to, will at once be felt by the intelligent reader: specially from the circumstance of the symbols being not expounded according to the Interpreter's own fancy, (that bane too often of prophetic exposition;) but in a sense *approved*: that is, according to their recognized meaning, specially at the time and in the country supposed to be referred to: or perhaps as otherwise fixed; for example, by some *local* or *geographical* peculiarity,

¹ See the extract from Michaelis given Note ², p. 9 *suprà*.—Nearly similar is the judgment of Augustine; C. D. xx. 8. 1.; "Liber iste (Apocalypsis) complectitur totum tempus à primo adventu Christi usque in seculi finem."

strongly marked in the prefiguration.—Of course the evidence will be felt strong in proportion to the number of details combined in the symbol, their distinctiveness of character, and the exactness of their application to the æra and the subject. It might be expected *à priori*, and will be found in fact, that in the long series of prophetic figurations there will be some more circumstantial, distinctive, and striking than others ; and some indeed quite brief, and comparatively general in character. But the former will be found, I believe, much more frequent than the latter ; and certainly abundantly sufficient in frequency and strength to serve as effectual buttresses to the sacred building, and to keep up its continuity unbroken.—Nor will the seeker for truth fail to consider the *argument cumulative* in this case ; and how, if in a long continuous series of prefigurations one, and another, and another, each in its precise order of time, be shown to have had its fulfilment, the strength of the evidence of truth must needs rapidly increase each step ; indeed with almost more than the rapidity of geometrical progression.

Besides which *direct* evidence the Reader will find offered from time to time in the ensuing Exposition a species of *indirect* evidence, hitherto unnoticed I believe, of the nature of what I may call *allusive contrast*, and which to my own mind seems of great value. Examples will best illustrate it. But I may thus briefly explain its nature. The great subject of the Apocalyptic Revelation being the histories, in connexion or in contrast, of Christ's faithful Church and of the world, (of the latter, either in its state of avowed Paganism, or of corruption and apostacy under the Christian name,)—just as the saints' actual faithfulness, and also God's grace and light afforded them, might be expected, and indeed has been proved by *Church history*, to have shown itself generally in somewhat marked contrast to the most prevalent temptations, corruptions, or errors of the day,—so in the *prefigurations of the future respecting the true church*, it might, I think, have been anticipated that the sketches drawn by the Eternal

Spirit would have similar *chronological propriety*, and be pictured, if not in *avowed*, yet in what history may show to be *allusive* contrast to the same ; these prefigurations being indeed but anticipated facts. Not less than three or four examples of this will be substantiated, if I mistake not, in the ensuing Commentary ; (the view of St. John in *his representative character*, hitherto quite barren of results, furnishing under *this* head, as well as under the *former*, most important accessions of evidence :)—each supposed instance of allusion so peculiar, that historic truth will almost reject it from any but the exact place assigned it in the Apocalypse.—Here too the *argument cumulative* will again apply.—Nor let me pass on without just hinting the theological importance of each such substantiated allusive prefiguration ; inasmuch as it must present not merely evidence of the fulfilment of prophecy in matters of historic fact, but evidence of the divine judgment in matters of religious doctrine.

With regard to the *Plan, Order*, and chief *Divisions* of the Exposition ensuing, they have been already almost intimated in the preceding chapter. For that which an expositor may have declared to be in his opinion the natural and simple plan, order, and chief divisions of the *Prophecy*, those same, except for very cogent reasons, he ought of course to follow out in his *own Exposition*. Accordingly the three septenaries of *Seals, Trumpets*, and *Vials* will be interpreted by me consecutively ;—the seventh Seal as unfolded in the seven Trumpet Visions, the seventh Trumpet in those of the seven Vials : and this with no intermission or interruption ; save only that of the *supplemental retrogressive Part*, (marked as such by clear internal evidence,) which I have supposed to have occupied the *outside* of the Apocalyptic Scroll.—Hitherto this scheme of arrangement has not, I believe, been consistently developed. Some expositors of eminence, who have admitted the consecutiveness of the three septenaries, have yet encumbered its development by the surely strange supposition of the seven-sealed Book containing but a part of

the Revelation, and its other and larger part being inscribed in the little Book held by the rainbow-crowned Angel of Apoc. x.¹ Others again have explained the witnesses' death and resurrection, noted apocalyptically under the sixth Trumpet, as having reference to events long subsequent to those which are the main subject of that Trumpet, and indeed to the sounding of the seventh Trumpet after it.² Hence an involved structure at the best; and a proportionate want of the self-evidence of the simplicity of truth.

And, turning from the prophecy to the history, there seem to me on the whole to be six chief PARTS, or ACTS, clearly defined in the sacred prefigurative drama before us; a division well agreeing with that more obvious one already spoken of, of the succession of Seals, Trumpets, and Vials:—their subject-matter being, historically interpreted, as follows:

I. That of the *temporary glory*, and then the *decline and fall of Rome Pagan*, before the power of Christianity:—the subject of the six first Seals.

II. The *ravage and destruction of Rome Christian*, after its apostasy, in its divisions both of east and west; of the western empire by the *Goths*, of the eastern by the *Saracens* and *Turks*:—the subject of the six first Trumpets.

III. The history of the *Reformation*, as introduced about the middle of the sixth Trumpet.

IV. The supplemental and explanatory history of the *rise and character of the Papacy and Papal Empire* that sprung out of the Gothic inundations of Western Europe;—a part corresponding, as I conceive, with the "*written without*" of the prophetic roll, and exhibited preparatorily to the representation of its final overthrow.

V. The final *overthrow of the Papacy and Papal empire* under the outpouring of the Vials of God's wrath, and the coming of Christ to judgment.—Consequent on which follows,

¹ E. g. Mede.

² E. g. Keith.

Vithly, The glorious consummation ; including the *descent* of the *heavenly Jerusalem*, and the *reign of Christ and his saints* on the renovated earth.

Of which Parts the first four seem to me to have had their accomplishment already ; and of the fifth the prefigured events to be now far advanced in progress.

In the following Treatise it is my purpose, first, to trace the historical fulfilment of the four former Parts, together with that of the six earlier Vials of the fifth, more at length ; then, as regards the Parts unfulfilled, to enquire, briefly and cautiously, into the grander and more prominent points that may seem prefigured in them, as destined to take place in the yet coming future.—The circumstance of the fifth prophetic Part having been in part fulfilled, as I view it, in part future, will cause this measure of divergence in my actual arrangement from the Division just sketched, that I shall include what seems to me unfulfilled of the *fifth* Part under the *sixth* and last of the prophecy.

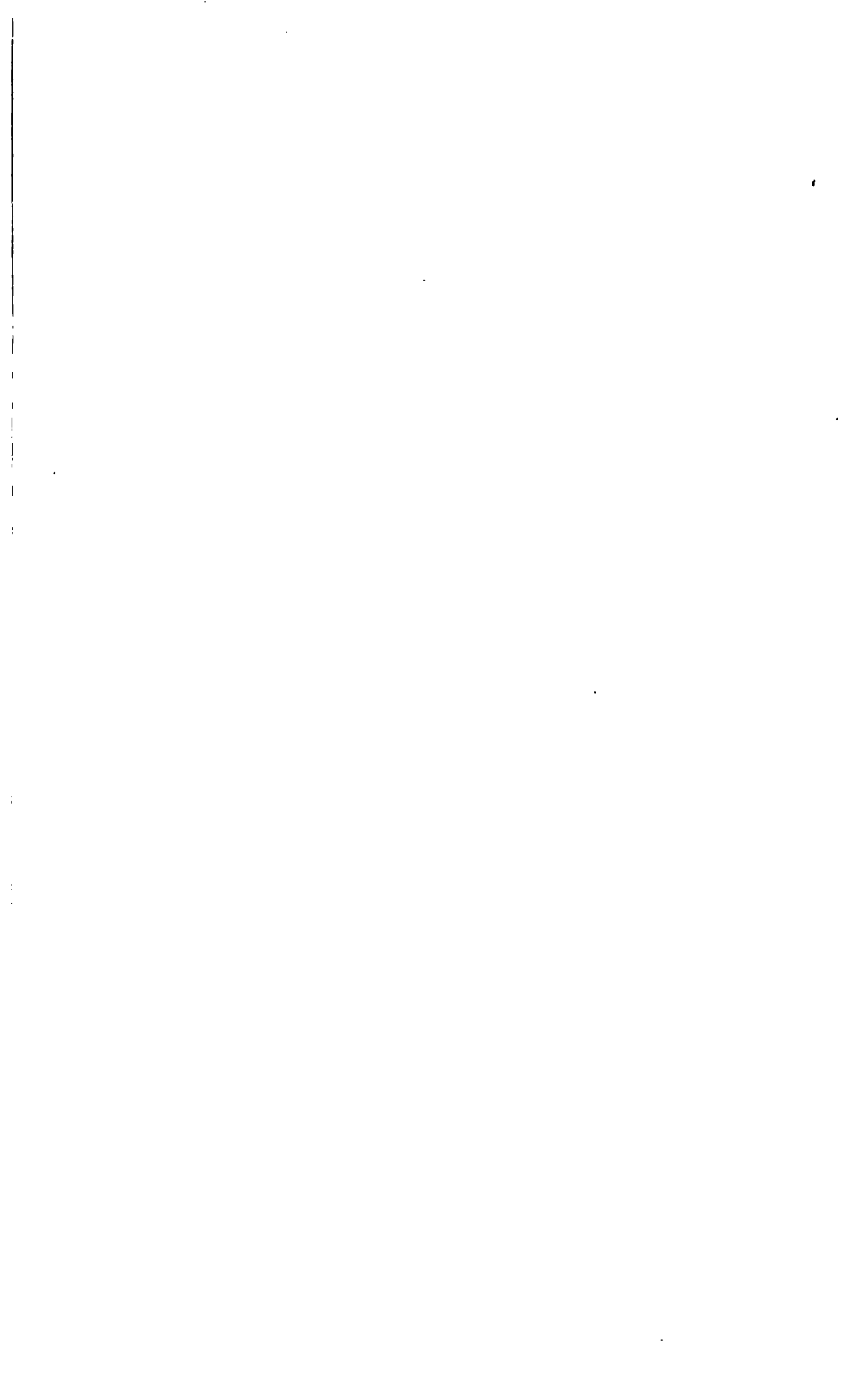
But what a field for historic research lies here before us ! a field extending over seventeen centuries, and over countries many more than those of European Christendom !—With reference to which point, and ere I enter on the exposition, let me call upon the reader to admire with me the divine wisdom, in so ordering things as that, amidst the partial wreck that there has been of the literary records of some of the centuries prefigured in this prophecy, and the original paucity of those of others, (I refer especially to the dark middle ages,) there should yet remain to us documentary evidence sufficient whereby to illustrate almost all of the events foreshown, and evince the truth and accuracy of the prefigurations.—And, again, let me suggest it as a thing admirable, that He should so have overruled the intellectual tendencies of a mind like *Gibbon's* in these latter days, as to direct it to the development of the same period, and nearly the same subject, as the larger half of the Apocalyptic prophecy. It is scarcely needful, I presume, to detail his peculiar qua-

fications as an illustrator and a witness :—endowed as he was with powers of research and memory very rare, and an absolute enthusiasm in his subject, such as precisely the best to fit him for searching out historic truth even where obscurest ;—endowed, too, with a comprehensiveness of view and philosophic sagacity, which led him, instinctively almost, to mark the relations of things, trace results to their causes, and, amidst the multiplicity of details, appreciate the real importance and grand bearing of events and epochs ;—besides that he was possessed of a turn of mind and imagination eminently dramatic and picturesque ; such as to suggest a development of his general subject with no little of dramatic unity of effect, and a grouping and painting of the details in graphic descriptions, that approach, as near almost as descriptive language can do, to the mode of exhibiting them, here chosen, of actual pictures.—Thus was the infidel Gibbon prepared to become unconsciously the best illustrator of no small part of the prophecy : that self-same heavenly prophecy that he has himself made the subject of a sneer.¹ The absolute need of such a pioneer to Apocalyptic interpretation has been well set forth by Michaelis, in his sketch of the pre-requisites for a proper Apocalyptic interpreter.² Nor is there any one that can so fully as the Expositor himself appreciate the immense advantage derivable from his pioneering. It is however an advantage in which the Reader may also participate. His work on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire offers him a book of reference easily accessible, and in secular history almost always to be depended on ;³ whereby himself to test the correctness of the historic views and statements propounded to him. It will be my object to facilitate such reference. The use will soon appear.

¹ Gibbon, ii. 304.

² Ch. xxxiii. § 6, p. 505, &c. After noting as the first qualification a competent knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew, as the second a taste for poetry and painting, he adds, as the third and most important, a complete knowledge of history, more especially of the history of Asia. And then he notes the palpable defects on that point of nearly all former expositors.

³ See Guizot's testimony to Gibbon on this point, in his Preface to the French Translation of Gibbon. It is quoted in the Quarterly Review, No. 50, p. 289. Mr. Milman has borne a similar testimony.



PART I.

SIX FIRST SEALS :

THE TEMPORARY PROSPERITY, AND THEN THE DECLINE
AND FALL, OF THE EMPIRE OF PAGAN ROME.

A.D. 96 TO 313.

APOC. CHAPTER VI.

“ And when the Lamb had opened one of the seals, I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four living creatures saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a white horse ! And he that sat on him had a bow : and a crown was given him : and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.—And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red : and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another : and there was given him a great sword.—And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse ! And he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A chœnix of wheat for a denarius, and three chœnixes of barley for a denarius ; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.—And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature say, Come and see. And I looked, and behold a pale horse ! And his name that sat on him

was Death, and Hades followed with him. And power was given him¹ to kill on the fourth part of the earth with the sword, and with hunger, and with pestilence, and with the wild beasts of the earth.—And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.—And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo! there was a great earthquake. And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair: and the moon became as blood: and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth; even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind. And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us, from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb. For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"²

The passage above quoted constitutes the first Act in the heavenly drama;—that represented under the six first Seals.

Its general subject I have presumed to be the *decline and fall*, after a previous *prosperous æra*, of the empire

¹ So Griesbach, αὐτῷ.

² I have deviated from the received version in translating ζῶα *living creatures*, instead of *beasts*; ᾗδης *Hades*, instead of *hell*; ἐπὶ ὧν, instead of *over*, the fourth part; χοῖνιξ *chœnix*, instead of *measure*; δηνάριον *denarius*, instead of *penny*; θάνατος *pestilence*, instead of *death*; θηρία *wild beasts*, instead of *beasts*.

of *Pagan Rome*. And it may be well to observe by anticipation that there was that in the details of the emblem of the very first Seal which, if I mistake not, instead of leaving its meaning doubtful or indistinct, must at once have suggested *the Roman Empire* and *Emperors*, as its intended subject of symbolization ;—i. e. to any one unprepossessed by other expectations as to the intent of the prophecy, and conversant, like the Evangelist, with the manners and customs of the age. The evidence I trust soon to bring fully not only before the mind, but even the eye of the reader.—Before doing so, however, it may be useful to make a few preliminary remarks, bearing on the right interpretation alike of the symbols of this Seal and those of the three following ; symbols constituting the quaternion of horses and horsemen, with the succession of which the revelations of the future given to St. John opened. The principles suggested will be found very simple ; and such, I trust, as will almost at once approve themselves to the common sense of the intelligent and candid reader.

And 1st, the *chronology* of each vision, as fixed by the prophecy itself, is evidently a point most necessary to attend to :—that of the first Seal determining its symbol to signify what was to happen soon after the epoch of St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos ; that of the second, third, and fourth limiting them to events, or changes, that were to have commencing epochs each in chronological sequence to the events (or at least the main part of them) ¹ signified in the vision of the Seal preceding.—Hence there will be set aside as inadmissible, not merely such extraordinarily unchronological explanations as those which interpret the four horses and horsemen to mean the four great empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome,² the first three of which, had ages before past away ; but also such as, while expounding the first Seal's symbol of *Christianity* in its

¹ Of course there may be a certain overrunning of the commencement of the new vision's subject, by the termination of that of the vision preceding.

² So *Fore* the martyrologist, as well as Mr. *Faber*.

early progress, expound those in the three next Seals of the *Wars*, *famines*, and *pestilences*, which, it is supposed, were to follow on its promulgation, not each in marked chronological sequence one after the other, but rather coincidently in time ; or perhaps, like those predicted by Christ in his prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem, very much intermixed together.¹

2. The *particularity* and *finish* (if I may so say) of the several minor emblems, which together make up in each case the Seal's compound symbol, seem to require a similarly particular explanation of the *details* of the symbol, all construed, of course, after their approved meaning ; thereby rendering improbable all interpretation that may so far deal in *generals* as to construe the *horse and horseman conjointly* in each case of some great event, system, or abstraction : such, for example, as in Dr. Keith's scheme, which makes the things signified to be the four religious systems, successively developed and brought into power, of *Christianity*, *Mahommedism*, *Popery*,² and *Infidelity* ; or, again, the *Christianity*, *War*, *Famine*, and *Pestilence*, propounded in the scheme before noted.

3. The *homogeneity* of the common emblems of a *horse and horseman* in all the four Seals, seems to call for a homogeneous interpretation of them ; that is to say, that if the *horse* in the first Seal be construed of an *empire*, or of the *Christian Church*, then it should be similarly construed of an empire, or of the Church, in the Seals following :³ and again, that if the *horseman* in the first Seal be construed of an *individual*, (which indeed, in case of the *horse* meaning a thing *corporate*,

¹ So of old *Victorinus* and others, referring expressly to Christ's prophecy of the wars, famines, and pestilences that (without any marked *chronological sequence* on each other) were to precede his coming, or rather the destruction of Jerusalem. (On whose view my Sketch of the History and Progress of Apocalyptic interpretation, given in the Appendix, may be consulted.) So too, I believe, among living interpreters, *Mr. Digby*.

² Such is Dr. Keith's succession. But surely, chronologically speaking, Popery should have been placed before Mahommedism.

³ So *Vitringa*, p. 310. " Si fata Romani Imperii symbolicis imaginibus priorum quatuor sigillorum depinguntur, necesse fuit ut Romanum Imperium continuâ temporis serie, sub quatuor his prodiasset aspectibus qui his imaginibus exhibentur." This he says in refutation of Mede's exposition, explaining the *white horse* and *its rider* of Christ's Church, the others of the Roman Empire.

such as an *empire* or *church*, seems scarcely consistent,) then the horseman in the other three Seals should be so construed also. Thus the interpretations which make Christ, *personally*, to be the rider in the first Seal, but assign no such individual rider to the other horses, seem to be *pro tanto* inconsistent and improbable.

4. With regard to the comparative probability, antecedent to more particular investigation, of the *Church*, or some *earthly empire or nation* being meant by the emblematic *horse*, the impracticability just alluded to of construing the rider of the *white horse* as Christ Himself, personally and individually, will instantly and greatly diminish the strength of any prepossession in favour of the former view, derived from the fact of Christ's afterwards appearing personally in vision on a white horse:¹ and the impression will suggest itself that the two visions are to be regarded (so as I have already intimated in speaking of the *moral* of the drama²) in the light of a marked *contrast*, not an *identity* of subject. This impression will be strengthened by the obvious and striking difference of details in the two symbolic figurations;³ and yet further by the corroborative circumstance that there is no example *any where else* in Scripture of the *Christian Church* being symbolized by a *horse*.⁴ Nor, I am persuaded, will human learning or ingenuity ever be found to carry out satisfactorily a detailed historical explanation of the four

¹ Apoc. xix. 11.

² See p. 106 *supra*.

³ Especially in that the figuration of Apoc. xix. 11, instead of Christ's *one white horse*, presented *many others* in association; so setting aside the idea of its *there* at least meaning the Church. Again in Apoc. xix. Christ wore on his head *many diadems*, instead of a *crown* as in Apoc. vi: and moreover had a *sword* proceeding out of his mouth, instead of a *dow* in his hand.

⁴ The horse and his rider is an expression continually used in Scripture in designation of a *heathen* military power. So Exod. xv. 21, Jer. li. 21, Ezek. xxiii. 6, Hagg. ii. 21, Zech. ix. 20, &c. There is but one passage in the Old Testament, where the symbol of a horse is used of any but a military heathen power, viz. Zech. x. 3; where God says, "I will make Judah my goodly horse in battle:" and there it is borrowed, if I may so say, from the custom of Judah's enemies boasting of their horses and riders. Compare verse 5. Indeed horses were expressly forbidden to the Jews: see Deut. xvii. 16. Ps. xx. 7, &c.—Moreover *Judah* is not the *Christian Church*.

Seals, on this principle. So Vitringa allows ;¹ and the trials that have been made to accomplish it, have only served strikingly to illustrate the truth of Vitringa's admission.²

Hence the *à priori* probability of the Apocalyptic horse meaning a *nation* or *empire* ; and, if so, then of course that nation with which, more than any other, the Christian Church both was, and was to be, locally connected ; that is, the *Roman* nation. The circumstance of other heathen nations or empires having been elsewhere similarly depicted in Scripture by certain of the more domestic animals, (contradistinctively, I mean, to *wild beasts*, their emblems in the persecuting character,) e. g. the Persian nation by a *ram*, and Macedonian by a *goat*,³ is one confirmatory of this view : and the fitness of the *war-horse* to signify the *martial Roman nation*, especially as claiming to be the *Mavortia proles*, with *Mars*, the god of war, for their father,—seems almost self-evident. Nor, if in those other cases the appropriateness of the emblems has been further evidenced from the actual self-application of them by either nation, (so as Persian and Macedonian coins still extant prove to us,⁴) is similar corroborative proof of fitness wanting in the present instance. A horse was one of the ancient Roman war-standards.⁵ At spring and at autumn, each year as it rolled round, the Romans from Romulus' time, it is said, down to the time of the Emperors, saw the horse exhibited in sacrifices and in games, as the animal sacred to their father Mars.⁶ Italian (I might

¹ "Videbam interpretes qui per *equum album* hic intelligunt *ecclesiam Christi*, vehementer laborare in *sequente emblemate* rectè exponendo." p. 328.

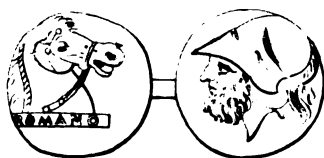
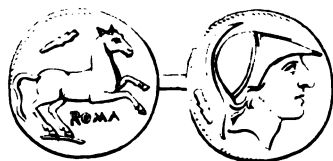
² See my General Appendix, Vol. iv. Part ii. § 4. ³ Daniel viii. 20, 21.

⁴ Engravings of these coins will be given in my 3rd Vol.

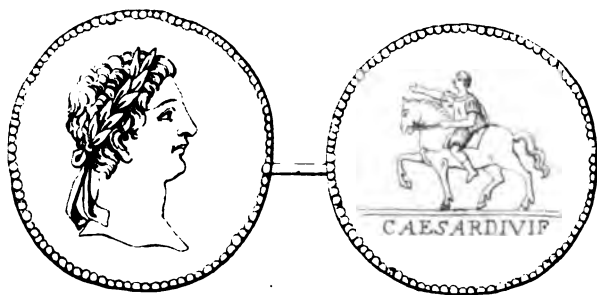
⁵ So Pliny x. 4 ; "Erat et antea aquila prima cum quatuor aliis. Lupi, minotauri, equi, aprique singulos ordines anteibant." i. e. up to the time of Marius.

⁶ The *sacrifice of the horse*, in one annual festival to Mars, is noted by Festus in Octob. and the *horse-races* by the same author, in *Equiria*, as at another.—Tertullian de Spectac. c. 5, notices these last, "Dehinc *equiria* Marti Romulus dixit ;" just after mentioning Romulus as Mars' son. On which passage Pamelius illustrates the institution from Varro, Festus, and Ovid.

THE ROMAN HORSE.



THE ROMAN IMPERIAL HORSEMAN.



From Medals in the British Museum.

indeed say Roman) coins, such as the reader now sees engraved before him, still remain to illustrate to us this recognized connection of *Mars*, the *horse*, and the *Roman people*.¹ Moreover in imperial times, from Augustus downward, a horse associated with a crowned rider, or with one to whom a crown belonged, so as in the Apocalyptic figuration, was a device on Roman coins, as well as on Roman public monuments, just as it was a thing in real life also, most common.² And when in any case to be interpreted symbolically, (so as the successive colours of the Apocalyptic horse indicated, of which more presently,) then we learn from Roman imperial history that it was the recognized, as well as natural principle, to interpret it as significant of those whom the crowned rider ruled over; that is, of the Roman People.³

The meaning of the *horse* thus presumptively settled, that of the other details of the symbol will be readily perceived. Its *colours*, in the successive Seals,

¹ On these coins see Eckhel, vol. v. pp. 46—49. The inscribed *Romano* in the second, (a word of cognate form with *Romanom*, *Volkanom*, &c. on other coins,) fixes it, he judges, to have been of Campanian origin: also that the horse was the *Roman horse*, sacred to *Mars* at Rome. "Ad Romana hic typus sacra pertinet. Refert Festus; 'Equiria Iudi quos Romulus Marti instituit per equorum cursum, qui in Campo Martio exercebatur.' De equo dicto Octobri, qui singulis annis Marti in Campo Martio immolabatur, vide eundem Festum in October equus." Some of this class, Eckhel adds, were restored as *Roman* by Trajan. "Quod non mirum: nam numi hi, etsi peregrini, tamen Romæ fuerunt obvi; et cum in iis expressum nomen legeretur, poterant monetæ Romanæ accenseri." Ib. p. 46. Niebuhr, in his history of the second Samnite war, suggests that this second class of coins may probably have been struck by a community of Roman colonists settled at that time in Campania. (French Translation by Golberry vol. v. p. 399.) Of course the same intended connexion between the *Roma* inscribed, and the types of *Mars* and the *horse* struck, may be reasonably inferred in the case of the first class of coins, as of the second. The date of both was probably somewhere between the times of the second Samnite and first Carthaginian wars. (See No. iii. in the Appendix to this Volume.)

² I append an illustrative equestrian medal of the first Emperor Augustus. It is but the first of a series. In Statius there is an ode commemorative of Domitian's equestrian statue; which also is seen on one of his coins.

³ Tacitus, in relating the consul Petrus' passage over the Euphrates, on some military expedition in the time of Nero, says that it was made "*tristi omine*:" because "in transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte trans mittebat, nullâ palam causâ turbatus equus qui consularia insignia gestabat retro evasit." (Annal. xv. 7.) That is, the retreating back of the horse that bore the consul's insignia was interpreted to betoken the retreat of the Roman army and its Consul.

were the obvious indications of the successive symptomatic phases that the body politic which it represented would exhibit, from that of high health and prosperity to that of mortal dissolution ; its *riders* of the characteristic *agents* or *agencies*, by which, during the times respectively intended, it would be thus acted on and influenced,—the *instrumental causes*, in effect, of these *symptomatic phases*.—To prevent mistake as to the particular agents or agency signified in each case, the rider bore, or had given him, in the successive visions, some distinctive *badge* of his class, as *the crown, bow, sword, balance, &c.* I say of his *class* ;—for in each case, I conceive, it was not an *individual* that the rider was likely to represent ; but, conformably with the *corporate* signification of the emblematic horse, and other such symbols in prophecy, a *collective body, class, or series*.

Thus simply were the main points that Gibbon deemed it important to mark in his philosophic history of the empire, set forth before the Evangelist in the four first of the Apocalyptic figurations :—I mean, not the *events* or *changes* alone ; but, together with them in each case, the *instrumental cause* and the *symptomatic phase*.—Nor let me omit to add, with reference to the *epochs* and *æras*, as well as *topics*, chosen for delineation, that they too will be found well to agree with those that Gibbon has judged it fit to make prominent in his pictures, as bearing most importantly on his grand subject of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire.—The four visions of the horses that I have been speaking of, reached, as will appear, to the time when the unity of the Empire was dissolved. After which there was fore-shown to the Apostle in the *fifth* Seal, though under imagery quite different and peculiar, another *æra* and cause yet more directly and strongly bearing on the overthrow of the Pagan Empire of Rome than even any depicted before : it being so the fit introduction of the *sixth* Seal's hieroglyphic, which contained within it the

prefiguration of that overthrow ; itself the grand consummation of this first Act of the heavenly Drama.

Thus much premised, proceed we more particularly to consider the sacred figurations. The first Seal opened, a *horse* and *horseman* appeared issuing forth, as I suppose, upon the Roman landscape : and the voice of one of the Cherubim called on St. John, Come and see !

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST SEAL.

AND what then was to be the characteristic state of the Roman Empire, according to the first Seal's prefiguration, in the æra next following (for so, as before observed, the Angel's words to St. John fixed the chronology¹) after the time then present of the Apostle's exile in Patmos ? —Methinks it might not unnaturally have been expected by Christians, who, like him, were suffering from Domitian's persecution, that it would not be very long before, under the sentence of God's righteous judgment, the great persecuting empire of Pagan Rome would be seen declining towards its dissolution. And, indeed, the vices, follies, and oppressions of the Emperor then reigning, as of most that had preceded him,² might suggest an *internal* cause already in operation, and the boldness and successful incursions of the frontier barbarians an *external*, (the facts have been already noticed by me,³) each apparently almost sufficient of itself to pro-

¹ ἡ δὲ θεὸς γενεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

² Gibbon, i. 128, thus sketches their "age of iron," from Tiberius to Domitian ; Vespasian and his son Titus being alone excepted. "Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy."

³ See my brief historic picture of the state of the empire at the time of St. John's seeing the Apocalypse, given at p. 69 *suprà* ; and especially the extract in the Note^b from Tacitus. I must beg the reader very carefully and distinctly to realize to himself this state of things in the Roman world under Domitian, at the outset of our inquiry into the prophecy.

duce that result.—But such a result was not indicated to St. John. On the contrary, the first symbol under which the Roman people was represented (as I am presuming) to his view, represented it somewhat strangely under the colour of triumph, prosperity, and health in the body politic.¹ “I looked, and lo! a *white* horse! and he that sat thereon having a *bow*; and a *crown* (*στέφανος*) was given him; and he went forth *conquering and to conquer*.” It was as if prosperity long unknown would spring up, and continue for some considerable time, within the empire; a prosperity introduced and accompanied, except as peace might vary them, by wars of victory and triumph; wars to which the rulers would go forth conquering and to conquer; assuring the general inviolability from foreign foes, and perhaps (for the words “to conquer” seemed to intimate as much) advancing the limits and the greatness of the empire.

And was not this very notably and distinctively the state of the Roman empire for the eighty or ninety years succeeding John’s banishment? that is, from the death of Domitian, A.D. 96, through the successive reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines, until the accession of Commodus, and the triumphant peace made by him with the Germans, A.D. 180? I turn to Gibbon, (whose History, by a most singular coincidence, in respect of commencing date, as well as of subject, agrees with the Apocalyptic prefigurations,) and find him, just as in this first Seal’s symbolic sketch, deferring for a while to enter on his great subject of the *decline* of the Roman empire, in order, in the first place, to describe its *glory* and its *happiness* in this precise æra, as the æra that immediately preceded that of its declining. In fact, he makes it the bright ground of his historic picture; from which afterwards more effectively to throw out in dark colouring the successive traits of the empire’s corruption and decline.

¹ The *pale* or *livid* colour in the fourth Seal may possibly indicate an intended reference in the colours of the horse to the *internal healthiness or disease* of the Roman body politic, as well as to its *outward* garb of prosperity or of mourning. I have borne this in mind in explaining the Visions of the four Seals.

He represents it,—and his representations are sufficiently confirmed by the original records remaining to us,—as a “golden age” of prosperity scarce to be paralleled in history; a period in which “the vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of wisdom and virtue;” a period “*unstained with civil blood*,” (just like the *white* of the first Apocalyptic horse, in contrast with the *red* of the second,¹) “and undisturbed by revolution;” a period remarkable for intervals extraordinarily protracted of external peace, and as remarkable for the wonderful and almost uniform triumphs in war, by which the glory of the empire was illustrated, and its limits extended. In short, he adds, “If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.”²

I said that the wars of the Romans during this period, were all but uniformly triumphant. And who knows not of the triumphs of Trajan, the Roman Alexander, as its commencement, by which Dacia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and other provinces were in the course of its first twenty years added to the Roman Empire? The forty-three years which followed, constituting the reigns of Adrian³ and Antoninus Pius, were years of nearly

¹ It is in regard of this contrast that I the rather wish these words to be marked; as furnishing from Gibbon an unintended illustration not only of the *white* of the first seal, but of the *red* of the second.

² i. 126, 127.—*Tacitus*, the great historian of “the iron age” preceding, lived to enjoy and to record “the golden age” that followed; his death not occurring (so Bayle supposes, though the exact date is not known,) till the reign of Adrian. In his life of *Agricola*, ii. 1, he thus notes its commencement and progress: “Nunc demum redit animus: et quanquam primo statim *beatissimi seculi* ortu Nerva Cæsar res etiam dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augentque quotidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Trajanus, &c.” On which his translator Murphy observes that “the period of ninety years (from Nerva to Commodus) might truly be called the *golden age* of the Empire.” So too *Suetonius*. See my Note ⁴ p. 137.

³ *Adrian*, on his accession, resigned the ultra-Euphratean provinces just before added by Trajan; not however under any compulsion from defeat, but as deeming, with Augustus, that the Euphrates formed the best Eastern frontier to the Empire. (See Montesquieu sur la Grandeur, &c. Chap. xv.) He however determined to retain the vast province of Dacia; in which his successors throughout the period we speak of imitated him.

There is a common class of medals of these emperors, which well illustrate the

unbroken peace :—unbroken except by slight hostilities on the frontiers, and the war, confined to a single province, in which the rebellion of the Jews was put down with fearful slaughter of that unhappy people. After this, however, and towards the conclusion of the period we speak of, wars arose again, and of a more formidable character. But, with the exception of one partial repulse by the Marcomanni, victory after victory still attended the Roman standards under the second Antonine ; till the German barbarians, driven into their forests, were reduced to submission : ¹ and, in the east also, the Parthian war was ended by the total overthrow of that people, and the capture of their chief cities Artaxata, Seleucia, Ctesiphon. So that the “conquering and to conquer,” continued to the end of the period under review. And as the magnificent *Column of Trajan* still remains at Rome,² the just memorial of the triumphs of its commencement, so it has been ordered that there should remain also that of *Antoninus Aurelius*, the magnificent although inferior monument of those of its close.³

respect paid them by the barbarians of the frontier. Barbarian kings are represented as receiving a tiara or diadem from them, with the legends, “Rex Parthis datus,” “Rex Quadis datus,” &c. See Spanheim, p. 832.

¹ See Gib. i. 381. Schlegel, in his *Philosophy of History*, ii. 36, thus notices the effectiveness of his triumphs over them : “M. Aurelius, by his successful resistance of the Alemannic invasion, was the means of deterring the barbarians for a long time from similar enterprizes.”

² On the top of this column Trajan’s ashes were placed in a golden urn ; a triumph having been previously celebrated to *his image*, in place of himself. A thing unparalleled !

³ The Rev. T. K. Arnold has objected to this my general historic solution of the first Seal’s symbol, that the words “went forth conquering and that he should conquer” implies an uninterrupted succession of triumphant wars on the part of the rider of the first horse, without any such long intervals of peace intervening as occurred in the reigns of Adrian and of Antoninus Pius. For a full reply to his objection I must beg to refer to my Answer to his Remarks, pp. 9—11. Suffice it here to say, 1. that the words themselves quoted imply nothing more than that some remarkable course of conquest was to be the imperial rider’s earliest destiny, and that it was also his destiny that conquer he still should *whenever and wherever afterwards called into war* ; just as was in fact the case under Adrian as well as under Antoninus Aurelius :—2. that the horse’s colour *white*, being one indicative of *prosperity and happiness*, might almost seem to require that there should be long intervals of peace, during the first Seal’s period, for the general enjoyment of the rider’s primary and subsequent triumphs :—3. that the very language of the *second Seal* directly implies that a *happy peace* was to be in fine at least a state of things enjoyed, through the triumphs of the rider on the white horse, under the *first Seal*, for it says that “It was given to him, (viz. to the rider of the red horse) to take *τὴν εἰρήνην*, the peace (previously existing)

Thus far of the triumphs of the empire during the coming æra of its prosperity. But whose the *influential agency* that would cause them? In other words, who the agents personified by the *rider*? Now to ourselves what is related of *the reigning emperors* throughout this æra,—their absolute authority, for as yet “the armies were restrained by the firm and gentle hand of these five successive emperors,”¹—and the manner in which they used it to cherish the nation’s happiness, advance its prosperity, and guide it to its triumphs,—must at once have suggested *them* as the persons symbolized. As Gibbon says, “The delight was theirs of beholding the general happiness of *which they were the authors*.”² Nor were the visible symbols wanting in the vision to foreshow the very same to the Evangelist. First *the white horse* of the rider might suggest it; *white* having been from early times the chosen colour for horses used by *Roman generals*, and still by *Roman Emperors*, in their *triumphs*. So Domitian rode on a white horse, in his father Vespasian’s triumph:³ and Pliny somewhat remarkably notes the custom, in his account of Trajan’s return to Rome from his foreign victories.⁴ Then the *crown* given him would seem sufficient absolutely to confirm this impression:

from the earth.” To which implied intimation the glorious peace made by Commodus with the Germans, on their suing for it, immediately after his father Aurelius’ death, completing as it did, conjointly with that previously made with the Parthians, the peace of the Roman world, did in fact exactly answer.

In proof of the triumphant character of that peace I beg to refer to Dion Cassius’ description of it in detail, B. lxxii. c. 2, 3. Schlegel’s judgment should be also noted; given by me p. 128 Note, just previously. ¹ Gib. i. 127.

² Ib.—So other historians of the period, alike ancient and modern. Thus both Suetonius and Tacitus represent the *earlier* Emperors of the series, *Nerva* and *Trajan*, as introducers of a golden age: and similarly, notwithstanding the dangerous wars, and the plague too, that occurred under the reign of *Aurelius*, Dion Cassius represents *his* reign as also of the golden age. Similarly Eutropius, viii. 1, speaking of Nerva’s accession and his successors; “*Respublica ad prosperitatem statum rediit, bonis principibus ingenti felicitate commissa*.” and of Aurelius; “*Fortunatam Rempublicam et virtute et mansuetudine reddidit*.” And so too Victor—Even the Christian writer Lactantius passes his eulogium on its ruling Princes. In his *De Mort. Persec.* c. 3, ad fin. he says; “*Secutis temporibus (sc. post Domitianum) multi boni principes Romani Imperii clavum regiminque tenuerunt*.” ³ So Suetonius.

⁴ Panegy. xxii; “*Priores invehi et importari solebant non dico quadrijuvo curru et alibentibus equis, &c.*” Compare Servius ad *Æn.* iii. 537: and also Lactantius, *De Mort. Pres.* cap. xvi.

the triumph and triumphal crown-wearing having been from the time of Augustus all but withdrawn, as too great an honour, from subordinate generals; and appropriated, as his own proper distinction, to the reigning Emperor.¹

It so happens, indeed, that as regards this very point an objection has been made, and somewhat authoritatively too, to the effect that the *diadem*, not the *σέφαρος* or *crown*, would have been the badge represented, if Roman emperors had been symbolized: and that, in fact, instead of the presentation of the crown fixing the meaning to individuals in that high office, the want of the diadem positively precludes the idea of their being the persons meant.² But the objection has been founded evidently on misapprehension. The respectable writer objecting, (and I believe he is not alone in it,) seems to have confounded either between the kingly and imperial offices, or between the practices of the earlier and later Roman emperors. Let me explain.—By the *imperator*, or *emperor*, up to the time of Augustus, was meant, as is well known, simply the victorious Roman general, saluted with that title by his soldiers on the field of battle, and with the triumph and its coveted honours and insignia following. Now though with Augustus and his successors the most absolute monarchical power attached to their emperorship, yet it was their policy to veil it under the old military or imperial badges. Hence their public insignia (of which the mock robing and crowning of Jesus by the Roman soldiery is an affecting remembrancer)³ were still the laurel crown and purple robe. The assumption of the diadem, or broad white fillet set with pearls, as a badge of oriental despotism, and of the servitude of subject vassals, (so the Romans viewed it,) these emperors carefully shunned. The remembrance long remained with them of the feelings exhibited by the Roman people on its being offered by Antony to their great ancestor Julius Cæsar;⁴ insomuch that it was

¹ Gibb. i. 102, Note ¹⁰. On the exceptions, see Note ¹ p. 131.

² Cuninghame's Apocalypse, p. 5; and Answer to Faber, p. 156, Note.

³ Only in his case it was *σέφαρος ακανθίως*: a crown not of laurel, but of thorns.

⁴ How striking is Cicero's description! "Sedebat in rostris collega tuus,



THE EMPEROR NERVA WITH THE IMPERIAL CROWN.



THE EMPEROR VALENTINIAN WITH THE ROYAL DIADEM.



considered an act of madness on the part of Caligula, (and the act was quite isolated) to attempt to assume it. Abundant memorials still exist to show that at the time of Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines the *crown* remained the badge of Roman emperors, the *diadem* of barbarous kings.¹ In fact not till about the time of Diocletian;² or rather of his immediate predecessor Aurelian,³ near 200 years after St. John's banishment to Patmos, was the diadem adopted by Roman emperors: the innovation being accompanied both with the other insignia, and the adoration also, of eastern royalty. The change constituted an epoch in Roman history; and one markedly noticed, as will hereafter appear in the Apocalypse.⁴ (I append illustrative engravings.⁵)—Thus then about Diocletian's time, and thenceforward, but *not till then*, the diadem was the imperial badge;—for a century or more conjointly with the laurel,⁶ then exclusively. So that whereas, with re-

amictus togæ purpureæ, in sellâ aureâ, coronatus. Ascendis; accedis ad sellam; diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? Non enim abjectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo; meditatam et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangere populi; ille cum plausu rejiciebat." Cicero Orat. 2 in Antonium, C. 34.

¹ Illustrations abound both historical and medallie. Eckhel on the *cultus capitis* of the Augusti, Vol. viii. p. 360, states that in the interval between Augustus and Domitian the only three persons that appear to have worn the imperial crown, besides the reigning emperors, were Claudius Drusus, L. Vitellius, and Domitian himself, previous to his accession. From after Domitian's accession however he says that it was an absolute distinctive. "Deinceps in legem abivisse ut nemo nisi Augustus laureâ præcingeretur numi luculentur docent."

On the other hand Spanheim, De Usu Numism. p. 832, &c. notices, as common Roman medals of the æra of Trajan and the Antonines, coins in which barbarian kings are represented as receiving a tiara or diadem from the Emperor; with the legends, *Rex Parthis datus, Rex Quadis datus, &c.*

So too Dion Cassius, Lib. xvii. tells how Domitian, in token of his having the disposal of that barbarian kingdom, or at least pretending to it, put the *diadem* on a *Dacian king*, (τῷ Δακρυῖ: δ: αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε, καθάπερ ἐς ἀληθὺς κεκρατηκώς, καὶ βασιλεὺς τινὰ τοῖς Δακοῖς δυνάμει δυνάμενος.)

Herodian (B. viii.) illustrates the continuance of the imperial symbol of a crown, by an example of the date A.D. 238. When the Aquileians would intimate to their besiegers the two senatorial emperors acknowledged by them, they did so by exhibiting from the walls *their portraits crowned with laurel.*

² So Gibbon, Vol. ii. p. 165.

³ So the younger Victor; "Iste (Aurelianus) primus apud Romanos diadema capiti innexuit, gemmisque et auratâ veste usus est."—See Spanheim, p. 680.

⁴ See my explanation of Apoc. xvii. 10, in Part iv. Ch. iv.

⁵ In the Plate opposite, the specimens of laureated and diademed emperors given,—the one of *Nerva*, near the end of the *first* century, the other of *Valentinian* of the *fourth*,—are copied from Pitiscus' Edition of Victor.

⁶ Hence the laureated heads of the Constantinian emperors, for example,

ference to such a period as the close of the *fourth* century, it would have been an impropriety, and with reference to the *sixth* an anachronism, to represent the *στέφανος*, or laurel crown,¹ as a badge of empire, on an imperial or royal head,—just as much, and indeed still more, it would have been an anachronism to represent a Roman emperor of the *two and a half first centuries* with a diadem.

Thus the objection has only led us to see the more clearly the exact chronological propriety, as well as the personal distinctiveness, of this particular emblem in the first Seal's hieroglyphic.—And I cannot but add that the very *presentation* of the crown to the emblematic rider on his *going forth*, was yet an additional point of resemblance in the symbolic picture to the imperial usages at Rome in the time of St. John. For an emperor's *going forth* to war was an occasion perpetually taken by the senate and others to express their good wishes, and their auguries (often in those cases falsified) of success; and, in token thereof, medals commemorative were struck; depicting the Emperor galloping forth on horseback, and with the legend, "*Profectio*," or "*Expeditio Augusti*."² Yet more, supposing that success had already begun to favour him in the war, they had a mode of expressing the successes accomplished, as well as those that were anticipated for the future;—the "*conquering*," as well as the "*to conquer*." He was represented,—sometimes, it might be, on a triumphal arch, sometimes simply on terra firma,—as *going forth* between trophies and captives, and

often seen on the imperial medals of that period.—But the *proper* badge of royalty was at that time understood to be the *diadem*. Thus when Constantine's corpse lay in state, we read in Eusebius that it was arrayed in *purple* and with the *diadem*, as the royal insignia; Βασιλικὸς κοσμοῖς, πορφύρῃ τε καὶ διαδηματί. De Vit. Const. iv. 66. See my Paper on the diadem in the Appendix to Vol. iii.

¹ In the Apocalypse the *seven-headed dragon* with *diadems*, Apoc. xii. 3, seems used in reference to the opening of the *fourth* century; the *ten-horned diademed Beast*, Apoc. xiii. 1, with reference to the *sixth*.

² "Equites Imperatores solebant Romani diverso more pro variis eorum gestis representare. Cum aliquis solito equi gradu incedit, *profectio* est Augusti; accelerato passu ejus *expeditio*: captivum prosternens *virtus* Imperatoris; gradu lento *adventus* ejus in urbem." Rasche, ii. p. 724. See also on this subject Rasche, vol. iv. p. 179; and Spanheim, 705, 725. The crown was represented generally as offered, or borne before the Emperors, by Victory.

A ROMAN IMPERATOR PROCEEDING TO VICTORY.



From Montfaucon's Antiquities.

with Victory either crowning, or with a crown in hand preceding him. Such in part is the character of a medal of the emperor Claudius, with the exergue, "*De Britannis*," underneath:¹ such, more exactly, the bas-reliefs on a triumphal arch erected to Claudius Drusus in the Appian way, after victories over the Germans. Of which latter an engraving is appended.² And I think that after viewing it, and considering what has been also further observed respecting the *crown* and the *white horse*, the reader will deem me justified in expressing the persuasion I did at the beginning of this Chapter, to the effect that a person conversant, like St. John,³ with the Roman usages of the age, must at once have had suggested to his mind by the emblems of the first Seal just considered, the idea of a Roman emperor speeding forth to victory.⁴

One objection however may still probably present itself, one difficulty seem to stand in the way of this our application of the symbol;—I refer to the fact of the rider having a *bow*, in his hand. For the weapon represented in the hands of Roman emperors, on medals and other extant monuments of antiquity, is generally the *javelin*, sometimes the *sword* never, so far as I know, the *bow*. And hence indeed Vitringa,—though not unconscious of the general fitness of the emblem of a

¹ Given by Ackerman in his work on Roman medals, i. 105. The horseman in it is speeding forth between trophies on a triumphal arch. I might add others from Rasche: such e. g. as one of Caracalla's that he describes ii. 716; "*Equus Imperator dextram elevans à Victoriâ volitante coronatur: ante pedes equi captivus*:" &c.

² It is described by Bellario, in his work on the *Veteres Arcus Augustorum*. Rome, 1824. The words, "*De Germanis*," appear inscribed on the top, and the following explanatory notice is subjoined at the bottom of the page; "*Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Imper. Caput Neronis Claudii. Arcus Druso Victori in expeditione Germanicâ: via Appiâ positus*."—I should observe that in the plate opposite, the Victory has been added by me, by way of illustration, from another triumphal arch, adjoining this in Montfaucon's plate, vol. iv. p. 108.

³ Or like St. Paul. See this illustrated under the next Seal.

⁴ In fact the image was as familiar in this sense to the Romans then living, as that of a woman sitting by the sea, with a trident in hand and shield beside her, would be as a representation of Britannia to ourselves.

crowned rider on a white horse, going forth conquering and to conquer, to depict the æra of prosperity and triumph under the five Roman emperors whose reigns followed after the date of the Apocalyptic visions,¹—yet argues that the bow was an *Asiatic* and *barbarian* weapon and badge; and purposely inserted in the hieroglyphic, to divert the thoughts of the observer from the Roman empire and emperors.² In which view he has been followed by other commentators.

But is this correct? Was the *bow* a badge of Asiatic and other barbarians only? Was there not one particular province and people, among *the provincials of the Roman Empire*, of whom it was also distinctive? distinctive not equally alone, but even yet more, than of any barbarian people whatsoever? If the reader will consult the records of antiquity, he will find, if I mistake not, that such was indeed the case with *the island and islanders of Crete*. Alike their *colonial origin*, *mythological traditionary legends*, *military history*, and *manufactures*, attest this peculiar connection of the *Cretans* and the *bow*.—As to their *origin*, it appears from ancient authors that Crete was originally peopled, in part at least,³ from that part of Palestine situate on the Mediterranean coast, which was by the Arabs called *Keritha*, and by the Syrians *Creth*; its inhabitants bearing the similar Hebraic appellation *Crethim*, or, as the Seventy have translated it, Κρητες:⁴—respecting which *Crethim*, Bochart adds, that they were *noted archers*, some of them employed by David as his life-guard.⁵—It is Sir

¹ "Sub bonis et laudatis principibus à Nervà usque ad Commodum facies Romani Imperii satis fuit æquabilis, et emblemate albi equi cùm sessore victorioso figurari potuisset." p. 310.

² "Emblema desumptum esse ex moribus gentium Asianarum, quæ arcu in bellis utebantur: quod Romani moris non erat." p. 323. "Addo Spiritum certo consilio huic Imperatori dedisse arcum, non gladium, ut cogitationem nostram à Romanis Imperatoribus abduceret ad Christum. p. 325.

³ The Univ. Hist. viii. 219 (on *Crete*), while allowing Bochart's correctness in stating that some of the Philistines mingled with the Phœnicians that attended Cadmus into Crete and Greece, yet observes, not without good historic authority, that a *Pelasgian* colony had arrived in Crete before him.—But it was the Phœnician *Crethim* that gave their name to the island.

⁴ So 1 Sam. xxx. 14, Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5.

⁵ See 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 23, 1 Kings i. 38, 1 Chron. xvii. 17: in all

Isaac Newton's supposition that Crete was thus peopled from Palestine about 1055 B.C., when many of the Phœnicians and Syrians fled from King David into Asia Minor, *Crete*, Greece, Lybia. Others date the migration earlier.¹ But, whatever the epoch, this is certain, that in Crete itself the archery habits of the Syrian Crethim colonists, as well as their name, remained. The earliest *traditional legends* of the Cretan islanders ascribe a similar pre-eminence in the art to those of their forefathers that were in the island native-born. It is told us by Diodorus Siculus that Apollo (the *Cretan Apollo*) was affirmed in these legends to have been the first inventor of the bow, and how he taught the natives archery; whence their superior skill in the art before and above all other men.² (The Cretan medal, which will be found presently appended, of *Apollo and his bow*, with the inscription *Καινον Κρητων*, is given in illustration.)³—Descending from the times of legendary fable to those of real history, we find the association of the bow and the islanders of Crete constantly marked thenceforward in the *military annals* of the neighbouring states, for ages. Among Homer's heroes it was the Cretan Merion that bore away the palm in archery.⁴ By Pindar the appellation *bowmen* was attached as a distinctive appellation to the Cretan islanders.⁵ And Pausanias states that in those earlier historic times the Cretans *alone of all the Greeks* were archers: impugning the correctness of a piece of sculpture, which represented Diitrephes as pierced by *arrows*; his slayers being *other* Greeks, not

of which places the word though in our translation rendered *Cherethites*, is in the original *Crethim*; and this word by the Chaldee Paraphrast interpreted *archers*. In the above I have nearly copied the observations of Macknight, in his Preface to the Epistle to Titus, § 3.

¹ The reader will probably be aware that Sir I. Newton's Chronology dates the early settlement of Greece some 300 or 400 years later than the more received Chronology of Usher and Playfair.

² Diodorus, Lib. v. c. 74: *Ἀπολλωνα δὲ ἀναγορευοῦσι, εὐρετὴν τοῦ τοξοῦ γενομένου θ.δ.α.β. τοὺς ἐγχωρίους τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐξηλωθῆαι τὴν τοξικὴν.*

³ It is a coin of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, whose head is on the obverse; and has been copied for me from one in the Imperial Collection at Vienna. Other Cretan coins have Apollo with the *plectrum* and *bow*: others Diana the huntress, with her *bow*. See Rasche.

⁴ Il. ψ.

⁵ He calls the Cretans *τοξοφοροί*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, Pyth. Od. 5.

Cretans.¹ With reference to later times, Thucydides relates how in the Peloponnesian war archers were fetched by the belligerent parties from Crete:²—as regards those of Macedonian supremacy we are reminded of the same fact by Plutarch:³—and with reference to those of Roman greatness, from the Carthaginian wars down to those of Cæsar, by Polybius,⁴ Livy,⁵ Lucan,⁶ Hirtius.⁷ It was suggested by astronomers, in explanation of the fact of their long-continued eminence in the art, that Crete lay under the zodiacal sign of the *Archer, Sagittarius*.⁸—Moreover, the Cretan *manufacture of bows*, (not to say of *arrows* also⁹) was celebrated. No European bow was noted as theirs. The name *Cretan* in fact came to be attached as an appellative to bows;¹⁰ and it was a *national device* impressed on their medals. I append one copied from Pellerin as a specimen; and subjoin the observations on the device, as a Cretan distinctive, of a Roman poet and German medallist.¹¹

Under all which circumstances can I be wrong in

¹ Τόσπον μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Διτρεφῆς, ὅτι οἰοίς ἐπεβεβλήτο Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν, ἀπὸ ἐπιχωρίων οἱ τοξεύων. De Atticis.

² Lib. vi. So too his cotemporary *Aristophanes*, in the *Ranæ*.

Ἀλλ' ὦ Κρητὲς, ἰδὲς τέκνα,
τὰ τοῖα λαβόντες ἐπαμύνατε.

So also Xenophon *Anab.* i. 2. 9. speaking of Clearchus bringing τοξότας κρητὰς διακοσίους. ³ In his *Lives* of Agis and Pyrrhus. ⁴ Polyb. Lib. v.

⁵ Livy, Lib. xxxvii, xxxviii.

⁶ Lib. iii. 184.

⁷ Bell. Alexandr.

⁸ So Manilius, Lib. iv.

Gnosia Centauro tellus circumdata ponto
Paret, et in gremium Minois filius astrum
Ipse venit geminus : celeres huic Creta sagittas
Asserit, intentosque imitatur sideris arcus.

⁹ So Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus, *Κρητικὴ βέλαι πλῆγῃς*; and Manilius in the verses just cited, "celeris huic Creta sagittas Asserit."

These five or six last references I have borrowed from Meursius' work on Crete, p. 178, &c. (Ed. Amsterdam 1675.)

¹⁰ So in the passage above cited from Diodorus Siculus; which after *μαλίστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν εἰλᾶσθαι τὴν τοξικὴν*, adds, *καὶ τὰ τοξὸν Κρητικὸν ὀνομασθῆναι*. For I think of the correctness of Bochart's and Wesseling's correction of *Κρητικὸν* for *Χανθικὸν* not a doubt can be entertained. See Wesseling's Note. So too, says Wesseling, Pollux (i. 149) speaks of the *τοξὸν Κρητικὸν*.

¹¹ Eckhel, after describing a medal of Cydonia, in Crete, in the reverse of which a man is represented as manufacturing a *bow* before a fire, says; "In this there seems to me an allusion to the celebrated skill of the Cretans in preparing bows;" and he quotes Claudian's lines,

"Quis labor humanus tantum ratione sagaci
Proficit? excipiunt trucibus Gortynia capris
Cornua: subjectis eadem lentescere cogunt
Ignibus; intendunt taurino viscere nervos."

THE CRETAN APOLLO WITH HIS BOW.



From a coin in the Vienna Imperial Collection.

A CRETAN BOW-MAKER.



From a Medal in the British Museum

stating that the bow was pre-eminently a *Cretan* weapon and badge; or in inferring that when a bow was pictured emblematically before St. John in a European warrior's hands, the intention would be to signify that that warrior was of *Cretan origin*? In fact it so happens that, over and above all the other accumulated evidence just adduced, we have extant a Greek epigram, or epitaph, consisting of a set of emblems, the *bow* inclusive, with an express explanation to this effect. A *maggie* sculptured on the tomb-stone was to mark the *loquacity* of the person whose epitaph it was; the *cup* her *prone-ness to drink*; the *wool* her *diligence in work*; the *bow*,—what did the *bow* mark? It is explained that this was to signify that she was a *Cretan*.¹—Really, when I consider the important bearing of this point on the whole scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation (for if my explanation of this first Seal be proved, all the rest will follow) I cannot but regard it as a remarkable Providence that has preserved this most illustrative epigram to us.

But what the application of all this to the point in hand? or how the sense we have inferred to attach to this emblem of a bow to connect itself with the hieroglyphic of the first Seal, and its imperial horseman riding on to triumph? I proceed to show this.—It is well known that, up to the accession of Otho, the reigning Cæsars, from Julius to Galba inclusive, were of old Roman families. Agreeably with the Roman *jus imaginum*,² they exhibited each in their halls the busts of a long line of Roman nobles, their ancestors,—whether of the *Julian* gens, the *Claudian*, or the *Sulpician*.³ And as for *Otho*, *Vitellius*, *Vespasian*, and his sons *Titus* and *Do-*

¹ I refer to the epigram on *Bitthis*, by Antipater, a Greek poet of Sidon, (the region whence the original Cretan colonists sailed,) about a century before Christ; given in Brunck's *Anthologia Græca*, Argentor. 1776, Tom. ii. p. 31.

Ταν μὲν αἱ πολυμυθον, αἱ λαλον, ὡ ξενε κισσα

Φασί· ταν δὲ μεθας συντροφον ἦδε κυλιξ.

TAN KPHΞIAN ΔΕ ΤΑ ΤΟΞΑ· ΤΑ Δ' ΕΙΡΙΑ ΤΑΝ ΦΙΛΟΕΡΓΩΝ

Λυβημα δ' αὐ μίτρας ταν πολιοκροταφον

Τοιαυτε γαλαργος δδ' εκρυφε Βεττιδα τυμβος,

Τιμελες αχρωντον νυμφιδιαν αλοχον.

² See Adams, or any other book of Roman Antiquities, on the *Jus imaginum*.

³ The *Julian* emperors extended by successive adoptions down to *Claudius*, who adopted Nero. Galba was of the *Sulpician* gens. Suetonius on Galba c. 3.

mitian, though not all of Roman, yet they were of *Italian* extraction; and indeed Otho of an Italian family still more ancient and noble than all the rest; for he was descended from the Etruscan kings.¹—But after Domitian, there was a notable change on this head in the character of the imperial succession. It is said to have been pre-intimated in a dream, a little before his death, to Domitian. He dreamt, says Suetonius, that a *neck of gold* appeared to grow *branching off* from his own neck behind:² that which so *branched off* (*gibbam*) implying a new line of emperors; and the *gold* their character as introducers of a golden age. Another historian, Aurelius Victor, expressly sets forth the novel character of this line as a fact very remarkable, in respect of its being one of princes of *foreign extraction*:³ “Hitherto men of *Roman* or *Italian* origin ruled the empire; from after this time *foreigners in extraction*:” noting at the same time the increased happiness that accrued to the empire from the innovation.—And what then the foreign country or province to which the five emperors might be ascribed, as to lineage and family, that followed next after Domitian, and introduced and kept up this golden age of the empire? Prior to which question another must indeed first be answered; Can

says: “*Imagines et elogia universi generis (Sulpicii) exsequi longum est: familiaris (Galbæ) breviter attingam.*”

¹ So Suetonius. “*Majores Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentino, familiâ vetere et honoratâ, atque ex principibus Etruriæ.*”—Respecting *Vitellius* he says that it was a disputed point whether he was of noble or of base ancestry; but it was Italian. So Eckhel, i. 105, speaking of Samnium, observes: “*Certè gens Vitellia, ex qua prognatus erat Vitellius Augustus, ex Sabinis Roman antiquitûs profecta est: cum subinde quidam Vitelliorem, belli Samnitici tempore præsidium Româ in Apuliam misso, deinceps subsiderent Nuceriæ, et longo post intervallo raperent urbem, ut refert Suetonius. (In Vitell. c. 1.)*”—Of *Vespasian's* ancestry Suetonius speaks as connected with the neighbourhood of *Reate* “*in Sabinis*”; the gens *Flavia* being however “*obscura quidem, et sine ullis majorum imaginibus.*”

² “*Ipsam Domitianum ferunt somniasse gibbam sibi pone cervicem auream enatam; pro certoque habuisse beatiorum post se lætiorumque portendi statum Reip. Sicut sane brevi evenit, abstinentiâ et moderatione insequentium Principum.*” Suetonius in Domit. § 23.

³ “*Hactenus Romæ seu per Italiani orti imperium rexere; hinc advener. Nescio quoque an (Qu. annon?), ut in Prisco Tarquinio, longè meliores. At mihi quidem audienti multa legentique planè compertum urbem Romanæ exter-norum virtute, atque insitivis artibus, præcipuè crevisse. Quid enim Nervâ,” &c. Aurel. Victor, Vita Domit. ad fin.*

they be all classed together under *one and the same* head and family? The answer to which latter question is, that they may be so classed together; because, in a manner quite unparalleled in the subsequent history of the Roman emperors, they were all connected, as in the line of one and the same family by successive adoptions. Trajan was adopted by Nerva, Adrian by Trajan, Antoninus by Adrian, Aurelius by Antoninus:—each, as their medals and other extant memorials of antiquity illustrate to us, taking the name of his predecessor in virtue of the adoption.¹ Thus, according to the well-defined Roman law of adoption, all were reckoned as of *Nerva's* family; he being the head of the line.—And what *Nerva's* own national origin and extraction? Dion Cassius has an allusion to him, which, by a reader versed in the Greek language and the Roman history, will be readily understood as intimating that he was an *Italiot*,² or *colonist of Greek extraction*, settled in Italy.³ His exact Greek provincial origin, however, he does not mention. But Aurelius Victor supplies the omission. He tells

¹ In the following inscription, found on an ancient stone in Milan, and given by Montfaucon in his *Supplement Antiquities of Italy*, p. 18, the names of all the five emperors are found thus associated together.

Imperatori Cæsari
L. Aurelio Vero
Aug. Armeniaco
Medico Parthico
Max. Trib. Pop. vii
Imp. iiii. Cos. iiii. P. P.
Divi Antonini Pii
Divi Hadriani Nepoti
Divi Trajani Parthici Pronepoti
Divi Nervæ Abnepoti
Dec. Dec.

i. e. "To the Emperor L. Aurelius, &c, son to the divine Antonine, grandson to the divine Hadrian, great grandson to the divine Trajan, great great grandson to the divine Nerva."

² He says, Lib. lxxviii., that Trajan was the first emperor *αλλοεθνής*, or altogether foreign; being of purely Spanish parentage, always settled in Spain, and himself actually *born* out of Italy: and how Nerva did not overlook his merits, because he was neither an *Italian* nor an *Italiot*, *ὅτι ἴσθῃ δ' Τραιανος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Ἰταλῶς* *ἐδ' Ἰταλιωτῆς*: i. e. not *Italian*, as all the former emperors except *Nerva*; nor *Italiot*, as Nerva himself. The allusion is plain. Compare Aurelius Victor before quoted.

³ So Ammonius distinguishes between *Ἰταλὸς* and *Ἰταλιωτῆς*, *Χικελὸς* and *Χικελιωτῆς*. *Ἰταλὸς* καὶ *Ἰταλιωτῆς* διαφέρουσι. *Ἰταλὸς* μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀρχῆθεν χωρᾶς οἰκεῖτες *Ἰταλιωτῆς* δὲ ὅσοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπικτήσαν μετὰ ταῦτα. Το αὐτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν *Χικελιωτῶν*. He is quoted to this effect by Reimar on the passage in Dion Cassius, by Duker on Thucydides, Book iv. chap. 58, in the *Observations*

us¹, (and most of our best-known modern historians of the earlier emperors of Rome repeat the statement,²) that Nerva was in respect of family extraction a *Cretan*.

Yes! the meaning of the bow in the rider's hand is now indeed manifest. And how admirable, beyond what the most learned of human artists or scholars would have devised, appears now the point and the comprehensiveness of this device of the Divine Spirit! Had a *javelin* or a *sword* been in the hand of the rider, so as Vitringa would have had it, in case of his representing Roman emperors, the weapon carried would have added precisely nothing either to the meaning or the distinctness of the hieroglyphic: the *crown* sufficing to designate emperors; and the javelin and the sword, although appropriate, not being distinctive of them. But by the addition of the *bow* (the *bow* held in hand, observe, before the *crown* was given him) there was actually prefigured the very *provincialism* of the family to which (first of any families not of Italian origin) the empire was about to be committed: and under which, and *which alone*, the symbolic horse was to assume and to retain the *white* colour, the Roman nation to enjoy prosperity, and in its wars, whenever occurring, to realize the predicted destiny of conquering and to conquer.³

on the Scholiast; and by Matthiæ in his Greek Grammar, § 103, on Nomina Gentilia. Reimar illustrates by a quotation from Lucian; who, speaking of Pythagoras says; *Ιταλιότης δοκεῖ τις εἶναι, τὸν ἀμφὶ Κρήτωνα καὶ Ταράντα καὶ τὴν ταύτην Ἑλλάδα.*

¹ The passage from *Victor Aurelius* quoted p. 138 Note ^a *suprà*, goes on, "Quid enim Nervæ Cretensî prudentior?"

² So, for example, *Crevier*, Lib. xviii. ad fin. "It (Nerva) est le premier empereur qui ne fut pas d'origine Italienne. Sa famille étoit Cretoise." He refers to the accurate *Tillemont* as his authority.

Again the *Ancient Univ. Hist.* Vol. xv. p. 104; "Nerva was a native of Narni in Umbria; but his family came originally from the island of Crete: so that he was neither by birth a Roman, nor descended from an Italian family."

And the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, Art. *Nerva Augustus*: "The Flavian family left the throne of Augustus to the descendant of a *Cretan colonist*."

On an interesting *medallic* illustration of this fact, see my Appendix to this Volume, No. 2.

³ St. John's death did not occur till three years after the end of the 1st century; so that he must have lived through Nerva's reign, and witnessed the commencement of the reign and triumphs of Trajan. (So *Irenæus*, B. iii. ad init.)—In like manner Daniel lived to see in the destruction of Babylon, and the supremacy and decree of Cyrus, the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecies of the future revealed to him.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND SEAL.

The second Seal is opened, and behold the white horse has past from view. The Roman nation no more appears under symbols indicative of prosperity or triumph. A *red* horse passes over the scene before the eyes of the Evangelist; the colour of war and bloodshed.¹ And what bloodshed? The explanatory words added informed him: it was of *civil* war.—“There went forth another horse *red*: and to him who sate thereon it was given to take peace (τὴν εἰρήνην, *the peace*,—the previously existing peace)² from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given him a great sword.”

Again I turn to Gibbon for such explanation as history may offer: and I find the bright period above described (a period including, as we have seen, the triumphant peace made with the Germans after Aurelius' death by his son Commodus, and the first few years of Commodus' reign following, in which he governed well, we read, while acting, “as by a kind of tradition,” on his father's principles and arrangements,³) we find this period, I say, almost immediately followed in his narrative—by what? Just by the commencement of a corresponding period of civil wars and bloodshedding: a series begun in the year 193 with the assassination of the Emperor Commodus;⁴ and continued, with scarce more than two intervals of intermission, for some eighty

¹ Πυρρος, *fiery*; or, as it is often explained, *bloody*. So Hermas (B. i. Vision iv. chap. iii.) “The *fiery and bloody* colour;” and Epiphanius on the sardine stone in the Apocalyptic vision, Πυρρὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ αἱματοεῖδης. Compare Hesiod's description of Mars, Αἱματὶ φοινικοῖς ὥστε ζωᾶς ἐναρίζων.

² When peace (εἰρήνη) is meant in the abstract, or without speciality of reference, it is usually without the article. So e. g. Matt. x. 34, “Think not that I came, βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, to send peace, &c;” and in many other passages which the reader will find on turning to a Greek Concordance.

³ So Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History (Schmitz' Ed.) ii. 289.

⁴ The epoch is noted by Montesquieu as well as Gibbon; also by Schlegel in his Philosophy of history, and Heeren, and Denina; as will appear by subsequent references in the Notes to this chapter.

Dion Cassius, the great cotemporary historian of the period, having previously noticed Commodus' reign (see p. 129 *supra*) as the transition from a *golden* to an *iron* age, now not only notices the epoch of Commodus' death as one followed by the greatest wars and insurrections, (Πόλεμοι δὲ μετὰ τούτου καὶ στάσεις μεγίσται συνέβησαν,) but mentions also, in a manner that strikingly shows the strength both of his own and of the general impression on the subject, certain omens just before occurring which seemed to presignify the evils impending. Especially he speaks of a tremendous conflagration, involving among

or ninety years till the accession of Diocletian :¹ the evil having however, in the course of this long period, been joined and aggravated by certain fresh evils, internal and external, at two well-defined intervening epochs ; of which more in my next ensuing Chapters, as being the subjects of the third and fourth Seals respectively.

It may be well to glance in rapid view at the detail of the first fifty or sixty years of these civil wars, and mutual attendant slaughters.—The immediate sequel then of Commodus' assassination first mentioned, was the elevation of Pertinax to the Imperial throne, and, within a month or two after, his murder :² then the setting up of Julian as his successor, and the civil wars consequent, prolonged for four years, and ranging from East to West over the extent of the Empire, through which the elder Severus fought his way to the throne ; a throne established on the defeat and slaughter successively of the three rival emperors Julian, Niger, and Albinus.³ Next, after an interval of repose throughout the remainder of Severus' reign, wherein, however, " although the wounds of *civil war* appeared healed, yet its mortal poison still lurked in the vitals of the constitution,"⁴ and indeed, by Severus' undue elevation of the military above the civil, a preparation was made for all the subsequent exaggeration of the evil,⁵—next after this, I say, followed

other places the *Temple of Peace*, and thence mounting to the *Palace* ; whence, says he, it was apparent that not Rome alone, but the whole Roman world, would be involved in the calamity : *αφ' ου δη και μαλιστα δηλον γενηετο οτι ουκ εν τη πολει το δεινον στήσεται, αλλα και επι πασαν την οικουμενην αυτης αφίξεται.*

¹ So Sismondi, on the fall of the Roman Empire i. 36. " With Commodus' death commenced the third and most calamitous period. . . . It lasted ninety-two years, from 192 to 294. During that time, thirty-two Emperors and twenty seven pretenders to the Empire, alternately hurled each other from the throne by incessant civil warfare. Ninety-two years of nearly incessant civil warfare taught the world on what a frail foundation the virtue of the Antonines had reared the felicity of the empire."

The *overrunning* of one element of evil, prefigured in one vision, into the periods of others figuring other fresh evils, is what I intimated at p. 119 Note¹, as a thing reasonably to be expected.

² Gibbon, i. 165.

³ Ib. 183—195.

⁴ Ib. 96, 198.

⁵ Ib. 199. Also Montesquieu, *Grand. et Decad. c. 16* ; who thus contrasts the nature and the results of Adrian's and Severus' policy respecting the soldiery. " Des deux grands Empereurs, Adrien et Severe, l'un etablit la discipline militaire, et l'autre la relacha. Les effets repondirent aux causes. Les regnes qui suivirent celui d'Adrien furent heureux et tranquilles : apres Severe on vit regner toutes les horreurs." He notes further Severus' dying exhortation to Caracalla, " d'enrichir les gens de guerre, et de ne s'embarrasser des autres : " an exhortation fully acted out by Caracalla. See too Gibbon's reverting to this view of the effect of Severus' policy, as "*increasing the dangerous power of the army*," i. 254. The passage is given in my Note¹, p. 157, *infra*.

the murder of his one son and successor Geta by the other Caracalla, and soon after of the latter by Macrinus in the camp at Carrhæ by the Euphrates :¹ then, and in consequence, the civil war which crushed Macrinus, and raised Elgabalus to the throne :² then Elgabalus' assassination at Rome :³ then,—after a second interval of partial, and but partial repose, during the thirteen years of the reign of his successor the second Severus,⁴—the murder of that well-intentioned prince in the camp by the Rhine :⁵ then the civil wars, raised against his murderer and successor Maximin, wherein the two Emperors of a day, the Gordians, father and son, perished in Africa,⁶ and Maximin himself, and his son, fell by assassination in the siege of Aquileia :⁷ then the murder at Rome of the two joint Emperors Maximus and Balbinus next set up by the Senate ;⁸ and quickly after that of their associate in the Empire, the third and youngest Gordian, on the banks of a river of other and holier associations, the river Chaboras :⁹ then the slaughter of the next Emperor Philip, the last of our series, together with his son and associate in the Empire, in the battle near Verona ; which, in the year A.D. 249, as above mentioned, decided the civil war between himself and Decius.¹⁰ Can the history of any Empire on record present in any similarly extended sexagenarian period such an exemplification of what the Apocalyptic prophecy before us predicted ; viz. peace being taken from the empire, and men killing one another ? Much more would the case seem unparalleled, were we to trace the evil yet further forward ; when conjoined and aggravated by the fresh evil of wars of *foreign invading foes*. But this belongs more properly to the fourth Seal.

And what *the causal agency* ? In a general way the Apocalyptic symbol seemed to designate it as *the military* : the rider of the red horse having, it is said, a

¹ Gibbon i. 214, 221.² Ib. 230.³ Ib. 239.⁴ The murder of the virtuous Ulpian by the licentious soldiery was by no means the only proof, during the reign of that virtuous but unhappy Prince, that the spirit of revolutionary violence was still existent in its former force. In proof I may refer to my notice of Alexander Severus under the next Seal.⁵ Gibbon i. 276.⁶ Ib. 289.⁷ Ib. 299.⁸ Ib. 304.⁹ Ib. 309.—It was by the same river Chaboras, or Chabor, that Ezekiel saw some of the most glorious of his visions. Ezek. i. 1, x. 15, &c.¹⁰ Gibbon i. 385.

sword ("a great sword") given him; the sword being a natural, nearly universal, and in St. John's time well-recognized and distinctive badge among the Romans of the military profession:¹ while its strange and unnaturally large size in the figure² indicated further an *undue power* given, and an *undue and unnatural use* of it.³ Precisely accordant with which appears the fact, as history records it, in the course of the events we speak of; the causal agents of the civil wars, insurrections, and bloodshed, being obviously from first to last *military men*, those whose vocation was war, whose weapon the sword:⁴—the epoch of Commodus' exalting Perennis, the Prætorian commander, to the chief power in the state, well answering to the preparatory epoch of the *great sword* being given to the rider of the second Apocalyptic horse;⁵ as that of the murder of Commodus by the Prætorian Prefect Lætus did to that figured as what would follow,

¹ So Statius, Domitian's cotemporary and friend, in his *Silvæ*, v. 177, thus addresses the young Crispinus, on his first receiving from the Emperor a commission in the army; "Felix cui primum tradit Germanicus *ensem*:" an expression the same in sense as that in verse 165, "qui aquilæ tibi nunc et castra recludit." See Barthe's Note on the passage; who speaks of it as agreeable to the Roman custom, "ut nemo sub, sed Principis aut militaris alicujus Præfecti auctoritate, gladium cingat."

Let me also give the following from Pitiscus' *Lexicon Antiq. Roman.* on the word *gladius*. "Nemini præter militibus *gladio* moribus Romanis licebat *incedere*:" adding, "Et his concessum fuisse existimo eos qui milites non essent tali aliquo cinctos prodire visos exarmare." In proof of which latter statement he adduces the following passage from Petronius ch. 42: "Hæc locutus *gladio* cingor latus, mox in publicum prosilio.... Notavit me miles: et Quid tu, inquit commilito? Ex quâ legione es, aut cujus centuriæ? Cum constantissimè et centurionem et legionem essem ementitus, Age ergo, inquit ille; in exercitu vestro *phæcasiati* milites ambulant? Cum deinde vultu atque ipsâ trepidatione mendacium prodidissem, me ponere arma jussit." Petronius, I may observe, was a writer in the reign of the Emperor Gordian; and consequently of the period of the second Apocalyptic Seal. To the same effect is Eckhel's notice of the *parazonion*, or short belt-sword, held in the hand on Roman coins. "Certi esse possumus hoc aut prædicari virtutem, aut *militare in alios imperium*." He cites Martial on the parazonium.

Militiæ decus hoc, et grati nomen honoris:

Arma tribunicium cingere digna latus.

² The word *μαχαίρα* here used means properly a *small sword*; such as in fact the Roman sword was, in comparison of that of various other nations. Hence in the figure of a *great μαχαίρα* a something of unnatural or illegitimate size seems indicated.

³ So Sophocles in his *Antigone* v. 127; *Zeus γὰρ μεγάλην γλῶσσαν κομῶντις ὄνερ ὄχθαυει*: an undue, improper, and too large use of the tongue being indicated by the figurative phrase *a large tongue*.

⁴ So Sismondi in the same extract that was partially given by me in Note ¹ p. 142. "The third and most calamitous period; that which we have characterized as the period of *upstart soldiers of fortune* who usurped the imperial power. It lasted 92 years &c."

⁵ Conjunctively with Marcia and Electus.

of peace being taken from the earth, and men killing one another under it.¹ So that it is but with his usual accuracy of expression that Gibbon (i. 167) begins the chapter that follows his account of the murders of Commodus and Pertinax, (the same which proceeds forthwith to sketch the civil wars and bloodshed ensuing,) with those singularly illustrative words, as best indicative of his subject, "*The power of the sword.*"—Hence, I say, there appears in a general way a complete correspondence, in respect of the *causal agents* of the evil, between historic fact and the prefigurative Apocalyptic symbol of the red-horse rider's *sword-badge*; supposing him to have simply figured the soldiery, or military power, as the cause of this civil carnage.

But, in truth, the Apocalyptic symbol seems to have had a something in it yet more exactly significant of the *chief* agents intended than even Gibbon's descriptive phrase; there being *formally depicted* in it *the presentation of the sword* to the rider. For, when thus solemnly acted out before the Roman world, besides its general designation of the military profession, this symbol had, in the days we speak of, a meaning more distinct and particular. The *presentation* of the sword was followed by the *official bearing* of the sword; and the bearing of the sword marked, not the duty of wielding it against the foe, but the right of *judicially using* it: (the *jus gestandi*, as the Roman law expressed it, implying and signifying the *jus exercendi* :²)—there being

¹ So Heeren, speaking of Commodus' assassination; "This was the *first commencement* of that dreadful *military despotism*, which forms the ruling character of this period." Manual of History, p. 433. (Engl. Transl.) So in Montesquieu, ch. 16; thus contrasting this and the preceding æra: "La sagesse de Nerva, la gloire de Trajan, la valeur d'Adrien, la vertu des deux Antonins, se firent respecter des soldats. Mais lorsque de nouveaux monstres prirent leur place, l'abus du gouvernement militaire parut dans tout son excès; et les soldats qui avoient vendu l'empire assassinèrent les empereurs: &c."

Indeed insurrection and bloodshed followed earlier on what we may, I conceive, reckon to be the first epoch of the great sword being given to the symbolic rider of the red horse. "Had Commodus left the government in the hands of able men," says Niebuhr, (Lectures ii. 289,) things might still have been well: but he gave up the government to the Præfect Perennis, who ruled like an oriental despot. The consequence was, an insurrection among the soldiers, who abandoned his favourite to the fury of the populace." Here however the bloodshed was, by a reaction of his tyranny, that of the Prætorian Prefect himself.

² So the ancient rule is expressed in the later Digest of Roman Law by Justinian, Lib. i. Tit. 18.

this distinction between the badge of the *sword* thus worn by one functionary, and the *axe* carried by lictors before another, that the latter symbolized power over the lives of Roman *citizens* only, the former over the lives of Roman *soldiers*; whether distinctively, or conjointly with the civil judicial power also.¹—Of course the emperors themselves, by their *imperatoria potestas*, as first established under Augustus, and perpetuated under succeeding emperors, had in its fullest sense the power of the sword, including all jurisdiction military and civil:² and, in token of it, they were wont to wear a *small sword*, suspended in front, or at their side.³ They esteemed its military part their highest imperial prerogative. And so jealous were they of it, that in Rome itself, and the Italian district for 100 miles adjoining, they delegated the power to but one individual, the Commander or Præfect of their own Prætorian guard: (a body of some 10,000 men, as first instituted by Augustus, increased by Vitellius to 16,000, and that had by Tiberius been fixed in a fortified camp, to overawe the city, just outside its walls, on the broad summit of the Quirinal Hill:⁴)—while in the provinces they entrusted it not to the *Senatorial Proconsuls*, but only to their own *Military Lieutenants*; those to whose care were assigned the Provinces least settled, and which consequently maintained a large military force resident; functionaries appointed and removable at the emperor's sole pleasure.⁵—In either case the assumption of the *sword-badge* marked the *power of the sword* delegated. Thus while the Senatorial Proconsul, when entering on his provincial government, had but the badge of *lictors*

¹ This will be immediately illustrated. ² See Gibbon, i. 102, with the context.

³ So, for example, Suetonius of the Emperor Galba, c. ii; "Iter ingressus est paludatus, ac dependente à cervicibus pugione ante pectus:" and of Vitellius c. 15 ad fin. "Solutum à latere pugionem consuli primum, deinde illo recusante magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens, nullo recipiente, quasi in sede Concordiæ positurus abcessit." This was on his abjuring the Imperial Office; and is mentioned, with an explanatory observation, by Tacitus also, Hist. iii. 61; "Assistenti consuli exsolutum à latere pugionem, velut jus necis vitæque civium, reddebat."

⁴ See Gibbon i. 168.—The *Prætorian Camp* appears on a Roman coin given in Montfaucon, iv. 13. The first Severus reorganized, and increased the body to above fourfold its former number.

⁵ Like the Legati of the ancient Proconsuls of the Republic.

attendant, with the *rod and axe* intertwined as of old in their fasces,¹ it was the custom for the *Imperial Lieutenant*, on appointment to his province, publicly to receive and assume the military sword, as well as cloak, outside the pomærium of Rome ; as also on the termination of his office to lay the same down.² More especially in Rome itself the *Prætorian Prefect* was on his appointment to office publicly invested with the sword by the Emperor in person. An anecdote told by Pliny, to the honour of his emperor Trajan, will be remembered by the classical scholar as a fit illustration of the custom :³ and the scriptural reader will not forget

¹ So Gibbon i. 103 ; "The Proconsuls of the Senate were attended by *Lictors*, the Lieutenants of the Emperor by *soldiers*."

² So Dion Cassius, in a very important passage of his history, informs us most clearly ; himself an eminent military commander, as well as historian, of the earlier half of the 3rd century, or times described in the second Seal. In his 53rd Book, giving an account of Augustus' arrangement about the provinces, both those which were to have *αὐτοκρατοῦς* ; *Proconsuls*, appointed by the Senate, and those which were to have *ἀντιστρατηγούς*, or *Proprators*, appointed by the Emperor, he speaks of the latter as *τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν σάλην φορούντας*, καὶ *ἐκ τούτων*, οἱς γὰρ καὶ στρατιώτας δικάσασθαι ἐξέσταν, *ἐχούστας* whereas the former were neither *ἐξ ὧν παραζώνοντο*, nor *στρατιωτικὴν ἐσθῆτι χρώμενοι* ; adding, in explanation, Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδενί, οὐτε αὐτοκράτῃ, οὐτε ἀντιστρατηγῇ, οὐτε ἐπιτροπῇ ἐξήφορειν διδοῖται, *ὃ μὴ καὶ στρατιωτῇ τινα ἀποκτεῖναι εἶναι νομοματῆς* and further stating that these badges of the Imperial Lieutenant's office, *τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα* were only to be assumed by them, on appointment, outside of the Pomærium of Rome, and to be instantly laid down on the cessation of office.

The power of the sword, over *soldiers* as well as *people*, given to the imperial Lieutenants, appears to have been very much the same with that given to the Proconsuls in their several Provinces under the old Republic. Thus Niebuhr, on the settlement of the first Roman Province, Sicily, in his Lectures i. 140 : "After the peace which terminated the first Punic war, Sicily was constituted as a Roman Province. This was a new system ; and Sicily was the first country to which it was applied. A Province, in the Roman sense of the word, was a country in which a Roman general, either during the time of his *Magistratus curulis*, or (in case of his year of office having elapsed) during the time for which his *imperium* was prolonged, exercised over his soldiers, as well as over the inhabitants of the country, the same power as in times of war by virtue of the *Lex de imperio*."

³ Pan. 67. On presenting the sword, as was customary, to the Prefect elect, ("cum insigne potestatis, uti mos erat, pugionem daret,") Trajan said, "Use it for me, if I shall reign well ; if not, against me." And so Dion Cassius lxxviii. 33, and Victor in his Life of Trajan.

On the passage from Pliny, Bernegger has the note following ; which, in confirmation of what has been above stated, it may be well to append. "Præfectori prætorio, præter alia, insigne erat gladius, vel ensis, aut pugio (ἐπίφορ), quo donari atque accingi solebat à principe ; quem nonnunquam et ipsi gerebant imperatores. Siquidem soli principes et præfecti prætorio Romæ usum gladii habebant. Reliqui magistratus togati erant. Eo autem merum imperium, et jus vitæ ac necis civium, ipsis tribuebatur : cujus nota et signum gladius. Hinc *gladium ponere* est præfecturæ prætorii se abdicare : ut Tigellinus apud Plutarch, in Galbâ."—In which Note Bernegger seems to me to have overlooked the original and more proper power indicated by the sword-bearing, as Dion explains it, viz. the power of life and death over the *soldiery* ; noting only that over

St. Paul's illustration of it, when he writes thus to the Romans, even like an eye-witness to eye-witnesses, of a magistracy and magistrate of high authority there, "*He beareth not the sword in vain.*"¹

Thus, on the whole, we can, I think, scarcely doubt but that St. John, like his brother Paul, would at once recognize the rider's *sword-investiture* in the vision as betokening specially either class of chief military commanders; alike the *Prætorian Præfects* at Rome, and the *Imperial Lieutenants* commanding the legions in the provinces: and consequently understand *theirs* to be the chief agency, through which, in the second æra pre-figured, the Roman sword of office, itself a small one,² was to become, as it were, of exaggerated size and illegitimate use; and the inflamed body politic to appear ensanguined all over with the blood of civil carnage. Nor does there need any thing more to perfect our proof of the fulfilment of the vision, than to state that it was precisely *these*, the highest of the Roman military chiefs, to whom the wars and the bloodshed were almost altogether owing. The Prætorian Prefects made the initiative, in the murders of Commodus and Pertinax;³ consequent on which was the Prætorians selling the empire to the highest bidder: the three chiefest of the Imperial Lieutenants in the provinces,—Severus, Niger, and Albinus,⁴—led in the civil wars following. After

the *citizens*, which came to be included also. The old jurisdiction of the Prætor in criminal cases of life and death was not indeed, I believe, ever formally abrogated; but it was gradually superseded by the superior dignity of the Imperial courts.

¹ Rom. xiii. 4; *ὁ γὰρ εἰς τὴν μάχην φέρει*. In which passage we ought to mark the *μάχη*, the same word for the sword as here,—the *φορεῖ*,—and the transition from the *plural*, when speaking of *ἀρχόντες*, governors, to the *singular*, in speaking of the sword-bearing magistrate in Rome. (Unless indeed the sword-bearing Emperor was himself intended.)—Under this sword, shortly after, St. Paul suffered martyrdom. It would seem that there were then *two* Prefects; appointed by Nero, *pro illa vice*, in place of Burrus. See Clement's Ep. c. 5, and Chevalier's note on it.—It was also a Prætorian Prefect under the first Severus that condemned the Christian Apollonius to death, of whom I have made mention, p. 26 *suprà*.

² See the Note next but one preceding: and also Note ² p. 144.

³ *Lætus*, the Prætorian Prefect, was, as we have seen, a joint conspirator with Marcia against Commodus: and he also fomented the discontent of the Guards against Pertinax, the result of which was that Emperor's massacre by them. Dion Cassius expressly states the prominent part acted by Lætus in both cases.

⁴ Their provinces were Pannonia, Syria, Britain;—all Imperial provinces.

which, and in the wars and murders consequent on the first Severus' death, each took their share in the deeds of blood,—the Prætorian Præfects much the most prominently: so that indeed these latter have been marked out by Montesquieu, Denina, and others, as pre-eminently the revolutionists of the æra; and in respect of their deeds of blood, as well as of their power, like the *Grand Visirs* of Eastern misrule.¹—The detail of their respective shares in the matter will be seen in a brief historic abstract below.² Suffice it here to call attention, in conclusion, to Gibbon's very important notification on the subject, with reference to its bearing on the fate of the Roman Empire. Like the apocalyptic figuration he exhibits it as that wherein we may discern the primary *æra*, and primary *cause* and *symptom*, of its decline. "The licentious fury of the Prætorian guards was the *first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman Empire*."³

¹ Montesquieu sur la Grandeur ch. 16 and 17; Denina Rivoluzioni d'Italia. Book iii. c. 3.—Denina dates from the increase of the power of the Prætorian Præfect by Commodus, A.D. 185. "Allora," he says, "la Præfectura Prætoriana cominciò à comprendere, come di propria ragion, tutta l'amministrazione dell' impero, così civile che militare, come il gran Visirato appresso gli imperatori Ottomani." Gibbon dwells much on the increase of their power by Sulpicius Severus, who augmented their numbers from 16,000 to 50,000. Vol. i. p. 200.

² *Macrinus*, the assassin and successor of Caracalla, was a Prætorian Præfect. (It is on this occasion that Gibbon writes, "The decisive weight of the Prætorian guards elevated the hope of their *Præfects*; who began to assert a legal claim to fill the vacancy of the Imperial throne." i. 224.) Again, *Elagabalus* (*Macrinus*' successor) was murdered in a sedition of the *Prætorian bands*; who were also afterwards the murderers of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. Moreover their Præfect *Philip*, acting on the army generally, effected the conspiracy against the younger Gordian, in which that emperor perished.—On the other hand *Masimin*, the murderer of Alexander Severus, was one who held the first military command in a provincial army: and *Decius*, who revolted against Philip, was an Imperial Lieutenant; though as an extraordinary functionary, and on an extraordinary mission to the Mæsan army.

The Prætorians' subsequent history was this. Both in regard of number and powers, they were greatly reduced by *Diocletian*; and by *Constantine* the whole body suppressed, their camp destroyed, and their Præfects deprived of military authority, and confined to civil functions. So *Aurelius Victor*, referred to by Gibbon, ii. 161, 235.

³ i. 168.—The subject is noted in much the same way by Schlegel in his Philosophy of History, ii. 34, as well as by Montesquieu and Denina already referred to.

CHAPTER III.

THE THIRD SEAL.

“AND when he had opened the third seal I beheld, and lo a *black horse* ! and he that sat on him had in his hand a *pair of balances* : ” (such is the rendering of ζυγος; in the authorized English translation ; and both from the associated notice of *chænix* in the hieroglyphic,¹ and yet more from the Roman usage of symbols, it is, I doubt not, the correct one :)²—“ and I heard a voice in

¹ So Vitringa.

² The original word is ζυγος. This Woodhouse and others after him translate, from its other signification, *a yoke* : observing that it is always so used in the New Testament ; and that elsewhere, where it is meant to signify *a pair of balances*, there is generally added some other word in the context to suggest that meaning as intended.

Now surely, as regards the *latter* remark, one might have thought that the accompaniment of the word *chænix* would have been precisely all that the Dean needed, to determine him in favour of the meaning of *balances* in the passage before us. As regards the *former*, if other words had been used in the New Testament in the sense of *balances*, to the exclusion of ζυγος, the argument would have had weight in proportion to the frequency of those instances. But the truth is there is no mention of *balances* in one single passage of the New Testament, unless it be in this. So that the value of the argument is just nothing.

As conclusions of no little importance have been built in part on the critical propriety of substituting the word *yoke* for *balances* in the translation of this clause, it may be useful to enter a little more fully into the Lexicographical question.

There are five words in Greek that signify *a balance*, *τρύπανη*, *τάλαντον*, *σαβμος*, *σαθμος*, and ζυγος. Of these none being used, as before observed, in the New Testament, (except it be in this passage,) it becomes us next to inquire what is their use in the Septuagint. And the answer is that *τρύπανη* is never used at all in it ; that *τάλαντον* and *σαθμος*, though used, are only used in the sense of *a weight* (the latter answering to the Hebrew שֶׁטֶל a stone) ; that the use of *σαβμος* also is confined all but constantly to the same sense of *a weight*, being the usual rendering of the Hebrew מִשְׁקָל, and having the meaning of *a balance* once only, viz. in Isaiah xl. 12, where a second word, beside the usual one, was needed in that sense. The usual, I may say the constant, word in the Septuagint for *balance* is ζυγος ; being so used some nine or ten times in it :—among others in the above-noted passage from Isaiah, *τις ἐστὶν τὰ ὄρη σαβμῶν, καὶ τὰς ράκας ζυγῶν* ; in Prov. xi. 1, *ζυγοὶ δολιοὶ, σαβμων δικαίων* ; in Ezek. xlv. 10, *Ζυγος δικαίως, μέτρον δικαίων, χονιξ δικαία* : where, as here, the *χονιξ* is in association with it ; also in Levit. xix. 36, Hos. xii. 7, &c. &c. Hence, if the idea of *balances* was intended to be expressed in the passage before us, ζυγος would be of all others the fittest word.

Thus a *balance* being a version of ζυγος as legitimate and authorized, in the sacred as well as the classic writings, as that of *a yoke*, the associated notice of *a measure* in the hieroglyphic, just as in that example above quoted from Ezekiel, might of itself induce a preference of the former rendering. Besides which (and I would beg the reader's attention to the fact) whereas in Roman usage,—to which usage, as we have already seen, the apocalyptic symbols are strikingly conformed,—the *balance-holding* was, as will be afterwards shewn, a very common symbol, that of *a yoke-holding* was, if I am not mistaken, altogether un-

the midst of the living creatures, saying, A chœnix of wheat for a denarius, and three chœnices of barley for a denarius ; and see that thou hurt not (or, rather, that thou *wrong not in regard to*)¹ the oil and the wine."

The intent of the symbols of this seal is less obvious than of the others, and will require some considerable thought and attention.

A famine of the chief articles of food (whether literally taken or metaphorically) has been supposed by nearly all interpreters to be denoted by them : their opinion being grounded on these two suppositions :—

1. that the chœnix spoken of was the Attic chœnix of three or rather four cotylæ, i. e. of a pint and a half or two pints ; 2. that the notice from the midst of the living creatures respecting the denarius, was a notification of the then average market-price of the chœnix of wheat.

Now it is observable that the words uttered respecting the price of wheat, were words specifically addressed to the rider, not to any other auditory ; and this in the way of precept and caution, not of general notification.² An important indication this to which I shall presently again have to call the reader's attention.—Moreover it it is to be observed that though the Attic chœnix seems to have been the best known and most extensively used

known. Nor is it so used in Scripture. In Jeremiah xxvii and xxviii we have an example indeed of the prophet bearing *upon his neck* bonds and yokes, in type, *passively*, of the approaching oppression and captivity of Judah ; but no where do we find the holding of a yoke *in the hand* as a type, *actively*, of oppressing.

¹ *των ουων μη αδικησης*. *Αδικω* in the first aorist, as well as in other tenses, is often used absolutely for *being unjust*, or *doing injustice*. So Rev. xxii. 11 ; *ὁ αδικων αδικησάτω ετι*, "He that is unjust let him be unjust still ;" a passage in which no accusative follows the verb. In cases where an accusative follows the verb used in this sense, the accusative will often be of the thing in regard of which injustice has been done. So 2 Sam. xix. 19, *μη μνησθης ὅσα ἠδίκησεν ὁ παῖς* : and in the Phœnissæ, *Αδικοι τα των θεων*. Compare Euripides *Electra*, 190 : *εμα δε πατρος ἠδικοις λεχη* : and Xenophon *Cyropædia* iv. 5 ; *Την δε αγοραν την ουσαν εν τῷ στρατοῦσιν κηρυξάτω μεν ἡδῃ, εφη, μη αδικειν μηδεν, πωλειν δε τους καπηλους ὅ τι εχει εκαστος πρᾶσιμον*. In Philemon 18 the verb is followed by a double accusative, of the *person* and *thing* ; *εἰ τι σε ἠδίκησε* : "if he hath wronged thee in any thing."

Mede, I find, takes the phrase as I do, *Ne sis injustus* ; also *Junius*, as Brightman says, and *Arthur Dent*.

² It is evidently to the same individual that the *first* clause of the words from the midst of the living creatures was addressed,—I mean that respecting the wheat and barley,—as the *second*, which had respect to the oil and wine ; i. e. to the *rider*. And as the latter was in its character cautionary,—“See that thou wrong not in regard to the oil and the wine,”—so, we may naturally infer, the former.

in the Roman Empire,¹ yet there were other chœnixes used in it also : not to add that the word is sometimes a designative of measure *in the general* ;² which generic sense however, from the specifications of price given, is here of course clearly out of the question. Already Mr. Mede long ago observed on this variety of size in the ancient chœnixes :³ and both in a copious Memoir on the subject in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*,⁴ and also in later Treatises on the Greek and Roman measures by Professor Wurm and others,⁵ I find the same conclusion substantially arrived at, as the result of the most careful and elaborate enquiry. There seem to have been three chœnixes in use among the Greeks and Romans, of the value of 3, 4, and 8 cotylæ, or half-pints, respectively :⁶ the Attic being, as some

¹ See Note ¹, p. 156 infra.

² So Scheidius in his edition of Lennep's *Etymologicum Græcum*, deriving it from the verb *χαω*, hisco. He defines it as, " *figura omnis excavata in quam aliquid infundi vel inseri potest.*" Similarly the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Pluto*, 276, calls it *παν περιφορες*. And in Ezek. xli. 10 the Septuagint translators have used the word in this generic sense, *Ζυγος δικαιος, και μετρον δικαιον, και χœνιξ δικαια εσθ' εμιν το μετρος*. "Let there be among you a just balance, and a just measure, (of length ?) and a just chœnix."

³ His words are; "Chœnix significat demensum diurnum, *ημεροτροφιδα*, sed incertâ admodum mensurâ. Variavit enim pro ratione gentium, locorum, et hominum. Chœnix militaris (ut minores chœnices prætermittam opilionum, villicorum, vinitorum) quatuor fuit sextariorum. Sed veteri Lexicographo Græco-Latino *χœνιξ* est semimodium, id est militaris duplum : imo Hellenistis, Ezek. xiv. 10, 11, *χœνιξ* est *bathus*, amplissima Hebræorum mensura." (Apoc. p. 444.)—Who is the old Lexicographer referred to ? and what the value of his authority, for the statement of there having been a chœnix equal to half a modius ? I doubt its correctness.—As to the contradiction between the first clause in the above quotation and all that follows, it scarce needs remark. For if *one* particular and small chœnix of wheat, the *Attic*, was a sufficient day's measure for a man's consumption, of course each larger chœnix of wheat was more than a day's sufficiency. In a Commentator like Mede such a mistake is surprising.

⁴ The immediate subject of the Memoir (Tom. viii. pp. 377—401) is an inscription on a Roman standard weight yet remaining : in part as follows : "Imp. Cæs. Vespas. 6 Cons. Mensuræ Exactæ in Capitolio p. x."—It seems that there was a correspondence between this weight and that of the congius, filled with rain-water, as a measure of capacity.—In the course of the Memoir the learned Academician observes ; "Quatre mesures differentes avoient le nom de chœnice : la plus petite, communement appelee *χœνιξ* Attique, avoit trois cotyles Attiques. La seconde en avoit quatre. On en comptoit 6 à la troisieme, et 8 à la quatrieme." The Academician's chœnix of 6 cotylæ may be neglected, as supported by little comparative authority.

⁵ For example the Writer of the Article on *Chœnix* in Smith's valuable and recently-published Dictionary of Antiquities.

⁶ It is defined as a measure equivalent to 3 cotylæ by Pollux in his *Onomasticon*, iv. 3 ; by Table 7 in what are called the Fragments of Ga'en, and Table 10 published among the same Fragments from the Cosmetics of some one named Cleopatra.—It is made equal to 4 cotylæ by Table 5 among the same Fragments, thus comparing it with the *modius* and *sextarius* ; *δ μοδιος δ Αργυντιος και δ Ιταλιος*

would have it, the measure of 3 cotylæ; as others, with more reason I think, that of 4.¹ Besides which values it is used in one passage by the Septuagint Translators as a term answering to the tenth part of the Jewish *chomer*; ² that is as equivalent to the much larger measure of an English bushel.

Which then of these values would best suit the Apocalyptic symbol before us; which best help to a consis-

εχει χοινικας η, ο δε χοινιξ ξεσας β: (which Table, together with the four preceding, I conceive to be Galen's own; as they form a complete connected set; and stand at the head of the Fragments bearing his name in the inscription, *Γαληνο το σοφωτατε μετρων και ταθμων διδασκαλια*;) also by a Parisian MSS, says Professor Wurm, cited in Pancton's Metrolog. and other authorities.—Once more, its value is stated at 4 sextarii, or 8 cotylæ, by Table 8 in Galen's Fragments, thus; *Ο χος εχει λιτρας δεκα. ο χοινιξ εχει λιτρας εξ. ο ξεσας εχει λιτραν δ ημισαν* also by the author generally called Rhemnius Fannius; (but who should rather be named Priscian, as Prof. Wernsdorf shows in the Prolegom. to his 5th Volume of the Poetæ Latini Minores,) in the verses following:

At cotyla cyathos bis ternos una receptat :
Bis quinæ hunc faciunt drachmæ, si appendere velles :
At cotylas recipit geminas sextarius unus;
Qui quater assumptus Græco fit nomine chœnix :
Adde duos χος fit, vulgo qui est congius idem.

Such is the reading of the passage given by almost all the Codices, and recognized as expressing Priscian's view of the chœnix by nearly all modern writers on the Ancient Weights and Measures; as Wurm, Eisenschmidt, Hussey, the French Academician, the Writer of the Chœnix in the Dictionary of Antiquities, &c. Moreover in Isidore's Origines, a learned writer of the 7th century, we have evidence of the reading being the one received by him: as he there (xvi. 25) almost quotes the passage; "Sextarius duarum librarum est; qui bis assumptus bilibris nominatur; assumptus quater fit Græco nomine chœnix." I learn from Mr. Arnold that in one Codex, followed by Endlicher, there is the reading, "*Qui quater assumptis*" in the last line but one; and *duas*, instead of *duos*, in the last line. Correcting the *qui* in which to *quæ*, and understanding *chœnices* as the noun to *duas*, Endlicher makes Priscian define *achœnix* as *the third of a χος*, or *congius*; i. e. as equal to *two sextarii*. But the weight of MSS authority is greatly against this.

¹ The reason of my saying so is because the Attic chœnix is specified by Thucydides iv. 16 as the *ήμεροτροφος*, (so Heraclides Lembus called it, as we are told by Athenæus iii. 54) or minimum of barley for a slave's daily sustenance; being the same doubtless that Herodotus also speaks of, vii. 187, as the daily ration of wheat to each of Xerxes' soldiers. And we learn both from Polybius vi. 39, and Cato De Re Rusticâ c. 56, and Donatus in Terence's Phormio i. i. 9, that the usual demensum or monthly allowance of corn to both the common soldier and the working slave was 4 modii; and consequently about the 8th part of a modius, i. e. 2 sextarii, or 4 cotylæ, the *daily* ration.—This is the value given to the Attic chœnix by Dr. Arnold, among others.

² Το δεκατον το γομερ χοινιξ: where the Hebrew for χοινιξ is כֶּבֶת *a bath*, and which is said in the same verse to be equivalent to an ephah. Now the chomer כֶּמֶךְ with the כֶּ, or γομερ, is equal to ten bushels; and consequently the chœnix here used to one bushel.

Palladius [Octobr. tit. 14] mentions a *Syrian* chœnix. "Tribus cadis unam floris mensuram, quam Syri *chœnicam* vocant, adjicies." He does not state its capacity. But as the cadus was a measure of twelve congii, and the congius near an English gallon, this Syrian chœnica may have been of considerable size; and very possibly the same as that of the Septuagint.

tent sense in its several component details :—these details being, the horse's colour *black*, the constant emblem of distress and mourning ;¹ the rider's bearing a *pair of balances* in his hand, the constant symbol of equity ;² and the cautionary and directive words address to the rider against injustice and wrong, as well as about the prices of corn, of which I was just before speaking ?—On instituting which comparison the horse's colour, black, seems at once to set aside all idea of the large *Syrian chœnix* of the Septuagint: seeing that wheat at a denarius, or near 8d, a bushel, would indicate an æra of superabundant plenty ; which, however consistent with the ideas suggested by the balances held and the caution against injustice, would ill suit, or rather be diametrically opposed to, the colour of distress and mourning.—On the other hand the *Attic chœnix*, or wheat at nearly 8d. for a two-pint measure, that is about 20s. the bushel, or 160s. the quarter, though well suiting the black colour in the symbol, as indicating a scarcity-price of wheat, would yet ill consist with the prominent characteristic of the balance-holding, and the charge against injury or injustice in respect of both wine and oil : seeing that these latter indications must be admitted to constitute a most marked weakening of any intended symbolization

¹ So *atra cura, ater luctus, atrum funus*, &c. As applied to the horse, it occurs in the following very apposite passage from Martial's Epigram on the charioteer Scorpus' death :

Heu facinus ! primâ fraudatus Scorpe juvenâ
Occidis, et nigros tam cito jungis equos.

On which says the Commentator Rader, the *black horse* is used as the fit associate of mourning, as the *white horse* of triumphs and joy.—Mr. Mede, driven by historical verity from the idea of famine being denoted in the symbol, explains the *black* very singularly as indicative of the *severe justice* of the emperors of the times intended :—as if black ever symbolized rigid justice. In this explanation Bishop Newton has followed Mede.

² Multitudes of Roman medals, of every emperor almost and every province of the empire, are extant, bearing the device of a *pair of balances* :—generally in the hand of some one holding it, sometimes independent and alone. And, not even excepting those that attach to the Goddess Moneta, since the justice of the coinage, as well as the ancient custom of weighing money, is thought to be expressed thereby, they are all, I believe, in symbolization of *equity*. Indeed many have the explanatory legend underneath, "*Æquitas Augusti*." See Rasche on *Bilanx*, Tom. i. p. 1530.—Bishop Newton, in a curious manner, associates together two of the most opposite meanings, as if both indicated in the symbol : "The colour of the black horse befits the severity of their nature and their name (i. e. of the two Severi) ; and the *balances* are the well-known emblem of *Justice*, as well as an *intimation of scarcity* !"

of famine or scarcity, not a strengthening.¹ Besides which there is very singularly added a specification of the price of barley also, such as to put all idea of scarcity out of the question. For three chœnixes for a denarius would be but 53s. a quarter,² on the hypothesis of the Attic chœnix. Or, to put the argument otherwise, as the Attic chœnix was notoriously the ἡμεροποροῖς, or day's sufficient quota for a man, of wheat or barley;³ and at the same time a denarius approximately the daily wage of labor in St. John's time,⁴ the price specified would indicate that a labouring man would gain under this Seal a three day's sufficiency of food by one day's labor.—There remains the other chœnix of 8 cotylæ; that is, the double of the Attic. On the supposition of which being the one intended, there would seem to be nothing remarkable in the prices of corn specified, one way or the other; that of wheat being only somewhat dear, compared with the current price in St. John's time,⁵ that of barley decidedly cheap; and the whole symbol apparently unmeaning.—So that the choice offered us between these several different chœnixes seems thus far in no wise to

¹ Supposing an æra of famine to be the main point signified in the vision, the rider must be regarded as a personification of *Famine*; just as there is a personification of *Death* in the rider of the horse of the fourth Seal, the object of which Seal was to depict an æra of mortality. If so how much more suitable a personification such as by Cowper;

He calls for Famine; and the meagre fiend
Blows poisonous mildew from his shrivelled lips,
And taints the golden ear.

² Which, as wheat of the medium quality was at about 64s. a quarter in the time of St. John, (see the Note from Pliny, p. 164 *infra*,) would not be so very extravagant a price.—We may compare what Eusebius says in his *Chronicon* (i. p. 79, Scalig.) of the famine that oppressed Greece in the 9th year of the Emperor Claudius. *Λίμνη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γεγονότος μεγάλης ὁ τε σιτὴς μόδιος ἐξ ὀδραχμῶν πωροῦτο*. That is, *wheat* was at 12 drachmæ or denarii the modius, or a denarius and a half for the Attic chœnix, i. e. half as much again as the price in the text; and without any remarkable comparative cheapness in the *barley* to act as a counteractive to the famine.

³ See my Note ¹, p. 153 *supra*.

⁴ The inference has been drawn from what is said of a denarius as the day's wages in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. 2; which proves that such was the case in the Jewish province, at the time when our Lord spoke the parable. It is indeed somewhat loose to argue thence to the general price of wages in other parts of the empire, and that at a period quite different. Yet as it seems that the pay of common soldiers in Julius Cæsar's time was a denarius, and in Domitian's time restored to nearly that value, (see Arbuthnot's *Ancient Coins*, p. 180,) as well as from other data, it may perhaps be not unfairly argued that in the provinces generally the free labourer's day-wages did, about St. John's time, not vary materially from it.

⁵ See, as before, the Note from Pliny p. 164 *infra*.

have helped us. None seems more than another to suggest a satisfactory solution to our enigma. And we must pass to further enquiries as to the purpose of the Seal, with the question respecting the particular *chœnix* intended in a measure indeterminate: save and except indeed that the presumption must be regarded as decidedly in favor of the Attic *chœnix*, from its larger use and greater notoriety, as was before observed, in the Roman Empire.¹

I spoke of the intent of the Seal as an enigma still to be resolved. And the reader will readily see how many points there are needing solution. Who the persons, bearing rule over the Roman people, that are symbolized by the balance-holding rider,—by whom admonished in that voice from the throne, and wherefore in such terms about the price of corn, and against injury or injustice in the matter of wine and oil,—how, though holding the balance of justice, their influence such as to induce the blackness of distress on the aspect of the people,—and finally, what the main intent of the hieroglyphic as a whole, and how designative of some notable cause and æra of further suffering and decline in the empire,—an æra following on that of the civil wars of the second Seal, and preceding that of the pestilence and mortality of the fourth,—all this, I say, remains as yet in obscurity. From his acquaintance, as a cotemporary, with Roman symbols and usages, the whole meaning might not improbably, at the very first sight of the emblematic vision, suggest itself to the Evangelist. For my own part, inadequately informed as I was on these points when I approached the investigation, it appeared all so enigmatical and obscure, that I felt constrained

¹ I had originally supposed the *chœnix* of 8 *cotylæ* to be distinctively the one used at Rome; being led to this impression by the French Academician's speaking of it as a measure "*naturalisée à Romæ*." But on reverting to the Memoir I see that he only so speaks of it in common with the other *chœnices*; and both the more ancient testimonies of Herodotus, Thucydides, Theocritus, and also, under the Emperors, those of Athenæus and Galen, testify to its peculiarly wide diffusion and notoriety.—Casaubon, in a Note on Spartian's Life of Sulp. Severus, expresses an opinion that under the Emperors the *tesseræ frumentariæ* distributed to the poorer citizens daily, "*chœnicariæ esse*," i. e. were each to the value of the Attic *chœnix*, of the 8th of a modius; as being the well-known *ἡμεροτροφίς*; and that the measure was consequently most familiar at Rome.

to look for light into history. I had seen that the two first subjects and æras, prominently set forth in Gibbon's philosophic and picturesque history of the Roman Empire, correspond admirably with those of the first and second Seals ;—that namely of a striking prosperity in the Empire, under a new Imperial line after Domitian, and that subsequently of its *first* marked cause and symptom of decline, in the license and oppressive domination of the Military. And what then, I thought, more likely than that his representation of the *second* cause and æra of decline should correspond with that of the third apocalyptic Seal also ?—As I looked, the clue was found. Nor do I know any manner in which I can now better unfold the enigma to the reader, than by conducting him through the same process through which my own mind was then led : first by reference to the general subject as developed in Gibbon ; and then to the details, as they opened before me in other and subsequent researches.

The following then I found to be the *second* notable cause of the decline of the Roman empire prominently set forth by Gibbon, viz. the aggravated *oppressiveness of the taxation*, consequent on a famous *edict of the Emperor Caracalla*, and especially as administered by the *Provincial Governors*. It is in his history of the reign of Alexander Severus that he notices it ;—a period of repose intervening between the first æra of civil insurrections and bloodshed, and the second :—and he addresses himself to it immediately after, and in connexion with, his previous sketch of the fatal effects of the illegitimate power of the soldiery, and consequent civil wars.¹—The following is an abstract of his statement.

¹ i. 284. It may be useful to quote the passage. "The dissolute tyranny of Commodus, the civil wars occasioned by his death, and the new maxims of policy introduced by the house of Severus, had all contributed to increase the *dangerous power of the army*.—This internal change, which undermined the foundations of the empire, we have endeavoured to explain with some degree of order and perspicuity. The personal characters of the Emperors, their victories, laws, follies, and fortunes, can interest us no further than as they are connected with the general history of the Decline and Fall of the monarchy. Our constant attention to that great subject will not suffer us to overlook a *most important edict of Antoninus Caracalla* :"—i.e. as he proceeds to say, in connexion with the subject of *Roman taxation* : of his digression on which I here give the abstract.

In the original constitution by the Roman Republic of its conquered provinces, tributes more or less onerous were imposed on them ; the which, after the conquests of Greece and Syria, had become so abundant, as to suffice to pay the expences of the government, and to allow of the entire exemption of Roman citizens from all taxes. This exemption continued till the time of Augustus : who however, soon after his establishment in the empire, declared the necessity of their again bearing a share also of the public burthens. Thus thenceforward *the provincials* had their distinctive taxes to pay, *the Roman citizens* (among whom were included at this time the Italians, and such other towns or individuals as, like St. Paul, had become free of the empire) *theirs* : the *latter* consisting of custom-duties and excise, (taxes the more oppressive from the constant and pernicious habit of farming them) and a heavy tax on legacies and inheritances ; the *former* either of tributes of produce in kind, or a money capitation-tax.¹

During the era of Trajan and the Antonines, says Gibbon, the mildness and precision of the laws, ascertaining the rule and measure of taxation, and protecting the subjects of every rank against arbitrary interpretations, antiquated claims, and the insolent vexations of the farmers of the revenue, alleviated the burthens, though they did not remove them. But some thirty or forty years after the last Antonine, and ere the rider of the *red horse of civil war* had run his full career, they received, so far as the *provincials* were concerned, (and *Italy* a few years after, losing its distinctive privileges,² was, like the rest of the empire, affected by it,) a sudden and grievous aggravation. The emperor Caracalla issued the memorable edict with which his name is associated, by which the ROMAN CITY was made co-extensive with the empire : an edict not of liberality, as might at first have been imagined, but simply of avarice : for

¹ The Scripture reader may be reminded by the mention of this provincial money payment, of Mark xii. 14 ; "Is it lawful to give tribute (τὸν ποσόν, the yearly census, or poll-tax) to Cæsar? Bring me a denarius:" and Matt. xvii. 25 ; "From whom do the kings of the earth receive custom or tribute? τὸν ποσόν."

² It was disfranchised by Galerius. See Gibbon ii. 198.

it was clogged with the condition that the provincials, thus admitted to Roman citizenship, should thenceforth pay both their provincial tributes as before, and also, in addition, the distinctive taxes of the Roman citizen. The edict was compulsory, and the weight of taxation thus forced upon them intolerable. "The great body of his subjects," says Gibbon, speaking of the results, "was oppressed by the aggravated taxes; and every part of the empire crushed under the weight of Caracalla's iron sceptre."¹ At the first prolonged pause from civil war it forced itself, as before said, on the imperial notice: the rather as just then there had been raised to the throne one,—and the only one for many years in those wretched times,—I mean Alexander Severus,—whose character it was to do justice and love mercy. Alexander mitigated the evil, and greatly reduced the proportion of what was more properly the provincial tribute. But he did not,—he probably dared not,—do away with it altogether. It was the chief source of pay and largess to the armies. "Am not I he," was his own language to the mutinying troops at Antioch,² "who bestow on you the corn, and the clothing, and the money of the provinces?" His administration was an unavailing struggle against the corruption of the age: and for what he did, and showed that he wished to do, he paid the penalty of his life. "His prudence was vain; his courage fatal."³ And not only so, but "his attempt toward a reformation did but serve to inflame the ills it was meant to cure." After his death the evil soon again became as oppressive as before.

Such is Gibbon's account of the origin and recent aggravation of the evil: and he dwells upon it as con-

¹ i. 219, 267. In the former passage he refers to Dion. Lib. lxxvii, in proof. See too his p. 282.

² Mark here a proof of what was said by me under the Second Seal, p. 142, to the effect that the intermission of the evil of military misrule and oppression during the reign of the second Severus was but partial.

³ "The troops blushed at the patience with which they had supported the discipline imposed on them; and determined to elect for their prince one (Maximin) who would assert their glory, and distribute among his companions the treasures of the empire." *ib.* i. 275. The result was the assassination of the Emperor A. Severus.

stituting a *further cause and æra of decline* in the empire.—The question for us is whether this may not have been the very evil and æra prefigured in the vision under consideration.

Now, in the first place, thus much is obvious, that the *epoch* well accords with the chronological position of the hieroglyphic of the third Seal before us; following closely, as it did, on the æra of the Prætorians depicted under the second Seal, and preceding that of the mortality under Valerian, the subject of the fourth.

Again, in regard to the *state of the people* as affected by the evil spoken of, its accordance with the *black* colour of the horse in our hieroglyphic,—the sign of distress and impoverishment in the body politic,—is also evident. Indeed, in the graphic description of Gibbon, the very trope of the *black* colour of this third horse is adopted, to illustrate his subject,—just as of the *white* and *red* (we have seen) of the two preceding. In metaphorical language less characteristic and striking than that of the apocalyptic emblem, yet as regards the aspect under which it represents the oppressed empire, not dissimilar, he observes thus; “In the succeeding age the noxious weed sprang up again with the most luxurious growth, and *darkened* the Roman world with its *deadly shade*.”¹

A further point of agreement will appear in the identity of those *articles of produce* on which the taxation fell, and those noted in the vision. For the former, like the latter, comprehended both *corn*-produce, including *wheat* and *barley*, and also, from such of the provinces as best produced them, *wine* and *oil*.²—Moreover in the system of *largesses*, as about this time acted on at Rome, they were all, or nearly all, included; and so the evil aggravated that we speak of. At first it was otherwise. For a long time *corn*³ only was distributed to the citizens. The

¹ i. 268.

² *Barley*, as well as *wheat*, is specified as among the tributes from Sicily by Cicero in his Orations against Verres. Columella (in his Treatise De Re Rustica, written about 42, A.D., in the reign of Claudius) speaks of *wine* as exacted from the Cyclades, Gaul, and Portugal. See also Synesius and Cassiodorus in Burmann de Vectigal.

³ The laws ordaining this distribution of corn to the poorer citizens, gratuitously, or at a trifling price, were called *Leges frumentaria*, corn-laws. The first was the *Lex Sempronia* by the famous T. S. Gracchus. Under the emperors

largess of *oil* given on one occasion by Julius Cæsar was an extraordinary donative, and not repeated. Again, when Augustus was petitioned to supply them with *wine*, he declined. In the reign of Septimius Severus, however, father to Caracalla, a largess of *oil* was again accorded ; and, after a short intermission under Elagabalus, the donative renewed and established by Alexander Severus. Shortly after which *wine* was also granted to them by Aurelian.² And thus just about the time we speak of, not only had all the four items of taxation mentioned in the vision come regularly into requisition from the *vectigales* or produce-paying provinces, but three out of the four had received aggravation from the system of largess above mentioned, and presently after the fourth also. " We shall be too often summoned," says the historian, " to explain the land-tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of *corn, wine, oil, and meat*, exacted from the provinces for the use of the court, the army, and the capital."³—Here, I say, is another correspondence with the symbols of the seal before us.

But what of the *agents* in these oppressions ? and were they persons such as to answer to *the rider of the black horse* as an impersonator ;—him to whom the characteristics attached, *first* of being charged against injuring, and charged as to price, in respect of corn, wine, and oil, from the midst of the living creatures ; *secondly* of bearing in his hand a pair of balances ? This is the next question.

The agency, as already intimated, under the emperors, was that of the provincial *Presidents, Proconsuls, or Proprætors*.⁴ To them, as to the Prætors and Quæstors

there was drawn up a *Canon frumentarius*, stating the quantity of corn that each province was to pay. This corn was laid up in public granaries, both at Rome and in the provinces ; from whence it was given out by the proper officers to the people and soldiers.

¹ He said it was sufficient to have provided aqueducts that furnished them with good water. (Suetonius c. 42.) Similarly it was said by Pescennius Niger, about two centuries afterwards, to his mutinying troops in Egypt, " Nilum habetis, et vinum queritis ? "

² Vopiscus (a writer of the time of Constantius) says of Aurelian (c. 28), " Statuerat vinum gratuitum populo Romano dare ; ut quemadmodum oleum, et panis, et porcina gratuita præberentur, sic etiam vinum daretur." ³ Ibid.

⁴ Sigonius de Provinc. ii. 5, arranges the duties of the Provincial Præsides or Proconsuls under three chief heads ;—that concerning the *jus*, or judicial matters,—that concerning the *res frumentaria*, or corn,—and that concerning the *military* of the province.

of the old Republic before them, was now entrusted in each province the collection of the produce and the revenue.—Now, respecting persons in offices of this nature, it could not but be obvious that, as opportunities abounded for exaction,—more especially in respect of the payments in kind, or of purchases in kind,¹ when extra supplies, as was often the case, were required by the sovereign government at Rome,—so it was to be expected that, unless rigorously checked, abuse of those opportunities would follow. In early times this forced itself on the notice of the Roman Senate and people; and precautionary laws were enacted by them, laws adopted and added to subsequently by the emperors. They were styled laws *de repetundis*, or against extortion and injustice on the part of the provincial governors;² and in their general *charges against injustice* well corresponded, it will be observed, with the tone and spirit of the monition to the rider in the text.—Besides which, and with the same object of preventing injustice, particular precautionary provisions were sometimes, in other laws, made against it; especially *by naming the price* at which the governor was to rate and purchase. I may cite as a specimen the Cassian frumentarian law. And really the expressions in it are so remarkably similar to the words pronounced in the apocalyptic vision by the voice from the midst of the four living creatures,

¹ Middleton in his life of Cicero, speaking of Sicily, observes that the tenth of the corn in all the conquered towns of Sicily belonged to the Romans; which was usually gathered in kind, and sent to Rome: and that, as this was insufficient for the public use, the Prætors had an appointment also of money from the treasury, to purchase such further stores as were necessary for the current year.

Money payments were, however, sometimes taken by the Governor, in lieu of payments in kind: "a method," says Gibbon, (iii. 86) "susceptible of the utmost latitude, and of the utmost strictness: and which, in a corrupt and absolute monarchy, must introduce a perpetual contest between the power of oppression and the arts of fraud."

² In the times of the Republic there were enacted the following laws *de repetundis*; U. C. 604 *Lex Calpurnia*; by which trials for extortion were made one of the four *Questiones perpetuæ*: i. e. one of the six Judicial Prætors, annually chosen, was through the year to devote himself to the trial of these causes.

—627 *Lex Junia*; by which, besides the *litis æstimatio*, and damages, the officer convicted was to suffer banishment.

—683 *Lex Acilia*; by which no second hearing was allowed; but which was repealed presently after by the *Lex Servilia*.

—694 *Lex Julia*, by Julius Cæsar; of which there were above 100 heads, some very severe.

—so illustrative of their preceptive and admonitory character, and of the use and meaning in that character of the charge they contain as to the price of corn,¹ as to seem like an actual comment of explanation on them. It having been enacted, at the instance of Cassius, that 800,000 modii of wheat should be bought for the citizens of Rome by the provincial authorities, the price to be paid for it (about the fair market-price evidently) was by the legislating supreme government enjoined upon those authorities, in phrase brief and simple, just as in the text; “A modius of wheat for a denarius!”²—Such was at that time the admonitory direction of the *supreme government* at Rome to the provincial authorities; such the naming of the price of corn, and the purport of its naming. And, forasmuch as both it, and the general laws against extortion, were conceived in the spirit of equity, they might well be considered as commands emanating not only from the *subordinate earthly powers* ordained by God, but,—as Cicero expressly tells us he felt the obligation, when entering on his Quæstorship,³—from Him the habitation of whose throne is justice and judgment,⁴ and who has solemnly declared himself in his written law against all defrauding, oppression, and wrong,⁵ the same that in the Apocalyptic visions sate enthroned in the midst of the living creatures, even *God himself*.⁶

The actual price of wheat, indeed, named in the Cas-

¹ It should be observed that the genitive of price, as we have it in the text, (χοινίξ σιτα δηναρίε) is applicable both to buying and selling. It is used of *buying*, Acts vii. 16, ἀνέσται τιμῆς ἀργυρίου of *selling*, Matt. xxvi. 9, “This ointment ἠδυνάτο προῆναι πολλόν” and is generally a term of *value*.

² “Ex Senatûs Consulto, et ex Lege Terentiâ et Cassiâ, . . . pretium constitutam. . . frumento imperato, in modios singulos, H. S. iiii;” i. e. at a denarius a modius. Cicero in Frument. Verrinâ.

³ He felt himself bound, he says, to do justice in the province “*quâdam religione*.” *Ib.*—So Seneca, Epist. 94, on *law*: “Legem brevem esse oportet quo facilius ab imperitis teneatur, velut emissâ divinitûs vox sit.” In *Homer θεμισες*, says Daubuz, signifies both the oracles of God, and the laws of a king. And so Hooker, in a celebrated passage; “Of *law* there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is in the bosom of God,” &c. Eccl. Pol. Book i. ⁴ Ps. lxxxix. 14.

⁵ “Thou shalt not steal.” Thou shalt not defraud. “A just weight and a just balance are from the Lord.” And Deut. xxv. 13, “Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights;” (Hebr. a stone and a stone) one, heavy, to buy with,—another, light, to sell with: but only “one stone,” or one true weight.

⁶ Compare Numb. vii. 89; “When Moses went into the tabernacle of the congregation, then he heard the voice of one speaking to him from off the mercy-seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two Cherubim.”

sian law, varied greatly from the one mentioned here; the former being *a modius* for a denarius, the latter a *chœnix*, or *eighth part of a modius*, for it: that is if we follow the most natural hypothesis about the chœnix, and suppose the *Attic* to be the one intended.¹ But it is to be remembered that as time went on, and the republic passed into an empire, and the empire became settled and mature, great changes took place in the price of corn throughout the Roman empire: under which circumstances changes proportionate, of course, occurred in the amount of price equitably dictated to the provincial Governors, in the laws of equitable Emperors, at which to estimate and to buy.¹ Of the average price at a period not very long before the Apocalyptic vision we find an authentic record in the elder Pliny, who died A.D. 79, two years only before Domitian's accession; stating it as then about three denarii the modius, or three times greater than in the age of Cassius.² This

¹ Definito pretio," occurs frequently in the Roman imperial laws, as Burmann says of the Emperors (De Vectigal. p. 41); "à subjectis gentibus pretio dato emere, (when more corn wanted than the tribute in kind supplied; et eo casu coactos fuisse Provinciales pretio à fisco accepto frumentum vendere, quod onus dicitur *arrævia*, *coemptio*." He adds, with reference to the price enjoined by just or unjust emperors; "Quemadmodum vero avari et impotentes Imperatores hoc frumentum nullo vel perexiguo pretio Provincialibus extorquebant, sic boni et justii Principes pretium congruens solvi jubebant" instancing the case of Trajan; "Unde eam laudem Trajano Plin. Panag. 'Emit fiscus quidquid videtur emere: inde copias, inde annonæ: de quâ inter licentem vendentemque conveniat.'" Of later laws this is the language: "Frumenti pretium non justum statuere non potest ordo cujusque civitatis." Justinian Corpus Jur. Civ.

² The following is the statement in Pliny (Lib. xviii. Cap. 10). "Pretium huic, annonæ mediæ, in modios farinæ xl. asses: similagini castratæ octonis assibus amplius: siligini castratæ duplum."—On which Arbuthnot thus comments. "He tells us that the bread made of a modius of coarse flour cost 40 asses; of that which was entirely purged from the bran, or very fine flour, 48: and what was made of the flour of the siligo, or the finest of all, was double of the first. If we proceed according to our English manner, it will make the peck of the cheapest or household bread, 2s. 6½d., that of the wheaten bread 3s. 0d. 2¼q., and the finest 5s. 0d. 0¼q."—Now "the assize of wheaten bread in London is pretty near as 3 to 5; that is when wheat is 15d. the peck, the peck loaf is sold for 25d. And, as the price of the middle sort of bread, which answers to our wheaten, according to Pliny, was 3s. 0d. 2¼q.—reckoned according to the forementioned proportion, it will make wheat per quarter at 63s. 6d. as the common or middle price." So Dr. Arbuthnot; making the price in Pliny's time 2s. for a modius or peck.

I may observe that the proportion existing in his day between the prices of bread and corn still continues. Thus while I write, among the Prices Current I find wheat at 74s. a quarter, and bread at 9d. the 4lb. loaf. Now, as a peck of wheat weighs on an average about 18½lb. (Arbuthnot, p. 89,) the weight of 32 pecks, or a quarter, is 18½ × 32lb., or 592lb. Of which the present price being 74s, it is 74d. for one-twelfth of 592lb. i. e. for 49lb. Again, as the average

price would seem to have continued pretty much the average through the prosperous times of the second century : after which it declined ; till it stood at just half Pliny's price under the Constantinian Emperors, in the first half of the fourth century.¹ And on the reasonable hypothesis of the decline having progressed nearly about one third at the opening of the second quarter of the third century, the date of the reign of Alexander Severus, the price would at that time have been about two denarii and a half for the modius of wheat, or near *one third of a denarius* for the *Attic chœnix*.—But how then ? The price is still altogether at variance with that enunciated in the Apocalyptic vision ; “ A chœnix of wheat (not for *one third of*, but) for *a whole denarius*.” Is the difficulty then hence arising, on the hypothesis of the Attic chœnix, insurmountable ? So I long thought ; and fell back consequently on the supposition of the larger and less common chœnix being meant, as its best solution. But I had overlooked one most important element for consideration in the question,

price of *bread* is 9d. each 4lb., that of 49lb. is about 110d. Hence the proportion between the prices of *wheat* and of *bread* appears to be as 74 to 110d ; i. e. as 37 to 55, or 3 to 5 nearly. I notice this in order to obviate a possible objection to Arbuthnot's calculation. The proportion seems to be one in the nature of things.

The calculation of prices from Pliny's statement may with advantage be made directly in terms of the *denarius* ; the denarius, being, as it is observed by Arbuthnot, universally, in classic writings, the equivalent to ten asses. Thus, if we take Pliny's 48 asses, or about 5 denarii, as the average price of a modius of *bread*, we shall have $5 \times \frac{3}{5} = 3$ denarii, as the average price of a modius of *wheat*.

It is to be regretted that commentators on the passage before us should have given *collectanea* on the subject of the prices of corn from different countries, and different ages, mostly quite foreign to the point of time before them ; and selected *ex parte*, in order to make out a case of cheapness of wheat among the ancients much beyond the truth. There is one quotation, however, given from a cotemporary of St. John,—Martial ; “ Amphora vigessis ; modius datur ære quaterno : ” and Daubuz reasons as if the poet really intended to state four asses a modius, as the then market-price of wheat ! “ It is mentioned,” as Arbuthnot observes upon the passage, “ *poetically* ! ”

Of authentic remaining notices of the prices of wheat in Roman pre-Apocalyptic history, the most notable perhaps are those of *Polybius*, who reports that in the scarce times of the *second Punic war* wheat was at 15 denarii the medimnus, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a modius for a denarius ;—of the *Cassian law*, B.C. 73, rating it at one denarius the modius ;—of *Cicero*, in his *Verreian Orations*, rating it about the same ;—and of *Pliny*, A.D. 79, whose testimony I have above given.

¹ The *Emperor Julian*, about the middle of the fourth century, states in his *Misopogon* that the price of wheat was 5, 10, or 15 modii for an aureus, according as it was a time of plenty or scarcity. Now the aureus equalled at that time 11s. “ Whence,” says Gibbon, “ and from collateral sources, I conclude that under Constantine's successors the moderate price was about 32s. a quarter : ” i. e. just half the price of Pliny —Prices probably attained their maximum in the Roman empire about the end of the first century.

and which at once sets all right; viz. the *intrinsic value of the denarius*, at the time supposed to be depicted in the vision. For so it is, as I now find, that though the denarius for centuries previous, under both Republic and Emperors, had been always scrupulously coined of pure silver, yet from the commencement of the third century, it began to be gradually more and more adulterated; to the value of *one-half* in the reign of the first Severus, and in the reign of Alexander Severus to the value of just *two-thirds*.¹ So that as under that last-mentioned prince the denarius had but one third the silver, and consequently but one third the value, of the older and standard denarius, the Apocalyptic charge, "A chœnix of wheat for a denarius," proves to have given the literally true expression of its average price at that particular æra.² Surely the coincidence must be

¹ In proof I subjoin extracts to this effect from Professor Wurm's Book on the Ancient Weights and Measures; and from Eckhel.

1. Wurm, p. 30. "Ex accuratiori examini subjectis compluribus denariis Dacot invenit *Aurentis Republicæ* eorum argenti puritatem adscendisse ad 0. 998, (positâ integritate absolutâ=1.), donec paulatim ad 0. 965 deprimeretur. In Augusti quodam denario Bouterone reperit argenti puritatem = 0. 9826. Sub primis imperatoribus imminuta parumper puritas sic satis sibi constitit ad Severum usque. Posteriores enim imperatores monetam mirum in modum corrumpere ausi, quo lucraretur ærarium: unde puritas denariorum Septimio Severo imperante recidit ad 0. 494, sive ad $\frac{1}{2}$. Caracalla novum monetæ genus excudit, modulo majori, argento deteriori; quanquam cum successoribus nummos quoque ex veteri instituto ferire perrexit. Sub Alexandro Severo nummi quidem pondere antiquis pares; sed *nonnisi tertiam iis argenti partem inesse* expertus est Savotus. Nummorum Gallieni puritatem Letronne ait fuisse 0. 339, sive circiter $\frac{1}{3}$; Bimardus adeo = 0. 200, sive $\frac{1}{5}$. A Claudio Gothico usque ad Diocletianum Romæ exulat argentum; ut nonnisi rariissimi sint nummi argentei, lique valde impuri. Cum Diocletiano redit moneta argentea."

2. Eckhel, Vol. i. Prolegom. p. xxvii. "Alexander Severus veteris formæ argenteos sic corrumpit, ut etsi pondere à veteribus non differrent, tamen *nonnisi tertiam argenti portionem in iis inesse* expertus est Savotus." At p. xxxvii. he says that this adulteration affected the coinage in the Provinces, as well as at Rome. "Adde monetam argenteam inde à Severo non Romæ modo, *sed etiam in provinciis*, si qua adhuc in his signata fuit, vilioris metalli admixtione pessimè corruptam."

Niebuhr also remarks on this, in his History of Rome (Ed. Schmitz) Vol. ii. p. 358. Ducange notes from Pollio the brass denarii of the Emperor Aurelian, of which "sex millia solidum consciebant:" referring to Leg. Ult. Cod. Theodos. de Suarii.—It is by this adulteration and great depreciation of the value of the denarius that the high prices of produce given in the Stratonicean inscription are alone to be explained: e. g. Milipisti KM unum * centum; Panici KM * quinquaginta. The inscription is an imperial decree, stating the maximum of prices in terms of the denarius; and is judged by Col. Leake, who gives it in his Tour in Asia Minor p. 331, to have been probably of the time of Theodosius: perhaps, I think he adds, of that of Diocletian.—If the latter, Lactantius, in his M. P. 7, both admirably illustrates and is admirably illustrated by it. "Diocletianus, cum variis iniquitatibus immensam faceret caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est; &c."

² At that one æra almost distinctively and alone. For under the first Severus the current denarius would have been probably more than the average price;

deemed most remarkable.—Nor, though the comparative price of *barley* specified in the voice from the throne is considerably lower than its usual proportion to that of wheat, (it being but *a third*, not, as more usual, *a half*,¹) is there any thing in this inconsistent with historic probability: Alexander Severus' large and celebrated procurations of corn quite accounting for it;² as they were doubtless most by far of wheat.

Thus did the prices of wheat and barley specified consist well with what the Christians living in Alexander Severus' time (the same that St. John here impersonated) might have heard addressed to the Provincial Presidents then in office by that Emperor. And indeed I think that with St. John himself the words enjoining them must almost have suggested those Imperial Provincial Governors, as the parties address under figure of the rider; just as the monitory words of the Cassian law might in earlier times have suggested the Provincial Administrators of the old Republic: more especially as there was added that other monitory clause, in the same

under Gallienus less. See the extract from Wurm in the Note preceding; stating the adulteration under the former Emperor to have been to the value of but one half, under Gallienus of four-fifths.

¹ Such was the proportion after the ending of the famine in Samaria. (2 Kings vii. 1, 16.) The same is noted by Cicero as the proportion in Sicily at the time of Verres' Prætorship (Lib. iii. in Verres); "Quaternis H. S. tritici modium, binis hordei." It is the proportion also in our own country: as appears from statistical tables of prices for the last forty-seven years, i. e. from 1790 to 1837; the exact average proportion being as 87 to 160.

Daubuz broaches a curious theory, to the effect that the comparative cheapness of barley noted in the vision, as compared with that of wheat, was a sign of scarcity. His argument is quite unintelligible to me, and is indeed refuted by fact. From the above-mentioned tables it will appear that the lower or higher ratio of the price of barley to that of wheat has no connexion either with the fact of plenty or scarcity.—In some of the years included in the tables, I may observe, the comparative price of barley was much lower than as 1 to 2; e. g. in 1816, it was as 1 to above 2½. Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon Pretiosum*, gives examples of price from our earlier British history; in some of which the proportion is as low as 1 to 3, the same as in the text.

² It is said that Alexander Severus replaced the corn which Heliogabalus had wasted, out of his own money. See too his appeal to the mutinying soldiers on the subject of his procurations for them.—The word used by historians relating to these is indeed, I believe, *frumentum*; a word which would include *barley*. But as the procuration was for the citizens of Rome and the army,—and by the former barley-bread was despised, and with the latter to be fed on barley, "*hordeo pasci*," was a military punishment,—we may safely conclude that the procurations were in by far the largest proportion of *wheat*. This would of course raise the price of wheat somewhat disproportionately.

Doubtless it was the despised barley-bread on which Christ often fed, "We have here five barley-loaves," &c.—Did the early Christians think of this, when they proscribed *white bread* (as I think I have somewhere read) as too luxurious?

spirit of equity, about the *wine* and the *oil*; precisely the like to which seems to have been often charged on the Provincial Presidents by the juster Emperors, in connexion with the Imperial exactions of wine and oil, in their Canon Frumentarius.¹—If however of itself this indication was insufficient absolutely to fix them as the parties symbolized by the black horse's rider, the second and additional indication of his *holding a balance*, must, I conceive, when conjoined with the former, have set all doubt on the point aside. For the balance, from being the emblem of justice,² came to be an official badge of those that had appointment to the supreme administration of justice; such as the Prætors at Rome under the Republic, and the Provincial Governors in the Provinces. Which latter accordingly used sometimes to have a *balance* struck, over the *curule chair* of their high office, on coins connected with their appointment: (was it not like a public profession of their sense of the duty of equity in their administration? ³) and together therewith sometimes also an *ear of corn*, or it might be a *Roman measure*, with reference to the procurations of corn charged more or less directly upon

¹ In the Codex Theodosianus, intermixed with stringent laws for the due gathering of the tributes of wine and oil, as well as of corn, we find not merely such cautions about a fair price for the corn as were exemplified by me pp. 162—164 *suprà*, but generally against all extortion, injustice, and oppression of the people, in the collection of the various tributes. These monitory laws appear from their language to have arisen generally out of complaints against the Imperial Officers. A circumstance illustrated by what Spartian (c. 13.) says of the Emperor Adrian's energetic proceedings against unjust and oppressive Provincial Governors in his reign: "Adrianus circumiens provincias Procuratores et Præsides profectis supplicio affecit ita severe, ut accusatores per se crederetur immittere."

Let me here beg the reader to mark the nice and historically accurate distinction in the Apocalyptic monition, with reference to the *wheat and barley* on the one hand, and the *wine and oil* on the other. The price is named for the *former*; because, besides the provincial tributes of corn, a vast quantity had frequently to be *bought* for the imperial service. But the wants of wine and oil were for the most part abundantly supplied by the tributes, and no *buying* of them consequently requisite.

² See Note ² p. 154.

³ Beaufort observes in his *Republique Romaine*, ii. 328: (Hague 1766:)" *Le Gouverneur, en prenant possession de son gouvernement, y faisoit publier un édit, à peu près dans le goût de celui du Préteur de la ville; et contenant certaines maximes de droit, auxquels il se proposoit de se conformer dans l'administration de la justice.*" He exemplifies from Cicero's practice, when he entered on his Proconsulate in Cilicia. "Ciceron parle souvent (e. g. ad Attic. vi. 1), de l'Edit qu'il publia dans son gouvernement de Cilicia, et nous apprend qu'il en emprunta la plus grande partie de celui de Mutius Scævola, qui avoit gouverné l'Asie avec tant de sagesse et d'équité."

THE ROMAN PROPÆTORS' & QUÆSTOR'S EMBLEMS

of a Balance, an Ear of Wheat, and a Corn-measure.



From Spanheim.

them;¹ just as in the medals which the reader here sees engraved before him.² Together these several pictured emblems would constitute, I believe, distinctive marks of a Roman Provincial Governor:³ as distinctive as the *crown* of the reigning Emperor, or the

¹ The *Præfecti Annonæ* were the officers at Rome that had to watch over this important department of the administration: (Augustus himself once undertook the office:) the *Provincial Governors*, with whom of course the *Præfecti Annonæ* were in communication, those that had to superintend the matter in the Provinces. Of these Provincial Governors the generic title, I believe, was *Præsides Provinciarum*; though the appellation had *properly* a more restricted meaning. It seems that besides the greater Provinces, governed either by the Emperor's *Legati Pro Prætoribus* or the Senate's *Proconsuls*, there were other smaller or less important Provinces. In the *former* or larger Provinces, besides the *Proprætores* or *Proconsuls*, there were the *Procuratores Caesaris*, high officers, charged specially with the care of the revenue; in connexion however with, and in a measure subordinate to, the superior Governors. In the latter or inferior Provinces the *Procurator* was himself the *Præses* or Governor. So in old inscriptions; "Procurator et Præsides Alpium;" "Procurator et Præsides Provinciarum Sardiniae;" &c. See Salmassius' Note on Spartian's Biography of Adrian c. 13. and Burman de Vectigal. p. 146. The latter refers to Lipsius' Excursus on Tacit. Annal. xii.—Under these there were of course subordinate officers for the collection of the tributes: "qui per Provincias mittebantur ut vectigalia tam frumenti quam pecudum et vini et olei colligerent; et qui vel à speciebus Frumentarii dicebantur, vel generali voce Susceptores."—In the Provinces governed by higher Officers the *Procurators* had jurisdiction only in fiscal causes, the supreme Governor having the supreme and general jurisdiction: (so Salmassius, *ibid.* "Rem fisci curabant, et nullam nisi in fiscalibus causis jurisdictionem habebant:") in the other Provinces they had of course the whole jurisdiction in their hands.

² They are copied from Spanheim De Usu Num. Diss. vi. p. 545. After speaking of the *sella curulis*, which the reader sees in the first of my engraved medals, as often marking the *consulare fastigium*, he goes on as follows. "Eadem *sella curules* in denariis Gentium Romanarum ad designandos alios curules magistratus, Prætores, Ædiles, Præfectes Urbis: quibus etiam varia symbola vulgo adjuncta, puta *lances*, *spicas*, *thyrsos*; idque, ut observo, ad discrimen eorum magistratum quibus *sellæ curulis* jus competeat. Hinc *lances* videas cum *sellâ curuli* in denario Gentis Liciniae; adpositè ad Prætoris aut *Legati Pro Prætoris* officium indicandum, cui *juris dicendi* partes incumberebant. Ædiles autem *curules*, quos cum *annonæ* tum ludorum procuracionem habuisse nemo nescit, et quos proinde Curatores Urbis, *annonæ*, ludorumque solennium vocat alicubi Tullius, frequenter etiam *sella curulis*, modo cum *spiciis* à lateribus, modocùm thyrsos Liberalium symbolo, designat; sicut in denariis Gentis Lolliae ac *Valeriae*. Eandem vero *annonæ* curam innuit etiam *modius frumenti* cùm duabus *spiciis*, in denario Gentis Livinae."

The medals are noticed by Eckhel also in his 5th Volume, pp. 153, 233, 159, 235. It seems that the *first* has the name of *Metellus Pius Scipio Imp.* on the other side; P. Crassus Junius having been his Legatus Pro Prætor, at the time when he was contending for the Empire in Africa with Cæsar, as the head of the Pompeians after the battle of Pharsalia. The *second* has inscribed on its other side the names of the Quæstors *Piso* and *Cæpio*; who were appointed by the Senate, some time during the Republic, to buy corn.—The *third* has the name of L. Regulus Prætor. The precise date of the two last is uncertain.—The last of the three medals was restored by Trajan; and so probably, says Eckhel, all the coins of the Roman Gentis; as more come to light continually. Hence the rather a familiarity in St. John's time with these official badges on coins struck under the Republic.

³ It appears on the whole that the *balance* was from of old a Roman designative of those officers that had supreme *judicatory power*; while the charge about the price of corn, and about wine and oil, indicated those that had the high charge both of *gathering the provincial tributes* in kind, and of *purchasing*

public *sword-presentation* of the military commander.—Which being so, and it being evidently the intention of the Divine Spirit to mark as distinctively as before the parties intended by the black horse's rider, let me beg the reader to observe with what beautiful propriety they have been all substantially interwoven with the imagery of the hieroglyphic before us. The *balance* was that which might appropriately be held in the hand of the rider. There therefore it was figured. For the *curule chair*, his very position as a rider, being indicative of authority and rule over the Roman people, was itself a substitute. And with respect to the *wheat* and *barley*, and the *Roman measure* also forasmuch as the simplicity of the hieroglyphic, which might only consist of a horse and its rider, could not admit of their *visible* delineation, the defect was supplied by that *audible* mention of them, on which we have just been commenting, in the voice from the midst of the living creatures.

We have seen what were the professions of equity, with the governors. But they were professions, from the time prefigured in the vision, almost always falsified : and the injunctions of the law to equity, however solemn, for the most part altogether in vain. "Those," says Gibbon, (iii. 87.) "who had learning enough to read the orations of Cicero against Verres, might *instruct* themselves in all the various arts of oppression, with regard to the *weight*, the *price*, the *quality*, and the *carriage* ;¹ and the avarice of an *unlettered* governor would supply the ignorance of precept or precedent."—In the which we have the solution of the enigma that at first sight appeared so inexplicable ; how, under the influences of one that held the balance of equity as his badge, the aspect of the Roman horse did yet gather blackness. For it was but in profession that he held the balance of equity. The reality of the case with him, as with Ephraim, was that de-

where more was required : which combined indications meet in the *Præsides Provinciarum*, completely and alone.

¹ It may illustrate the subject of the Seal, as well as Gibbon's language here quoted, if we observe that in Sicily, when the wheat-procurations were required from the islanders, the market-price being not above one denarius the modius, Verres exacted three denarii from some of them as a money equivalent for each modius due. Cicero in Frument. Verr.

scribed by the prophet, "The *balance of deceit* is in his hands ; he loveth to *oppress*."¹ The taxes, oppressive as they were in themselves after Caracalla's aggravating edict, were felt much more so from the iniquity of the local administration : and as to the laws against extortion and injustice, like many others which meet the eye in history, they must be looked on rather as *records of the crime*, than preventatives of its commission.

And thus we see how the voice from the midst of the living creatures bore, like all else, with perfect unity of effect, on the main point intended in the vision. It signified an æra in which justice itself would raise its voice in vain for the oppressed ; the *black* colour of the horse indicating its ineffectiveness. The æra of Alexander Severus, the same that was selected by Gibbon for his painting on the subject, answers exactly in this point. His was the last great struggle of equity against corruption in the Roman empire : and he made it in the spirit of one who had studied and loved the golden precept of Christianity,—Do as ye would be done by !² But as we have seen, it was an *unavailing* struggle ; and his attempt at a reform only served to inflame the evil it was meant to cure.

It is possible that the topic may at first sight appear to some persons as of insufficient importance to form the subject of one of these sacred prefigurative sketches. If so, let me say, in conclusion, that the objector will meet with no sympathy from any whose authority is of weight on the subject, either amongst the ancients or the moderns. The recorded opinion of the most sagacious of emperors, philosophers, and historians, is united to mark the gravity of the evil.³ More especially I would

¹ Hosea xii. 7.—The old Apocalyptic Expositor *Tichenius*, in his 6th Homily on the Revelations, expresses very much the same view of the symbol on this head. "Habebat stateram in manu, libram,—id est examen æquitatis : quia, dum fingit se justitiam tenere, per simulationem lædit." And so too *Primasius*.

² "Leges de jure populi et fisci," says Lampridius of him, (Ch. xvi.) "moderatas et infinitas sanxit : " and in Ch. xlii ; "Præsides provinciarum, si male [egissent,] in quadruplum reddituri, præter condemnationem aut peculatum aut repetundarum." His admiration of Christian morality is well known ; and will be noted by me again under the fifth Seal.

³ I may instance among the ancients *Cicero* and *Trajan*.—Of the former the Verreian orations give a lively picture of the misery resulting in a particular province through fiscal oppressions of this kind ; at a time when taxation was less oppressive, and the Prætors as a body less corrupt, than afterwards.

again direct his attention to the manner in which the philosophic historian of the Decline and Fall, in his digression on the subject, just as in that on the Prætorian usurpations previous, seeks to impress on the reader's mind its *important bearing* on the *decline* of the *Roman empire*. "The personal character of the emperors," he says, "their victories, laws, follies, and fortunes, can interest us no further than as they are connected with the general history of the decline and fall of the monarchy. It is our attention to that great subject, that *will not suffer us to overlook* the important edict of Caracalla;"¹ that is, in reference to its oppressive bearing, through the consequent aggravation of taxation, on the most vital interests of the empire. In fact the decisive testimony of history is unequivocal as to the distress that, not immediately alone, but lastingly and increasingly, resulted from it. The agriculture of the provinces was insensibly ruined. Preparation was made for famine; which, as we shall see under the next Seal, soon succeeded: and, in its ultimate consequences, it involved not the mere territorial desolation of provinces, once the most fertile in the empire, but personal and family distress also, such as to drive parents in numbers to *infanticide*: indeed to an extent so unprecedented and alarming as to force the notice of the legislature; of which a remedial law of Constantine remains the remarkable and authentic monument.²

Trajan was wont to liken inordinate taxation, in its effects on the body politic, to the enlargement of the spleen, which in the natural body causes atrophy. "Exactiones improbens et detestans, fiscum lienem vocabat, quod eo crescente artus reliqui tabescunt." Hence his jealous watchfulness against it. See the younger *Victor*, *Epit.* p. 150.

In *Justinian's* time *Procopius* speaks of the taxation as a *devouring pestilence* on the inhabitants.

This will suffice for the *ancients*.—As regards the *moderns* I will only further exemplify in *Mosheim*. In his *Church History* he has one short chapter on the *incommoda* of the Roman empire; and in it makes the evil treated of under this Seal the most prominent subject of the chapter. Part i. ch. i. § 2.

¹ Quoted more fully p. 158 Note 1, *suprà*.—Murphy, the translator of *Tacitus*, speaks in the same manner of "the rapacity of the Imperial Procurators, as among the causes that finally wrought the downfall of the Empire." *Ad Tac. Agric.* § 34: and referring to *Tac. Annal.* xii. 60.

² In speaking of a humane law of Constantine, made early in his reign with a view to remedy the evil, *Gibbon* observes as follows. "The horrid practice of exposing and murdering their new-born infants was become every day more frequent in the provinces, and especially in Italy. It was the effect of distress: and the distress was principally occasioned by the intolerable burden of taxes, and by the vexations as well as cruel persecutions of the officers of the revenue

Thus by any one that considers the end from the beginning, this æra of Caracalla cannot but be regarded in the same light in which it has been delineated by the historian, as one of the introduction of fresh and grievous morbid principle into the Roman body politic, under which it would indeed gather blackness.—And who then can doubt but that it was a subject deserving of prefiguration? Or who, that it was the very subject prefigured under the Seal before us? For surely I may say, not a particular is there in the emblematic vision that has not been shown to have had its correspondency in the features, as noticed by me, of this period of Roman history. In truth, brief as is the description of the vision in the text, the whole subject of this long chapter seems to pass embodied before us, as we once again read it: “When he opened the third Seal, I beheld, and lo! a *black horse*; and he that sat on it having a *pair of balances* in his hand! And I heard a voice in the midst of the living creatures saying, “*A chænix of wheat for a denarius, and three chænixes of barley for a denarius; and see that thou wrong not in regard to the oil and wine!*”

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOURTH SEAL.

“AND when he had opened the fourth Seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature say, Come and see!

against their insolvent debtors. The less opulent or less industrious, instead of rejoicing in an increase of family, deemed it an act of paternal tenderness to release their children from the miseries of a life which they were themselves unable to support. The humanity of Constantine, moved perhaps by some recent and extraordinary instances of despair, engaged him to address an edict to all the cities of Italy and afterwards of Africa, directing instant relief to those parents who should produce before the magistrates the children whom their own poverty would not allow them to educate.” Vol. ii. 250.

As regards the territorial desolation resulting, he speaks in another volume, iii. 87. He states that in sixty years after the death of Constantine, and before a barbarian had been seen in Italy, an exemption from taxes was granted for 330,000 acres in the fertile province of Campania, that is for one eighth part of the whole province, as being by actual survey ascertained to be desert; and he ascribes it to the long impoverishing effect of fiscal oppressions, of the origin of which this hieroglyphic marks a chief æra.—It will be remembered that Italy was reduced by Galerius, before the end of the third century, to a level in respect of taxation with the other provinces.

And I looked, and behold a *pale*¹ horse ! And his name that sat on it was Death : and Hades followed after him. And power was given to him to kill on the fourth part of the earth with the sword,—and with famine, and with pestilence,² and with wild beasts of the earth.”

There is no research here needed to explain the meaning of the symbol. The *rider* was not, as before, the representative of *human functionaries* and *rulers*, the permitted agencies for good or evil in the empire,—each characterized by their distinctive emblems, which, though well understood at the time, might now require investigation to unfold them. It was a symbol of meaning as obvious to the reader now, as it could have been then to the seer. For who it meant is expressly told us. It was the personification of *Death* ! To mark that it was the actual king of terrors,—and not, as otherwise it might possibly have been construed, the destroyer merely of political existence,—his badge, if I may so say, was *Hades*, or the grave, following him, the recipient with its opening jaws of the victims slain by Death.³ The commission was given him, by the supreme arbiter of life and death, to kill upon the Roman earth with all the four sore judgments of God ;—with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, and with the wild beasts of the earth : and the horse, symbolizing the Roman people, appeared deadly pale and livid under his influences ; a hue symptomatic of approaching dissolution.

An æra of terrible mortality, and to an extent scarce

¹ *χλωρος* first, *grassy green* ; also *pale* ; combining the two, *livid*. Its application to death in either of the latter senses is obvious and frequent. So “ *Pallida mors* ; ” Horace. Compare *χλωρον θεος*, Homer. In these and such like examples the epithet of the effect is, by a metathesis, applied to the *causal agent*. In the text it is applied more appropriately to the *party affected*. So the emperor Constantius, father to Constantine, was called *Chlorus* from his paleness.

Hippocrates, in his 2nd Book on Prognostics, enumerates among the symptoms of approaching death, the colour of the facial skin becoming thus *green* and *black* ; το χρομα του ξυμπατος προσωπου χλωρον τε και μελαν εον.

² So *θανατος* ought here to be rendered, as most commentators observe. Its use in this sense is borrowed from the Septuagint ; which thus, in near thirty places, renders the Hebrew מָוֶת, a word translated in our English version, and without doubt correctly, *pestilence*. So 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, 15 ; “ Or shall it be three days’ pestilence ? ” where the Septuagint translates it *θανατος*.—Other differences of translation from the received version will be noticed afterwards.

³ So Isa. v. 14 ; “ Therefore hell (rather *Hades*) hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure ; and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, shall descend into it.”

precedented in the annals of human history, was here evidently prefigured. The question for us is, Was there then such an æra in the Roman imperial history? And did it follow, as from the sequence of this vision on that of the Seal preceding it might be expected to do, at no great distance after the time of the second Severus?—The answer is soon given.

An era in the Roman history, following within twelve or fifteen years after the death of Alexander Severus, is so strongly marked by coincidence in every point with this terrible prefigurative emblem, that interpreters who explain the six first Seals of the history of Pagan Rome, one and all agree, I believe, in referring the fourth Seal to it. By Mede and Daubuz, and after them by Lowman, Newton, and others, passages have been quoted from cotemporary authors well descriptive of its multiplied miseries. For my own part, having taken *Gibbon* as my authority, in illustration of the former Seals, I prefer taking him also on this. And, after all, who so graphic an illustrator? Who like him for extracting the spirit of cotemporary history, and infusing it, concentrated, into his own paintings?—He speaks then of the period from the celebration of the great secular games by the emperor Philip, A.D. 248, to the death of Gallienus, A.D. 268, as the twenty years of “shame and misfortune, of confusion and calamity.” He speaks of it as a time in which (mark again the correspondence of his figure with the death-like colour of the horse in the apocalyptic emblem) “*the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution.*” He depicts the various agencies of destruction consuming it. *The sword!* “Every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted, by *barbarous invaders and military tyrants,*”—the sword from without, and the sword from within.¹—*Famine!* “Our habits of thinking,” he says, “so fondly connect

¹ The *one* associated in history with the æra, so called, of the thirty tyrants or usurpers; the *other* with the captivity and sufferings of the Roman Emperor Valerian; which unhappy prince was taken captive by Sapor, king of Persia, and died in his captivity. At Nakshi Roustam there still remains a sculpture in the rock commemorative of the event. It is given in Sir R. Porter's *Travels in Persia*, Vol. i. p. 540.

the order of the universe with the fate of man, that the gloomy period has been *decorated* with inundations, earthquakes, uncommon meteors, preternatural darkness, and a crowd of prodigies, fictitious or exaggerated." Of none of these, let it be observed, was there a notice in the apocalyptic vision. "But a *general famine*," he adds, in correspondence with that which *had* been predicted, "was a calamity of a more serious kind:" and (still expounding, though now retrospectively the vision of the *third* seal) that it was "the inevitable consequence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present, and the hope of the future harvests."—Yet again the agency of *pestilence* had been prefigured. Accordingly, though little aware in what track he was following, he goes on to notice this also. "Famine," he says, "is almost always followed by epidemical diseases, the effect of scanty and unwholesome food. But other causes must have contributed to *that furious plague*, which, from the year 250 to the year 265, raged without intermission in every province, every city, and almost every family in the Empire." During a part of that time, he adds, 5000 persons died daily in Rome, and many towns that had escaped the hands of the barbarians were entirely depopulated. And, could we venture to extend the analogy of Alexandria, were statistical tables were kept, to the other provinces, "we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species."¹

Truly the history must be allowed to agree with the prediction. If the emblems were most terrific, the facts of the history of the period we have been referring to appear, if possible, yet more so.

There is just one of the agencies of destruction mentioned in the vision passed over without notice by the

¹ i. 455.—It was during this pestilence, I think, that the infidel philosopher *Porphyrus* wrote bitterly of its incurability, as a consequence of Esculapius having been alienated by the progress of Christianity. It was during it, also, that the Christian bishop *Cyprian*, in his treatise "De Mortalitate," of which the very title illustrates the imagery of this fourth Seal, comforted his brother Christians suffering under it; reminding them that all things, even death, were theirs; that in this world they were strangers; and that death would but take them to their home with Jesus. . . The contrast is characteristic and edifying.

historian, that of *the wild beasts* of the earth. But though unnoticed by him, it is not unillustrated. For it is a well-known law of nature that where the reign of man fails, that of the wild beasts begins; and that they quickly occupy the scenes of waste and depopulation. "I will not drive out the inhabitants from before thee," said God to Israel, "in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beasts of the field multiply against thee."¹ Within a few years after the death of Gallienus, we have it on record that their multiplication had been to an extent, in parts of the empire, that made it a crying evil. "*Quando cum feris bella,*" said Arnobius, about the year 300, "*et prœlia cùm leonibus gesta sunt? Non ante nos? Quando perniciēs populis venenatis ab anguibus data est? Non ante nos?*" "Was it not so before our times?"² He speaks of these *wild beasts* as one of the plagues with which the land had been *recently* afflicted, and of which Christians were upbraided as the guilty cause; his answer being that the evil was not unprecedented, but what had been known before ever Christianity was promulgated.—Thus here, too, is the fulfilment recorded. In respect of this, as of the three other agencies of destruction, the history answers the prophecy.

It remains to advert to a critical point thus far unnoticed by me, and one of apparent difficulty. The reader will observe the dash (—) after the word *sword*, in the verse as printed at the head of this chapter; and also two slight variations in it from the received version, viz. in the substitution of the word *on* for *over*, and the placing of the word *kill* before, instead of after, the clause so corrected. I have, in fact, translated the preposition *ex*, just as most usual, and placed the *kill* ex-

¹ Exod. xxiii. 29.

² Adv. Gentes, Lib. 1. p. 5. Lugd. Bat. 1651.—A writer in the Investigator, vol. iv. p. 314, infers from 2 Chron. vi. 28, and 1 Kings viii. 37, that caterpillars and locusts may be included in God's plague of noisome beasts here, as well as in Ezek. xiv. 15. And, while quoting from Arnobius, I may observe, that he notices *locusts* as one of the plagues then recently prevalent, p. 4.

actly where it is in the original.¹ And the reason of my doing so is connected with the critical difficulty just alluded to ; a difficulty which, indeed, has been hitherto quite a stumbling-block to commentators. The clause, at first sight, more especially as rendered in the authorized version, seems to limit the power of the agencies of destruction under this Seal to the *fourth part* of the Roman world ; whereas not a part of it appears from history to have been, at the time referred to, exempted from the scourge. *Mede's* proposed solution, to the effect that "*one third* of the earth," in the Trumpets, means all the Roman world, and consequently *one fourth*, as here, nearly all, is evidently one that he is himself little satisfied with ; and with good reason. Indeed it is founded on an assumption about the meaning of the third part, that, I doubt not, is altogether mistaken.² *Daubus*, after noticing the difficulty the expression had given him, suggests that it may mean the remainder of men left, after three-fourths had been previously either carried off, or converted to Christianity, during the operation of the events of the three preceding Seals. *Lowman*, as usual, takes refuge in generalities ; and explains it, as he would have explained the third, or fifth, or any other such fractional portion, as a *very considerable part*. *Bishop Newton* and *Hales* make no attempt at reconciling the limitation in the emblem with the universality in the history, but simply state it as they find it.

¹ Καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία ἀποκτείνειν ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ἐν λιμῇ, καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς. Of which the authorized version is, "And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with beasts of the earth :"—*mine* ; "And power was given unto him to kill on the fourth part of the earth with the sword,—and with famine, and with pestilence, and with wild beasts of the earth." For αὐτοῖς I read with Griesbach and Tregelles, αὐτῷ ; "Power was given to him."

² See my remarks on it, Part ii. Chap. ii. He also mentions the rendering in the Vulgate Latin, (a translation made by Jerome early in the fifth century,) as being, "on the four parts of the earth ;" inferring from it that Jerome may have had the reading of *το τετραδιον*, instead of *το τεταρον*, in some of his manuscripts. But in no Greek manuscript now extant is there any other reading but *τεταρον*. Nor, indeed, if I mistake not, could such a reading as *τετραδιον* be admissible. For, like its equivalents a quaternion or a tetrad, *τετραδιον* requires a plural genitive after it ; as, "a quaternion of soldiers ;" "a tetrad of stars." A tetrad of the earth would be a solecism.

Now it is important, in order to a thorough satisfaction on the subject, to mark this point distinctly,—that the nature of the emblem (quite independently of any particular historical explanation of it) positively precludes the idea of only one-fourth part of the empire being affected by these plagues; for *the whole body politic*, as represented by the horse, appeared in the livid paleness of dissolution. And thus we may be quite sure that there is *some* way of explaining the phrase, without any such local limitation attaching to it.—And how so simply and easily, as by translating and stopping as above? Of God's four sore judgments, (as they are called in Ezekiel, xiv. 21,) all are described as in action at this time in the devoted land. Now from one passage in Ezekiel, and another passage in Jeremiah, both admirably illustrative of that under consideration, we infer that each one of the four had, in the divine appointment, its allotted localities of destruction, and allotted individual victims. The one in Ezekiel is this; “Surely they that are in the *wastes* shall fall by the *sword*; and him that is in the *open field* will I give to the *beasts* to be devoured: and they that be in the *forts* and *caves* shall die of the *pestilence*.”¹ That in Jeremiah: “If they say, Whither shall we go forth? then thou shalt tell them, Thus saith the Lord; Such as are for *pestilence* to *pestilence*; and such as are for the *sword* to the *sword*; and such as are for the *famine* to the *famine*; and such as are for the *captivity* to the *captivity*.”² In like manner the sword, the famine, the pestilence, and the wild beasts had each their allotted fourth in the desolations of the Roman empire under this Seal. Unto *Death*, sitting on the *pale horse*, there was power given to kill on the *fourth* part of the earth with the *sword*; and, as regarded the *three other parts* respectively, with

¹ Ezek. xxxiii. 27. Compare too Ezek. v. 12: “A *third* part of them shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee; and a *third* part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a *third* part into all the winds.”

² Jer. xv. 2.—I have here inserted the word *pestilence*, instead of *death*, as before.

the other three plagues, “with *famine*, with *pestilence*, and with the *wild beasts* of the earth.” Accordingly at the appointed time, viz. in the *third quarter of the third century*, and by each of the instrumental agencies specified, we have seen that he accomplished his commission:—accomplished it fearfully indeed.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTH SEAL.

THUS in a series of consecutive homogenous figurations,—figurations each one of a symbolic horse and horseman, passing forth, as I suppose, over the Roman landscape,¹ and repeated in this homogeneous form until the mind of the Evangelist must have become familiarized with them, and till the obvious presumptive solution on the same principle of the three last must have illustrated and confirmed in his mind that which we have expounded as the most simple and natural interpretation of the first,—in this series, I say, the imminent secular fortunes of the great military empire of Rome had been prefigured to St. John, as time would in its lapse unfold them;—*first*, and under the legitimate rule of a *new line of emperors*, an æra of remarkable and protracted prosperity and triumph; *next*, under the abuse of the *power of the sword*, an æra of as remarkable civil warfare and bloodshed; *then*, on a scale suddenly enlarged, an æra of aggravated suffering from the iniquitous administration and fiscal oppressions of them to whom rightfully appertained *the balances* of equity, with a notice of the last vain reclamations of law and justice against them, and the marked and final triumph of official corruption; *lastly*, an æra characterized by the letting loose on the devoted empire of God’s four sore judgments, the *sword*, the *famine*, the *pestilence*, and the *wild beasts*: under

¹ The scene seems fixed by the γγ in verse 4.

which, at length, its very vitality seemed threatened, and its pale and livid hue depicted it as at the point of dissolution.—But what, meanwhile, of the *Christian church* and *cause*? About the time of the revelation being communicated to St. John in Patmos, Christ's new and heaven-born religion, as also the church gathered out of the world professing it, had so far spread throughout the empire, and so widely and prominently exhibited its extraordinary pretensions and effects, as necessarily to attract public observation, and that not of the lower orders only, but of the great and the learned also, of philosophers, statesmen, provincial governors, emperors. Under such circumstances, and long spared as it appeared the empire would be, through all the subsequent varying vicissitudes of the first four Seals, would it profit, the Evangelist might think, by this prolongation of the day of its visitation; and both rulers and people direct their enquiries into the evidences that Christianity had to show of heavenly origin, and, recognizing them, believe and embrace it? That such would not have been the case during the period of the Seals, as thus far opened, he might almost infer from the pictures of the *secular fortunes* of the *empire* shown under them. For had Christianity been in reality and in the spirit embraced by it, the *red*, the *black*, and the *pale*, would scarcely have been, one after the other, the distinctive phases of the Roman state. Christianity would have been to it as the panacea of the evils of its social, as well as of its moral system. Under its influence they that bore the sword would have borne it as God's ministers; a terror to evil doers, and the praise of them that did well: and they, again, to whom the balances appertained, would have administered with the balance of justice. "Truth would have sprung out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven." And then, instead of the four sore judgments of God, the land, it might be supposed, would have yielded its increase, and peace and plenteousness flourished within it.—Thus much, I say, as it seems to me, St. John might have inferred as to the non-re-

ception of Christ's holy religion during this period, from the very prefigurations of the second, third, and fourth Seals themselves. But now, on the *fifth Seal's* opening, direct information was to be given him on the subject. For the vision, while primarily depicting a crisis of the church during a new and memorable æra which was to follow after that of the fourth Seal, retrospectively intimated also its condition and treatment in the Roman empire during the period of all the four Seals preceding.

On this *fifth* symbolic vision we are now to enter.—And in doing so let me first and briefly call attention to the new and different scenery now brought prominently into view, as connected with it. Hitherto, as before observed, the figurations presented to the apostle may be most probably supposed to have past over the landscape of the Roman world, to which they more immediately related. But when the fifth Seal was opened, another and nearer part of that significant scenery was called into use, to aid in the development of the subject prefigured. The attention of the observer was directed to something passing in the *altar-court* of the apocalyptic temple; and this locality so intimately associated with the new vision as to constitute in fact an integral and essential part of it. Now as, under the Jewish ritual, the *altar-court* of the literal temple was the scene of what was *visible* and *public* in the *divine worship*, and *there* were seen the ministrations at the altar, the offerings piacular, votive, and eucharistic, the varied lustrations, the presentments of incense by the people worshipping, and their solemn prayer and psalmody, led by the priests and Levites ministering,—so in this symbolic temple it might even *à priori* have been expected that the altar-court, and what passed in it, would furnish the local scene and indication of whatever had to be prefigured, as characteristic and important, respecting the *visible worship*, from time to time, of Christ's true and faithful people. And just such will prove the fact. We shall find associated hereafter with the scene spoken of, the figurations of all such matters as chiefly concerned church-worship;

—whether that of the church's thanksgivings for signal deliverances and mercies,—that of the saints' presentment to the High Priest of their profession, when such presentment of it was distinctive, of the incense of prayer and praise,—or that of their consistent ministrations, when others might not be faithful in there ministering, at the great altar :¹—I say at the great brazen altar of sacrifice ; that standing memorial in the emblematic temple of Christ's piacular offering, as constituting, to the end of time, the very centre and essence of all true Christian worship.—Thus in the present case, as the scene depicted was the *altar-court*, and the voice heard, a voice *thence* issuing, they might be supposed to indicate, here as elsewhere, something notable and characteristic of the times, in respect of the Church's visible worshipping. What then, we ask, was the thing now signified respecting it? What the foreshown characteristic of the worship publicly rendered by Christians to their Lord, in the next notable æra after that of the fourth Seal?—This is the first point for consideration.

1. “ When he had opened the fifth Seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ? ”

Thus the scene now depicted in the altar-court was one not of living worshippers, but dead ; the voice heard not of psalmody or praise, but of suffering. It issued from *beneath the altar* ; and came, as the sacred description tells us, from “ the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus : ” — shadowy human forms appearing there, we may suppose,²

¹ The figure of an *altar* is applied to the Christian Church by St. Paul, Heb. xiii. 10 ; “ *We* have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle ; ” i. e. We Christians, distinctively from the Jews.

The meaning of this symbol and its apocalyptic usage, a subject just touched on in the text above, will be abundantly illustrated, as we proceed. See especially my comments on Apoc. viii. 3, xi. 1.

² So Vitringa.—There seems a peculiar propriety in this description of the *ψυχαι* appearing under the altar, seeing that the *animal soul* (*ψυχή*), or *life*, was,

since white robes are afterwards said to have been given them: perhaps like those *elohim* seen ascending out of the earth in olden time by king Saul.¹ There was pre-figured, evidently, some notable *era of persecution* against the church, from "them that dwelt on the earth," i. e. the Roman rulers and people; they having been raised up, apparently, in strength to effect it, from the destroying judgments of the Seal preceding:—a persecution of virulence such that other visible worship and witnessing for the faith would be now suppressed; and this would alone remain to Christians, to offer *themselves* in sacrifice, in the cause, as well as after the example, of their dying Master; or, as St. Paul expresses it, to *pour out their souls in libation*, at the foot of his altar.²

And of this the *historical fulfilment* is most striking. Little as was the probability of such an event, during the desolating judgments of the fourth Seal just alluded to, the Roman empire *was* raised up from its state of imminent dissolution. "Oppressed and *almost destroyed*" as it had been, to use Gibbon's language, "under the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, it was saved by a series of great princes, Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, and his colleagues: who, within a period of about thirty years, triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, and deserved the title of *restorers of the Roman world*."³—It is observable, in-

as Daubuz observes, supposed to be in the *blood*; (so Deut. xii. 23, *ἐν αἵματι ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή*), and that the blood was poured out at the base of the altar, or upon the altar in the Jewish sacrifices, according as the victim was given for a sin-offering, or a peace-offering. The Classics similarly connect the soul and the blood. So Virgil, "Purpuream vomit ille animam;" and Horace, "Non vanæ redeat sanguis imago."—In Psalm xvi. 10, *ψυχή* seems to mean the *separate spirit*, "Thou wilt not leave my soul (*ψυχή*) in Hades." In Levit. xix. 28, xxi. 1, Num. v. 2, ix. 10, Ezek. xiv. 25, *ψυχή* is used of the *dead body*, through which defilement was communicated.

¹ 1 Sam. xxviii. 13.

² So Phil. ii. 17, *Ἐγὼ εἰ σκερδόμεαι ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν*; and 2 Tim. iv. 6, *Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σκερδόμεαι*, "I am now ready to have my life poured out as in a libation." Compare also Rom. xii. 1, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice:" and, with regard to the martyr's fellowship with Christ's sufferings, agreeably with the figuring of their self-immolation as on the same altar that the sacrifices typical of Christ were offered on, Col. i. 24, 1 Pet. iv. 13, and Matt. xvi. 24, &c.

³ Gibb. li. 1. So too Montesquieu, ch. 16. "Et, —Gallien ayant été tué, —Claude, Aurelien, Tacite, et Probus, quatre grands hommes, qui par un grand bonheur se succéderent, rétablirent l'empire prêt à périr."

deed, that although raised up in its *integrity* (saving that Dacia, the acquisition of Trajan, was abandoned by Aurelian to the Goths) it was not in its *unity*;—a *quadripartite division* under two senior emperors, the *Augusti*, and two juniors, the *Cæsars*, having been instituted by Diocletian, as necessary to provide against the difficulties and dangers that now on every side claimed the imperial attention. So that the *dissolution* of the *horse*, the symbol previously of the undivided empire, *had*, in fact, taken place. The empire under its old constitution was no more. “Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire.”¹—Still the restoration was effective. The empire revived in strength. But it only revived to exhibit, in signal display, the spirit of enmity to Christianity that animated it. During the progress of its restoration, indeed, the Christian churches enjoyed toleration and rest. But no sooner had the restoration been completed,—in fact, in the *very same year* that that auspicious consummation was celebrated by Diocletian in his triumph at Rome, (the last triumph that Rome ever saw)² in that same year, A.D. 303, the persecution that we speak of began.

It was early that year, in the royal palace of Nicomedia, that secret and ominous councils began to be held between Diocletian himself, and Galerius, the eastern Cæsar previously nominated by him. Maximian, the other Augustus, though absent, concurred in them. The *destruction of Christianity* was the subject. “Perhaps,” says Gibbon, “it was represented to Diocletian that the glorious work of the deliverance of the empire was left imperfect so long as an independent people,” (i. e. the Christians) “were permitted to subsist and multiply in it.” Then the blow was struck. On the 23rd of February, the mission of an armed force to destroy the great church of Nicomedia, and burn the sacred books in it, was the signal for commencing the persecution;—a persecution

¹ Gibb. ii. 114.—The epoch is an extremely important one, and strikingly noticed, if I mistake not, in a later apocalyptic vision. This will appear in my Part iv. Ch. iv.

² Ib. ii. 157.

the longest, the most universal, and the fiercest, that ever yet raged against the Christians. History, alike secular and ecclesiastical, agrees in thus representing it : and by a remarkable coincidence, and as if on purpose to call attention to the fulfilment in this persecution of the fifth Seal's prefigurative vision, a chronological *æra*, dating from Diocletian's accession, and, until the introduction of the *Christian æra* in the sixth century, of general use among Christian writers,—I say this *æra*, though instituted for other and astronomical purposes, has received its title from it,¹ and is called the *Æra of martyrs*. Churches to be demolished, the Holy Scriptures burnt, church property confiscated, the holders of religious assemblies put to death, and Christians generally put out of the protection of the law,—such were the heads of the first edict. Then followed others, imposing penalties of imprisonment, tortures, and death, first against the Christian bishops, presbyters, and other ecclesiastics, then against all Christians, if obstinate in their faith. In this series of cruel edicts, Diocletian declared “his intention of abolishing the Christian name.” The fury of the populace readily, for the most part, seconded the declared intention of the emperor. And thus, with the partial exception of the western provinces, under the rule of the Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, (I say *partial*, for Spain and Britain too furnished many victims,)² Christian blood was shed throughout the extent of the Roman world. And long before the nine or ten years of the persecution expired, such had been its effect that the three other emperors, Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius, united to raise pillars commemorative of their success ; on which inscriptions, still extant, recorded their vain boast of *having extirpated Christianity*.³ For church-service the Christians now met in

¹ The *æra* is still observed by the Copts and Ethiopians. See Sir H. Nicholas' *Chronology of History*, p. 12.

² St. Alban, of Verulam, is commemorated as amongst the British martyrs of this persecution. Indeed Christianity is spoken of by some writers as almost destroyed at this time in Britain. So Echard, ii. 550. Compare Euseb. V. C. i. 13.

³ The following are the inscriptions found on columns at Clunla, a Roman

caves and catacombs. Their only visible public witnessing for Christ was by *martyrdom*.

2. "How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"—In the words, "How long," it was *further* implied to the Evangelist, as I before observed, that although this persecution was the first and only one noted in the prefigurative visions, thus far exhibited, yet it would not be then a new thing for Christian blood to be shed by them that dwelt on the Roman earth, including, as the words signified, both rulers and people; but only a continuance or repetition of the treatment long previously experienced by them. To verify this is our *next* object. And in doing so I must crave permission from the reader not to hurry over the investigation. A sketch of the persecutions of Christianity in the Roman empire is almost necessary to our entering into the feelings expressed in the words, "How long," by the souls under the altar. And, after dwelling so much at length on the secular fortunes of the Roman empire throughout the preceding centuries, it seems scarce allowable not to pause awhile on the contemporaneous and parallel history, as connected with it, of the Church of Christ.

Do we wonder that this should be, as we find it, a history in no little measure of resistance, persecution, and suffering? The wonder will cease with us when the glorious fact is remembered that Christianity was in its very essence *a war of aggression* on error, idolatry, superstition, and vice, in all their forms and in all their workings: an aggression *unprecedented in the world's history*; and begun *at a time* when, with growth of

colony in Spain. They are given by Lardner, vol. vii. p. 548:—also in Walsh's Book on Christian Medals.

- 1 Diocletianus Jovius et Maximian. Herculius Cæs. Augg.
Amplificato per Orientem et Occidentem Imp. Rom.
Et nomine Christianorum deleto.
Qui Remp. evertabant.
- 2 Diocletian. Cæs. Aug. Galerio in Oriente adopt.
Superstitione Christ. ubique deleta
Et cultu Deorum propagato.

ages, they had associated themselves with all the political institutions, as well as the lesser individualities of domestic and social life ; and this in *an empire* the mightiest the world ever saw.—During the supremacy of the three preceding empires, the Persian, Babylonian, and Grecian, it was otherwise. Then it was ordered in God's Providence that religious truth should be in retirement : on the principle of seclusion, not publicity ; and with self-preservation as its object, not aggressive war and victory. Hence it was shut up within the narrow limits of Judea, as the religion of a *nation*, not of *mankind* or the *world* ; and by all its connected ceremonies, laws, and institutions, prohibited almost from extending itself. The times of ignorance in the world at large God then winked at. But on the introduction of Christianity the case was directly the reverse. “ Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,”—such was the charge to his apostles by Him who had come as the SAVIOUR into this lost world : and in it was declared their commission to go forth and make war, though not with carnal weapons, on evil and error in its every form, “ casting down all imaginations, and every high thought that exalted itself against the knowledge of God.” Could it be expected that man's corruption would not rise against the religion that disturbed it ? Or that the strong man armed, the Spirit of evil, the Prince of the darkness of this world, when thus assailed in his very citadel, would bear it without the acting out of the bitterness of his enmity ?

It was from the *populace* that the persecution of Christian teachers and people began in the Roman Empire. This was to be expected. The war was made, not, like other wars, on men in the associated mass in the first instance,—the political body, the state, the empire,—but over men one by one individually ; and, in every case, the conquest sought was that not of the mere profession, but of the heart. It was sought there ; and, in the case of many, it was won there. For in spite of its self-denying lessons, and in spite of its outward cross

of persecution also, there attended the Christian faith those high credentials of its truth and its divinity, and that power and sweetness in its doctrine to convince the reason, calm the troubled conscience, comfort the sorrowing heart, and satisfy its irresistible longings after the knowledge of God, and after immortality, hitherto amidst the speculations and vain boastings of philosophy altogether unsatisfied, that with the sincere overcame every obstacle; and led them to join themselves in willing union to that new and despised body of men called *Christians*, after the name of their Master crucified at Jerusalem, CHRIST JESUS.—In every such case new tastes and principles, and by consequence new habits of life, new associations, and the relinquishment of the old followed. Thus the *family* first felt it. There consequently began the first outcry and opposition. The members of a house were divided, three against two, and two against three. Then it was felt in each little social circle; then, as the numbers increased, of converts to Christianity, in the towns and districts surrounding. So from a thousand centres the outcry rose, and waxed louder and louder; “These are they which turn the world upside down.”—The Prince of this world had his ready instruments to fan the gathering odium; the *Jews*, scattered over the Roman world, indignant at the thought of the truth and salvation of God being offered to Gentiles;¹ the *Magicians* who found their false miracles exposed and confounded by true ones; the *Pagan Priests and trades* that found their craft threatened; and, at length the *Philosophers* too, indignant at their philosophy being exposed as foolishness. *Superstition*, with its dark and unholy terrors, added to the feeling against Christians, and gave it a deeper bigotry. As they had no idols, it vilified them as atheists.² The disasters of

¹ So Justin Martyr in his *Dialog. cūm Tryph.* p. 234 (Ed. Colon. 1686: Οὐ μόνον δε οὐ μετενοήσατε, ἀλλ' ἀνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκλεξαμένοι τότε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐξεπεμψάτε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, λεγοντες αἰρεσὶν ἀθεῶν χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι, καταλεγοντες τε ταῦτα ἅπερ καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ ἀγνοῶντες ἡμᾶς ἀπάντες λεγουσιν.

² So in the Account of Polycarp's Martyrdom, § 3; Αἰρε τοὺς ἀθεοῦς. So too Dion Cassius, in the extract given Note ³ on the next page.

the natural world,—inundations, dearth, pestilence, earthquakes,—it charged upon them. It was the anger of the gods against the Christians.

From the people the outcry against Christianity rose up to the *Governors*. At first, like Gallio, they treated it with indifference. Then other results followed. The *first Imperial* persecution of Christians, that by *Nero*, was one of singular character and origin. It was not an act of state-jealousy against them. They had not as yet sufficient power or eminence to excite his jealousy. Nor was it a persecution ordered against them for their peculiar doctrines. Of these, probably, he knew nothing. But it was a taking advantage of the odium prevalent against the Christian body in Rome, to fix upon them the guilt of a then recent incendiarism of the city: the excessive hatred they laboured under, rendering them the fittest class on whom to avert from himself, the real criminal, that odious charge.¹—Under *Domitian*, the *second Imperial* persecutor, the case was different. The numbers had now so increased in the empire, that his jealousy, being awakened by informers against sundry classes as plotting *treason*, (crimen majestatis,) naturally directed itself against Christians among others. Besides the usual charge of atheism, it was said that this aspiring body was seeking a kingdom.² So the jealous emperor slew, in the person of his own uncle *Clemens*, the Christian of noblest blood and rank;³ banished the only surviving apostle of the Christian faith to Patmos; and summoned the nearest surviving relatives of Him the Christians called their King. But he found the last-mentioned poor men; heard that it was a kingdom not

¹ So Tacitus, Annal. "Quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat;" adding as his own judgment on Christianity, the words "exitiabilis superstitio."

² So Justin Martyr; Και ὅμοις ἀκούσαντες βασιλεῖαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκριτεῖς ἀνθρωπίνου λόγου ἡμᾶς ἐπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ Θεοῦ λεγομένην. Apol. ii. p. 58.

³ Dion Cassius, Lib. 67, in narrating Clemens' execution by Domitian, and the banishment of his wife Domitilla, in a passage already referred to (p. 49, 64 supra), thus remarkably describes their crime; Ἐπηρεύθη δὲ ἀμφοῦν ἐγκλημα ἀθεοπίας· ὅφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πῆλιν ἐξοκελλόντες πολλοὶ κατεδικασθῆσαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστερηθήσαν· ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερβιωμένη μόνον εἰς Πανδαρεῖαν. Of Clemens' execution, I may observe, Dio uses the word κατεσφαγῆς; the same that is here applied to the martyrs.

of this world ; and dismissed them with contempt.—Thus far St. John himself had beheld the progress of persecution. Soon after, on Nerva's accession, Christians, among other sufferers from Domitian's tyranny, were set free. Against Christians, *as Christians*, no direct law as yet existed.¹

About this time, however, or soon after, the effect on the public habits and feelings had become so striking, and constituted a social phænomenon so entirely new, and on so vast a scale, as necessarily to arouse both the curiosity and the anxiety of the ruling powers. The governor of Bithynia, the younger Pliny, wrote to the Emperor Trajan of the temples being in disrepute, and almost deserted in his province, from the influence of the body of men called Christians ; and, at the same time, of the popular fury being such against them, as to charge them with every crime,² and violently to call for their punishment, though on examination their morals seemed to him to be singularly virtuous and innocent.—This was an æra in the history of the persecution of the Christian Church. In Trajan's rescript, the law was first declared respecting them. It had long previously been recognized, Cicero tells us, as a principle in the Roman legislation, that no gods were to be worshipped “ nisi publicè adsciti,” unless admitted and recognized in the public law. On this Mæcenas had strongly counselled Augustus to insist, as a preservative principle to his empire. And on this, Trajan seems now to have formed his rescript. It was true that in the subsequent admission of the *Egyptian* gods and religion into Rome, a principle of tolerance had been acted on inconsistent with the former law ; and the *Jews'* religion too had become a religion recognized in the empire, and under legal protection, a “ religio licita.” But the peculiarity of Christianity that I before alluded to seemed

¹ Bishop Kaye, however, thinks that Nero's law was still in force against them. Tertull. p. 115.

² So Justin Martyr and others tell of charges made against them of Thyeatean banquets, &c.

to demand other treatment. Both the Egyptian religion, and that of the Jews, were *national*,—religions for the people of those two nations distinctively; and not proselyting, not aggressive, at least to any marked or dangerous extent. But in the phænomenon now before him he beheld a religion, as before said, essentially proselyting, essentially aggressive on the paganism established in the empire; and in its pretensions challenging and marching on to be universal. His inquiries must have represented the Christians as a numerous and rapidly increasing body of men in the empire, separated in spirit and in habits from the common mass of Roman citizens: a body neither Roman nor barbarian, but sort of “*genus tertium*,” as Tertullian tells us the Christians were reproachfully called:—being indeed *in* the empire, but not *of* the empire: and constituting an *imperium in imperio*, a *civitas in civitate*, just according to that Apocalyptic figure, which depicted them as a *holy city*, locally associated with the great city of this world, but not blending with it.¹—The *mysteriousness* of their religious faith made them of course the more objects of suspicion;—no visible temple, altars, images, or sacrifices appertaining to it, so as to other religions: and yet more, the singular and unintelligible *closeness* of their *union*; and their *obstinacy*, which was such as it was found no torture nor death itself could triumph over.²

In Trajan’s rescript, the law was thus far mildly declared, that there should be no *inquisition* for Christians by the public officers; but that when brought in regular process of law before the governor, and tried by the test of sacrificing to the gods, the recusants should suffer punishment. The rescript, I say, may have been thus

¹ Tertullian De Spec.—Bishop Kaye expresses doubt as to Tertullian’s understanding of this reproachful appellative of Christians. Neander explains it as meaning they were neither Roman nor Jew. But it seems to me more agreeable to Roman phraseology, which divided the world into Romans and barbarians, to explain it as I have done.

² This *obstinacy* of Christians is particularly noted in Pliny’s letter as criminal. Their peculiar *unitedness* must also have been very obnoxious to Trajan, who had, only a little before Pliny’s letter, promulgated a general law against *εταίρειαι*, i. e. *associations*, or *clubs*, of whose affiliation and meetings he was jealous.

far mercifully intended, as a protection of innocent Christians against the violent seeking out and tearing them from their homes by the popular fury. Yet as it constituted Christianity in itself a *religio illicita*, a faith criminal to adhere to, it furnished a ready plea under which Christians might be thenceforward accused and punished, whensoever the ruler was unjust, or the populace enraged, and the governor (like Festus) willing to do them a pleasure. So in many parts it even now operated. Souls of martyrs were gathered from one place and another under the altar. *Ignatius*, the venerable bishop of Antioch, headed them. In the full triumph of faith he journeyed to Rome, his appointed place of martyrdom. "Wherefore," said he, "have I given myself up unto death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? The nearer I am to the sword, the nearer to God. When I am among the wild beasts I am with God. In the name of Jesus Christ I undergo all, to suffer together with him." Such was his joyous language on the journey, addressed to the Church at Smyrna.¹ A little after writing it, his journey was accomplished: and in the great amphitheatre at Rome, amidst the brutal shouts of the assembled myriads, he was thrown to the lions.

Now began the *apologies* of Christians. *Quadratus* and *Aristides* were the first to appeal in behalf of the Christian body to Trajan's successor Adrian; then afterwards, *Justin Martyr* to Antoninus Pius. And both Adrian, in the spirit of equity, issued his rescript against punishing Christians for any thing but political crimes; and the first Antonine yet more decidedly, though not uniformly with success, protected them against violence. But with the second Antonine the face of things was changed. He adjudged Christianity to be a direct crime against the state; enjoined inquisition against Christians, the application of torture, if they refused sacrificing, and, if still obstinate, death. The wild beasts, the cross, the stake,—these were the cruel forms of death that met the faithful. Many were now gathered

¹ C. 4.

under the altar : among others the souls of *Polycarp*, of *Justin Martyr*, and of the faithful confessors of the church at *Lyons*.—Then the *white horse* passed from view.

As the period of the *red* horse succeeded, and when, amidst the civil commotions ensuing, they that shed Christian blood had it given them in a measure to drink blood, the Church enjoyed a temporary respite ; which lasted through the reign of Commodus, and to the commencement of that of Sulpitius Severus. But, shortly after, a law of the last-named emperor, forbidding conversions to Christianity under heavy penalties, while it indicated the increasing progress of that divine religion in the empire, did also, as Christianity could not but be aggressive and proselyting, revive persecution against it. The brunt of the persecution fell on the churches of Africa and Egypt. And *Tertullian*, the Carthaginian presbyter, rose up as their apologist. He tells, in his Apology, of the insults and injuries that the Christians suffered under. “ How often,” says he, addressing the Governors in Proconsular Africa, “ do ye use violence against the Christians, sometimes at the instigation of private malice, sometimes according to the forms of law ! How often also do the common people attack us in their rage with stones and flames ! ”¹ But, said he, “ Truth wonders not at her own condition. She knows that she is a sojourner upon earth ; that she must find enemies among strangers : that her origin, her home, her hopes, her dignities, are placed in heaven.”² And then again ; “ Call us, if ye will, by names of reproach,—*sarmenticii*, *semarii*,—names derived from the *stake* to which we are bound, and the *faggots* with which we are surrounded when burnt to death ! These are but our ornaments of victory, our robe of state, our triumphal chariot.”³

Under the *third* Seal, and when again in God’s righteous retribution, the people that had so long instigated the malice and the rapacity of unjust provincial governors against Christians, had their lot darkened by

¹ Apol. ch. 50.² Ib. ch. 1.³ Ib. ch. 50.

the letting loose of that very rapacity and injustice on themselves,—at that time the same voice in the imperial government that called, but all ineffectually, for equity in the general administration, called, but still as ineffectually, for equity specially towards Christians. Alexander Severus confessed his admiration of Christian morality, and of Him too who had been its first and divine teacher.¹ On a particular occasion he even recognized the Christians as a lawful corporation,² and protected them at Rome against their enemies. But it was a protection partial only and transient. Martyrs were still slain. The name of *Hippolytus*, bishop of Porto, stands eminent among them. Moreover, the former laws against Christians remained unrepealed.³ And, after his death, his successor Maximin renewed the imperial persecution against them; the rather as against a body which Alexander had favoured. His edict was directed specially against the bishops and leaders of the Church. But in its effects it went further. It animated the heathen priests, magistrates, and multitude against Christians of every rank and order. “Smite the shepherds, and the sheep shall be scattered.”

The actual martyrdoms unto death had not indeed thus far been very many; i. e. as compared with the multitude of the Christian body. So *Origen* declared near the middle of the third century.⁴ There had been enough to show man’s bitter enmity against the truth, enough to exhibit the glorious sustaining power of Christian faith. If not more, it was *His* doing who could shut the lion’s mouths. Moreover, if the martyrs slain were not so many, the confessors who suffered in other ways for the faith were innumerable. But while *Origen* made this statement respecting the *past*, he

¹ “A purer faith, as well as worship,” says Gibbon, “was openly professed and practised among his household;” and he adds that he had placed a statue of Christ in his domestic chapel. ii. 450.

² He assigned to the Christian Church at Rome a piece of ground, which they disputed with the corporation of restaurateurs.

³ This appears from his minister Ulpian’s work, *De Officio Proconsulis*; in which a collection of Rescripts against Christians is noticed by Lactantius, *Instit.* v. 12.

⁴ See Gibbon ii. 427.

added, in a remarkable passage respecting the *future*, that the tranquillity then prevailing was not to be expected to continue: that the irresistible progress of Christianity, and the impression generally prevalent as to the downfall of the established religion necessarily consequent thereon, and together with it untold disasters to the empire,—that this would soon again revive the flames of persecution; and that it would then rage with an intensity, probably, greater than ever:—concluding thus; “But we are ready for it: Christ has overcome the world.”¹

Such was at that time the anticipation of Origen; and very soon it had its fulfilment. The period of the *fourth* Seal succeeded to that of the *third*. It was seen by the emperor Decius that if the heathen state-religion were to be preserved, the Christian must be crushed; that the two could not long consist together. Thereupon he made his decision. He determined on *crushing Christianity*.—Like those of the second Antonine, his edicts commanded inquisition of Christians, torture, death. Then was the consternation great. The bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, expressly records it. For the Church had now lost much of its first love. There were some apostacies; there were many faithless: the *libellatici* and the *acta facientes*;—professors who at the same time dared not confess, yet dared not apostatize, and bribed the magistrates with money to spare them the conflict.—But now *Death* on the *pale horse*, having received his commission, had entered the empire. The sword of the Goths, one of his appointed instrumental agencies, struck down the persecuting emperor.—His successor Valerian, presently after, animated by the same spirit, renewed the persecution. It was against the bishops and presbyters, those that led on the Christians to the conflict,—and the Christian assemblies, that which supplied the means of grace that strengthened

¹ See Neander's Church History, Rose's Translation, p. 127;—the excellent author whom I have chiefly followed in the above sketch of the persecutions of Christianity. Compare Gibbon's celebrated chapter xvi, on the same subject.

them to endure it,—that the imperial edicts were now chiefly levelled. Then it was that the bishop of Carthage, *Cyprian*, confessed among others, and was added to the glorious army of martyrs.—But God again interposed. As Decius by the *Gothic* sword, so Valerian had his reign cut short by the *Persian*. And Gallienus, his son and successor, trembling under God's sore judgments, though still as before unconverted, sensual, hard-hearted, issued for the first time (A.D. 261) an *edict of toleration to Christianity*. Their churches and burial-grounds were now restored to Christians; their worship permitted. Though the popular outbreaks against the disciples were by no means altogether discontinued, Christianity was legalized.

Such in brief, were the persecutions of Christians in the Roman empire, prior to that by Diocletian. During the progress of the gradual restoration of the empire, which commenced soon after Gallienus' edict of toleration, (for the emperor Claudius, the first of the restorers, succeeded him in the year 268) the toleration continued. Christian churches were now built; Christian worship might be held in public: the symbolic altar-court of the Christian temple, to use the Apocalyptic figure, was opened to general view. But no sooner was the restoration completed than an *æra* began, as we have seen, under the new Seal, which was emphatically, and beyond any other, the *æra of martyrs*. Persecution broke out afresh after its slumbering, like a giant refreshed with sleep. It combined in itself the bitterness of all the former persecutions;—confiscation, imprisonment, torture, death;—a special vengeance against churches and church-assemblies, bishops and presbyters;—with the new feature super-added of war against the *holy Scriptures*;¹ that guide and source of strength to the

¹ So Eusebius, H. E. viii. 2; . . . τας δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανὲς πύρι γενέσθαι προστάττοντα. He had previously said, Τας δὲ ἐνθεοῦς καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς πύρι παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς ἐπειδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς. And so Lactantius, M. P. 12; "Qui diea cùm illuxisset, repente ad ecclesiam profectus cùm dycibus et

suffering church, by the destruction of which, it was now rightly judged, Christianity might best be destroyed. "When he had opened the fifth Seal, I saw the souls of them that were slain for *the word of God*, and for the testimony which they held." Some there were, yea many, faithless under the terrors of the persecution; many *traditores*, that betrayed their trust, gave up the Holy Scriptures, and helped to prompt the persecutors' boast of having extirpated Christianity. But the faithful, the faithful even unto death, were many also. The Bible was preserved;—indeed a special provision had been previously made in God's providence for its preservation:¹—and the Church continued to witness for the word of God and the gospel of Jesus.

But let us advert to what remains of the vision.

3. "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

During the progress of these persecutions the feeling with the martyrs themselves, at least the *earlier* martyrs, that for the most part overpowered all other feelings, was that of joy and gratitude at being permitted the privilege of partaking in Christ's sufferings, and after his example offering themselves, (like burnt-offerings, not piacular indeed, but of self-devotion,²) on the altar of God. Witness the recorded language of Ignatius and of Polycarp, on occasion of their martyrdoms; language alike beautiful, and most illustrative of the Apocalyptic imagery under which their martyr-deaths were here depicted.³ Afterwards however, as the clause in the vision just quoted may perhaps suggest to the reader, there were mingled at times with this joyous gratitude other

tribunis et rationalibus venit; et, revulsis foribus, simulachrum Dei quaeritur, Scripturae repertae incenduntur."

¹ The copies, as well as versions, of the Scriptures had been so much multiplied in the empire, that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with fatal consequences. See Mosheim, iii. 1. 1. 5. The learned Origen had availed himself of the previous tranquillity to make his famous Edition of the Old Testament in six versions, called the Hexapla. See Lardner, ii. 327, 473.

² Compare St. Paul's similar figurative language given p. 184 Note ², *suprà*.

³ *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the Roman Christians, ch. 2,—an Epistle written

thoughts and feelings. They knew that God would not leave them unavenged; and spoke to each other, and to their persecutors, of a *coming vengeance*. So, for example, in the persecution last before Diocletian's, the African martyr *Marianus*. "As if filled," we read, "with the prophetic spirit, he warned his persecutors, and animated his brethren, by proclaiming the approaching avenging of his blood."¹

But it is in fact the *seeming* cry of the martyred saints, —the voice of their blood in the *ears of the survivors*, those *living* Christians of the period whom St. John here as elsewhere represented,²—that the analogy of what is said in Scripture of the crying from the ground of the blood of Abel³ points out as the precise meaning of the symbolic language of the clause. And by these, the attendant and surviving multitudes of the Christian body, the cry of the blood of their martyred brethren, was construed as in harmony with their own feelings,

on his journey to Rome, after his having been seized and bound "like a choice ram for sacrifice,* by the ferocious soldiery,"—begs them, as the greatest favour they could do, not to interpose to prevent his being poured out as a libation to God on his altar; *σπονδιασθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ εὐχόμενος ἐστί.*

As to *Polycarp*, the whole passage in the Acts of his Martyrdom, to which I refer, (ch. 14) is so beautiful in itself, and so illustrative of the points specified above, that I cannot but transcribe it. "Having put his hands behind him, and being bound (to the stake) as a ram (chosen) out of a great flock for an offering, and *prepared to be a burnt-sacrifice*, acceptable unto God, he looked up to heaven, and said; O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels, and powers, and of every creature, and (especially) of the whole race of just men, who live in thy presence; I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this day, and to this hour; that I should have a part in the number of thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit. Among whom may I be accepted this day before thee as *an acceptable sacrifice*; as thou hast before ordained. For which, and for all things else, I praise thee, I bless thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now, and to all succeeding ages. Amen."

¹ "Ibi et Marianus, prophetico spiritu jam repletus, fidenter ac fortiter prædicabat proximam justis sanguinis ultionem; variasque sæculo plagas, velut de cæli jam culmine, minabatur; luem, captivitatem, famem, &c. Quæ prædicatione non tantum gentilibus insultabat fides martyris, sed etiam fratribus vigorem æmulandi virtutes præcinebat." Acta St. Jacobi et Mariani, ap. Daubuz, p. 279.

² See p. 102 *suprà*. This view of St. John will be illustrated at large under the Sealing Vision.

³ Gen. iv. 10, compared with Heb. xii. 24.

* ὡς ἄγριος ἐνίστημι. Acts of Ignatius' martyrdom.

and as calling for vengeance, speedy and destroying vengeance, on the murderers. The which vengeance the Church of the third century did for the most part, like Marianus, expect and look for. Mark, for example, the language of Tertullian and of Cyprian :¹ language surely too maledictory,² and hardly in unison with the spirit of Stephen,³ or of Polycarp.⁴ But, behold, in contravention of such expectations, it was delayed through one, through two centuries and more ; from year to year, from reign to reign. Christian blood was again and again shed by their enemies, specially in this last and most terrible persecution by Diocletian. Then the voice seemed to them to wax louder and louder : and, with a tone of murmuring and impatience mixt in it, as well as of suffering,—yea with almost an impeachment of God's attributes of holiness and truth, for having so long spared the guilty, and left his saints to suffer,—to cry, " How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ?"—In the catacombs at Rome, whither the persecuted Christians fled for concealment in that day of trouble, memorials still exist, the most impressive and affecting, both of the *martyrs* then slain, and of their

¹ So *Tertullian* ; " You are fond of spectacles. Expect the greatest of spectacles, the last and eternal judgment of the universe. How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many proud monarchs groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness ; so many magistrates who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquifying in fiercer fires than any ever kindled against the Christians," &c. *De Spectac.* c. 30.

And *Cyprian* ; first to the *Roman Judge* : " We are sure that whatever we suffer will not remain unrevenged ; and that the greater the injury of the persecution, the heavier and juster will be the vengeance : "—also to his *Christian Brethren*, *Ep.* 58 ; " Christ is coming to avenge our sufferings : " and again, " O that day when the Lord shall have begun to reckon up his people ; and, recognizing the merits of each by the rule of his divine omniscience, to condemn our persecutors to the burning of the penal flame, and to grant to ourselves the reward of our devotedness and faith." pp. 192, 125.

² Augustine, however, (on *Matt.* v.) suggests an apology for this cry, (which he explains as uttered by the martyrs themselves,) that it might have been a cry against the Roman kingdom of sin, rather than its living constituents : " Nam ipsa est sincera, et plena justitiæ et misericordiæ, vindicta martyrum, ut evertatur regnum peccati, quo regnante tanta peressi sunt." ³ *Acts* vii 60.

⁴ " Pray," wrote Polycarp to the Philippians, at the time when Ignatius was passing onward to martyrdom, " for kings and princes and magistrates, even those that persecute and hate you." § 12.

EPITAPH IN THE CATACOMBS ON A MARTYR.
SLAIN IN DIOCLETIAN'S PERSECUTION.

+
 LANNUS XPI·MA
 RTIRHC REQUIESC
 IT·SUB EP. S DIOCLETIANO
 PASSUS

A MARTYR'S VASE OF BLOOD, IN THE CATACOMBS AT ROME.



blood crying as it were from beneath the ground against them that shed it. I allude to *monumental tablets* still extant there, (such as the Reader sees now before him,) with inscriptions rudely sculptured to their memory : and *vases* of small size sometimes beside them, inscribed with the single but significant word, *Sanguis*, (*Blood !*) whereinto had been poured, as would seem, what the Christian bystanders could collect of life's ebbing flood at the scene of martyrdom.¹ Did there not seem to them to be, as it were, a voice, a cry, in that simple memorial word against their murderers ?

Now methinks, when such thoughts arose, it should have been considered by the early Christians, much more than was usually the case, that towards nations, even as towards individuals, the divine *long-suffering* is an attribute which must needs magnify itself, as well as the divine justice and holiness. Long had been Jerusalem's experience of this ; and even the heathen Nineveh felt it also. If, after the time when Christianity and the glorious gospel of the Lord Jesus had been fully brought before the consideration of the Roman people,—a time which I have dated as about coincident with that of the giving of the Apocalypse, or close of the first century,—if, I say, after this, a period of prolonged prosperity and peace,—that of the *white horse*,—was appointed to the empire, and with it the most favourable opportunity for the calm consideration of the evidences and claims of the holy religion offered them,—what was there in this but what accorded with the usual acting of God's Providence towards men individually, yea, and which they themselves had each one probably experienced ? Or, again, what was there but accorded with his usual forbearance, if, when this period of the white horse had passed unimproved, He had ordered that those of the

¹ The engravings are from *Boldetti*. Another Vase, copied for me by a French artist, has the letters *Sangu* . . . more fully ; which if correct, decides the word to be *Sanguis*, not *Sancto* ; so as Dr. C. Maitland, to whom I was first indebted for the drawing given, now inclines, he has stated, to construe the word. In one vase of this kind, a stain, or clot, of what seemed to be dried blood, was, I believe, tested and proved by chymical analysis, to be real human blood.

red, and the *black*, and the *pale* that succeeded, should be periods of attempered suffering and punishment, just such as might best *force* the sufferers to consider the heavenly message;—of punishment, but *not more*;—not of *destruction*? As to his own persecuted people,—the Christians who in that vast empire were as sheep in the midst of wolves,—had He not so overruled the *times* of their bitterest persecutions, the Decian, for example, and those of Valerian and Diocletian, as that they should fall on the Church when confessedly corrupted,¹ and needing something to stay the increasing corruption? Had He not moreover in some measure blessed those persecutions, to their purification and recovery? If so, instead of there being any failure in all this of his faithfulness and truth, it was but the very acting out and expression of those attributes towards them. And so indeed some, like David of old, felt it. “I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that thou of very faithfulness hast afflicted me.”

4. But mark the progress of the vision. “And white robes were given unto every one of them: and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season, *until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.*” Such was the voice heard by St. John, still of course in his representative character; defining the time of the judgment which those martyrs seemed to call for as thus far approximate, that there would only intervene before it the period of the slaughter of another and distinct body of martyrs, similarly witnessing for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. I say *another and distinct body*: for the very singular symbolization contemporarily of the presentation of white robes to all and each of those that had appeared in this vision under the altar, constituted a marked sign of separation between

¹ The cotemporary statements of Clemens Alexandrinus and Cyprian, and retrospective statements of Eusebius, (e. g. H. E. viii. 1,) are express to this effect.

its martyrs, and those that were to come ; of which sign more under the Head following. For the present let us confine our inquiry to the chronological intimation here given as to the time of the desired consummation ; and see how it was fulfilled in the case of those whom at this point in the drama St. John represented.

It is assuredly very striking and instructive to observe with what earnestness of interest the fathers of the early Church, throughout the whole era of Pagan persecution referred to,—as *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus*, for example, *Tertullian* and *Hippolytus*,—searched into the inspired predictions handed down to them. These were to them no unmeaning, no profitless writings. However they may have been in doubt with regard to some particulars of the future, there was a certain great outline that they found clear in divine prophecy : and both in this, and in the views that it opened to them throughout, of God's care and kindness to his Church, they found an admirable stay to their faith, together with counsel, encouragement, comfort. So that there was fulfilled to them, even thus early, what was written, “ Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear, the words of this prophecy.” —It was specially the prefigurative visions in Daniel and the Apocalypse, of the *quadripartite symbolic Image* and *four symbolic wild Beasts*, and the predictions in St. Paul and St. John respecting the *Man of Sin* and the *Antichrist*, that fixed their attention. And what their inferences, as to the things then present and the things future ? First, they judged with one consent that Daniel's fourth wild Beast symbolized the Roman Empire ; as also that the little horn of this wild Beast, or its equivalent the last head of the Apocalyptic Beast, symbolized one and the same antichristian power as St. Paul's Man of Sin, and St. John's Antichrist. Further they judged that the Roman Empire, in its then existing state, was the *let* or *hindrance* meant by St. Paul, standing in the way of Antichrist's manifestation ; and that its removal would take place on the Empire's dissolution into a new form of ten kingdoms : among which, or coterminously

with which, Antichrist, the Man of the Apostacy, would forthwith arise, and reign over the Roman world and empire in this its latest form; Rome itself and its empire having been revived to supremacy under him. Moreover they were agreed that this Antichrist would persecute the Christian Church with a fierceness altogether unparalleled: and thus that there would be a second series of *Roman* persecutions, and a second series of martyrs slain under Roman oppression;—persecutions that would only terminate in Christ's coming and taking vengeance, at the end of the world.¹—Once more, as to

¹ It may be well to quote or abstract from the Christian Fathers referred to in their chronological order.

1. *Justin Martyr*.—In his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 336 (Ed. Colon.) he speaks of Christ's coming again in glory *ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἀνθρώπος, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν Ὑψίστον ἐξάλλα λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνομα τοῦ μωρῆ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς χριστιανούς*: thereby identifying Daniel's Little Horn of the fourth Beast, that "spoke great things against the Most High," and St. Paul's Man of Sin, or Man of the Apostacy; also noting his lawless persecution of Christians living at the time, and his succession and destruction by Christ's glorious advent.

2. *Irenæus*.—In his Work on Heresies, B. v. ch. 25, this ancient Father says; "Daniel novissimi regni finem respiciens,—id est novissimos decem reges in quos divideretur regnum, super quos Filius perditionis veniet,—cornua dicit decem nasci Bestiæ, et alterum cornu pusillum." Again, ch. 30, after commenting on the predicted number of the Beast, 666, and mentioning as a probable solution the word *Λατρεῖος*, (probable because of this being the name of the last of the four kingdoms, or *Roman*, then reigning, "quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum, *Latini* enim sunt qui nunc regnant,") he goes on to say; "Scientes hunc numerum, sustineant* primum quidem divisionem regni in decem; post deinde, illis regnantibus, et incipientibus augere suum regnum, qui de improvviso advenerit, regnum sibi vindicans, et terreat prædictos, habens nomen continens prædictum numerum." Thus he explains the Latin or Roman Empire, then existing, to be the fourth and last of Daniel's great kingdoms; and its division into ten kingdoms to be the event immediately preceding the manifestation of Antichrist: who, whencesoever originating, (and Irenæus had the impression of his being a *Jew* in origin) was yet somehow in the result to be a *Latin* man, and the ruler of the Roman Empire in its last form.

3. *Tertullian*.—In his Resur. Carn. ch. 24, commenting on St. Paul's prophecy on 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, he thus writes; "'Nisi veniat abscissio primo,'—hujus utique regni." Then on the clause, "He that letteth shall let until he be taken away," he expounds his sense of this *let* or *hindrance*, by the question, "Quis nisi Romanus status; cujus abscissio, in decem reges dispersa, Antichristum superducat."—Then, after further comment on the same prophecy, he turns to the Apocalyptic passage now under consideration; his comment on which will be given in a Note presently.

4. *Hippolytus*.—In Hippolytus' Treatise on Christ and Antichrist, given in Combeff's Bibliotheca Patrum, (Paris Ed.) there is a full exposition of Daniel's symbolic visions of the quadri-partite Image and the four Wild Beasts; and,

* That is, *Let them patiently wait*; the verb *sustineo* being used in the same sense here by Irenæus, as by Tertullian in a passage which will be given in a subsequent Note.

the *time* of the vengeance on Rome, and its Empire,—that great vengeance so graphically described in Apoc. xvi, xviii, when the vials of God's wrath should be poured out thereon, and “in her should be found the blood of prophets and saints, of all that had been slain on the earth,” and the saints should be told “to reward her as she had rewarded them, and in the cup which she had filled to fill to her double,”—this time they inferred to be very nigh at hand. For nothing, they reasoned, prevented Antichrist's development but the intervention of the Roman Empire in its then existing state,¹ which state they thought would pass away speedily; and that then Antichrist's predicted short-lived reign, and his persecution of but three and a half years would follow, and be succeeded instantly by Christ's second coming and the consummation.² Not to add that cer-

like others before him, he explains the first three Empires to be the Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian, (the last-mentioned divided, he says, into four parts on Alexander's death, like the four heads of the Leopard in vision,) the *fourth* the Roman, then existing and reigning “in its iron lega.” And what then, he adds, remains for accomplishment but the division of the iron feet of the Image into its *ten toes*,—the growing out of the fourth Beast's head of its *ten horns*: *Τι περιλείπεται ἐρμηνεύσαι ἡμῖν ὃν ἔωρακεν ὁ Προφήτης, ἀλλ' ἡ τα ἐχρη των ποδων . . . και τα δεκα κερατα.* Upon, and from among which ten horns, he judged that the Little Horn of Antichrist would arise.—Again ch. 49, he says of the last state of the Roman Beast; “This is the fourth Beast, whose head was wounded and healed again, because of its being destroyed or dishonoured, and resolved into ten diadems. And Antichrist, being a man of resource, will heal and restore it; so that it shall again revive through the laws established by him.”

¹ *Tertullian*, in his *Apology*, ch. 32, writes thus expressly to that effect: “Vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam sæculi acerbiteras horrendas comminantem, Romani Imperii commeatu acimus retardari.” And again *Ad Scap.* ch. 3: . . . “Imperatoris, quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut ipsum honoret, et salvum velit cùm toto Romano Imperio, quousque seculum stabit: *iamdiu enim stabit.*”

² *Justin Martyr* thus speaks of Antichrist as *at the doors*, and of his destined continuance for 3½ times, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, p. 250: *Του βλασφημία και τολμηρα εις τον Ήριστον μελλοντος λαλειν ηδη και θηραις οντος, ον καιρον και καιρους και ημῶν καιρον διακαθεζειν Δαυιηλ μνηνει.* Which term he says the Jews incorrectly calculated on the principle of a prophetic *time* meaning 100 years, and consequently the 3½ times as being 350 years: he himself evidently regarding them as literal *years*.

Similarly *Tertullian*, *De Fug. in Persec.* (Ed. Pamel. p. 974,) writes, “Antichristo jam instante.” And again, in his *De Spectac.* ch. 30, “Quale spectaculum in proximo est;” with reference to the destruction of the persecuting powers at Christ's coming. In another place, *Adv. Marcion* v. 16, he speaks of the Marcionist heretics then teaching as the precursors of Antichrist.

Cyprian repeatedly dwells on this topic of the nearness of Antichrist and the consummation. So *De Exhort. Mart.* “Quoniam pressurarum et persecu-

tain considerations of the *age of the world*, as if not far from 6000 years, began now to enter into their reasonings, and confirmed them in the idea that the end was near.¹—Thus did the voice of divine prophecy, as their

tionum pondus incumbit, et in fine atque in consummatione mundi Antichristi tempus infestum appropinquare jam cœpit." Again Ep. 59; "Antichristi propinquantis;" Ep. 61, "Imminente Antichristo;" Ep. 67, "Deficiente jam mundo, atque appropinquante Antichristo;" Ep. 58, "Scire debetis, et pro certo tenere, occasum seculi, atque Antichristi tempus, appropinquare:" De Unit. Eccl. i, "Appropinquante jam fine seculi." Yet again, De Mortal. i. 157, "Regnum Dei cœpit esse in proximo;" and once more, Ep. 58; "Venit Antichristus, sed et supervenit Christus: grassatur et sævit immicus, sed statim sequitur Dominus, passiones nostras et vulnera vindicaturus."—The end of the last citation, has been already quoted, p. 196, as illustrative of the voice that seemed to issue from the souls of the martyrs in the Apocalyptic vision.

Besides the above more eminent Fathers, I must observe that *Judas Syrus*, a cotemporary of Tertullian's, spake also of Antichrist's manifestation as near; (so Euseb. H. E. vi. 7, and Jerom. V. l. 52:)—moreover that the Christian *pseudo-Sybil*, at a time yet earlier, predicted (B. viii.) that the third Emperor after Adrian would be the last Roman Emperor, and the 948th year of Rome, or A.D. 196, be the fated year of Rome's destruction, and the consummation.

1. Τὸν μετὰ τρεῖς ἄρτους, παντοκράτορ ἡμᾶς ἐχόντες.

2. Τρεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ οὐκὶ Πληρώσεις Λυκαβάρτας, ὅταν σοὶ δυσμερὸς ἦῃ Μοῖρα βιαζομένη τὸν οὐνομα πληρώσασα.

¹ *Hippolytus* is said by Photius to have thus reasoned, and so to have fixed Antichrist's coming and the world's end at about the year A.D. 500. (See Lardner ii. 425.) But some doubt has been thrown on this fact by more modern critics. See the Preface to Hippolytus' Treatise on the Bibl. Patr. Max.

In the Preface to his *De Exhort. Mart. Cyprian* also thus writes, "Jam sex millia annorum pœne complentur." But this notice of the 6000 years is in reference to Satan's long experience as man's tempter.

In the curious Tract however *De Pascha Computus*, attributed to Cyprian, and appended to the Oxford Edition of his Works (1682),—a Tract which, whether his or not, is fixed by the notice of *Arrian and Papias* as Consuls at the time at which his computation ends, and other evidence, to about A.D. 243,—an expectation is expressed of the consummation, and its judgments on the wicked, occurring at the end of the 6000 years then, according to Cyprian, near expiring. "Ecce, Dei gratiâ, quàm præclara et admirabilia nobis ostensa sunt per annos xlviii. Qui anni à contraria infidelibus, et persecutionem servis Dei facientibus, magnam demonstrant superventuram calamitatem. Quâ autem ratione videamus. Hic enim mundus, in quo justî et injusti ab initio seculi conversantur, sex diebus est consummatus; quibus suppletis benedictus est dies septimus; ille scilicet superventurus sabbati æterni. In his itaque diebus ab initio non tantum Diabolo et angelis ejus, sed et omnibus peccatoribus à Deo ignis est preparatus." The 49 years mentioned refer to some supposed mystical intimation in the seven Hebdomads of Daniel.

These are the earliest applications, I believe of the world's supposed nearness to its seventh millennium, in proof of the nearness of the consummation: an argument which, in the course of our Apocalyptic exposition, we shall more than once have again to recur to.—They were all based on the *Septuagint's* mundane chronology. Of which however there were different versions; Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. i. 21) making Christ's birth A.M. 5626, others earlier; and the expectation prevailing (so the *Computus*) that God would shorten the days.

Lactantius, who belonged as much to the time of the sixth Seal, as to that of the fifth, or more, will be quoted p. 209 Note ¹ infra.

minds apprehended it in those times of fiery trial, correspond most exactly with the voice which fell on St. John's ears in the fifth Seal's vision, as if addressed to the martyred souls under the altar. "It was said to them that they should rest (waiting their avenging and reward)¹ yet for a little season, until their brethren, which should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled." Indeed this very passage of the Apocalypse was cited and commented on by them; as in part, and conjunctively with the other prophecies, an authority for this their expectation and hope.²

It of course needs not to say that in regard to this last point, I mean the *time* to which they looked for their final avenging and reward, History, the great interpreter, has proved them wrong. In fact the phrase "yet a little season," just like the word "*quickly*" elsewhere used by our Lord respecting the time of his coming,³ was one of larger or less duration according to the standard by which it might be measured. And I may remark here, what I shall have occasion to remark perhaps more than once again, that the phrases used in prophetic scripture respecting the time of the consummation, were purposely so framed as to allow of a duration shorter or longer being attached to them, and so of the Church in each age looking for its Lord's advent as not far distant. Admitting (what was generally under-

¹ So *Cyprian*, De Lapsis p. 129, explains the phrase; saying that the souls under the altar are bade in it "requiescere ac *patientiam tenere*."—Compare Daniel xii. 13, "Thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

² So *Tertullian*, De Res. Carn. ch. 25: "Etiam in Apocalypsi Johannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animæ sub altari, ultionem et judicium flagitantes, sustinere didicerunt: ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa civitas à decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia Antichristus, cum suo pseudo-propheta, certamen ecclesiæ Dei inferat, atque ita, Diabolo in abyssum interim relegato, primæ resurrectionis prærogativa de solis ordinetur debinc, et igni dato universalis resurrectionis censura de libris judicetur."

And again, in his *Scorp. adv. Gnostic.* ch. 12: "Quinam isti tam beati victores, Apoc. ii. 7,) nisi propriè martyres? Illorum etenim victoriæ quorum et pugnæ; eorum vero pugnæ quorum et sanguis. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animæ placidè quiescant, et fiducia ultionis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illarum gloriæ impleant. Nam et rursus innumera multitudo, albat, et palmis victoriæ insignes, revelantur, (Apoc. vii. 9, &c.) scilicet de *Antichristo* triumphales."

³ Apoc. xii. 12, &c.

stood to be the fact) that the great destroying vengeance on persecuting Rome was not to take place at the breaking up of its empire into ten kingdoms, but after their rise and Antichrist's cotemporary rise and reign over them, there was needed, in order to decide the length of the time still to intervene before that catastrophe, (so as indeed I have already hinted,)¹ the decision of the two preliminary points following; 1st, what the interval before the empire's breaking up into its last decemregal form, and Antichrist's cotemporary or immediately subsequent manifestation; 2ndly, what the length of the three and a half predicted years of his persecuting reign, and whether to be understood literally, or of a much longer period.—But on these questions it is not my present business to enter. Suffice it to have shown that the Christian Church and Fathers passed through and out of the period of the fifth Seal, and of the persecutions referred to in it, with the distinct conviction impressed on their minds, even as by a voice from heaven, that there only needed to be completed another and different series of martyrs, viz. those to be slain under Antichrist; and that then, without further delay, their Redeemer would surely manifest himself, and execute final vengeance on their enemies.

5. In the meanwhile there was to be fulfilled, in regard to the souls of martyrs already under the altar, the fact symbolized by their *investiture with white robes*, just when the voice under this Seal ended speaking. A symbol certainly very remarkable! Explained *forensically*, or with reference to persons condemned or arraigned as criminals, it signified their *justification*. So elsewhere, "The white robes are the justification of the saints."² In case of this investiture occurring in the inner sanctuary, or before God, so as in the passage just cited, or again in the case of the High Priest Joshua described in Zechariah,³ it would imply justification in

¹ p. 70 *suprà*.² δικαιωματα, Apoc. xix. 8.³ Zech. iii. 4, 5.

the sight of God. But where the scene was the open altar-court,—just as their dejection there under the altar indicated the condemnation and execution of the Christian saints as criminals *before the world*,—so their investiture with white on the same public scene must be construed to imply their as public justification *before the world*, and in the view of *their fellow-men*.—But how so? How could there be a public recognition of these martyrs' righteousness, begun even before the opening of the sixth Seal, and that great revolution which it was to signify?—Yet the fact was even so. Before Lactantius had yet finished that famous treatise *De Div. Inst.* wherein he repeated, as its latest echo by the Church under Rome Pagan, that same prophetic voice that we have noted in the writings of the Fathers of the third century that preceded him,¹ an edict of the persecutor Galerius was issued, (an edict agreed to by two of the other Emperors,) confessing, by implication at least, to the wrong he had done the Christians, putting an end to the persecution, and entreating the Christians to pray for him.² It was surely very remarkable as an exact

¹ Lardner shows satisfactorily that the publication of Lactantius' *Institutes* must have been between A.D. 306 and 311; probably about the latter epoch.

In his Book vii. ch. 16, he speaks of the predicted destruction of Rome as near: "*Romanum nomen quo nunc regitur orbis (horret animus dicere, sed dicam quia futurum est) tolletur de terrâ; et id futurum brevi conciones prophetarum denunciant.*" And so again in the same Book: "The thing itself declares the fall and ruin of the world to be at hand: except that while the city of Rome is in safety, nothing of the kind need be feared. . . . For it is that state which as yet upholds all things. We should beseech the God of heaven if at least his decrees may be delayed; lest more speedily than we suppose that *hateful tyrant* come:" (sc. Antichrist.)

Afterwards, and as I think, after the victory of Constantine, to whom he dedicates his Book, and the establishment of Christianity, he suggested that the interval of 200 years might still intervene between the consummation; the 6000 years of the world (of which I have spoken as noticed by Hippolytus and Cyprian) having then, according to the Septuagint chronology, their termination.—But on this I must not now dwell: as it rather belongs to the æra of a later Seal.

² Galerius' celebrated Edict of Toleration was issued by him in his last illness, A.D. 311. It is given in full by Gibbon, ii. 485, and will be noticed by me in my next Chapter. "In consequence of it," says Gibbon, "great numbers of the Christians were released from prison, or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned to their own countries."

The subject of the *justification* of the martyred Christians, symbolized by the white robes given them on the apocalyptic scene, may be illustrated by a somewhat parallel case in an earlier æra of the Imperial history, that of Pertinax's accession. It is thus related by Gibbon, i. 162. "The unburied bodies of mur-

fulfilment of this clause of the Apocalyptic vision.—Nor was it less notable at the period itself as a sign of the times. For it was a confession of the *moral* triumph of Christianity over Paganism, while the latter was in all its imperial power and supremacy; and thus might almost seem to portend, sooner or later, even a *political triumph* following.—And hence indeed it appeared, with regard to the slaughter of Christian saints by the Roman Pagan emperors, that whereas the varied calamities depicted under the *three* preceding Seals, were *causes* and *symptoms* of the *decline* of their empire, this too, which was prefigured under the *fifth* Seal,—although altogether overlooked in that character by the infidel historian,—was, in perfect consistency with the dramatic unity of the Seals, another *cause* and *symptom* of it, even yet more remarkable and influential than the others;—indeed that it was the immediate cause, as well as precursor of its *fall*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SIXTH SEAL.

“AND I beheld when he had opened the sixth Seal, and lo! there was a great earthquake. And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair; and the moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth forth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind. And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said

dered senators (for the cruelty of Commodus endeavoured to extend itself beyond death) were deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors: *their memory was justified*; and every consolation bestowed on their ruined and afflicted families.”

to the mountains and the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of His wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" Apoc. vi. 12—17.

Thus, as on the fifth Seal's opening, the Evangelist's eye had been directed from the terrene landscape to the nearer altar-court, so now it was directed back from the altar-court to the *terrene landscape*; with which landscape the *temple* and *holy city* adjoining were, as before observed, associated; and which seems to have appeared with its seas outspread,¹ as well as land, and with its heaven, or sky, and heavenly luminaries above it. It represented evidently the *Roman world*; that in which the Christian church had already planted itself, and with which its future fortunes were, in God's providence, to be most closely connected, even to the end. And as the *temple* and *holy city* fitly symbolized the *faith* and *worship* of Christians through an atoning and mediating Redeemer, (the same that the Jewish temple, altar, sacrifices, and priesthood had ever while standing prefigured,) and their *polity*, as the aspirant and constituent members of the kingdom of heaven,—so was the *earth* outspread in vision as fitly emblematic of those it represented, as of a people in taste, principle, and feeling belonging only to this world; "of the earth," as St. Paul expresses it, "and earthy."² The *heaven* above it, we must remember, was its own *firmamental* heaven, or sky;—being altogether distinct from that spiritual unchanging heaven constituted by the Divine Presence in the inner temple. According to the usual scripture use of such terms, it was to be considered as representing the ruling department in the polity; and its luminaries as the actual rulers and governing powers therein.³

Now ere the sixth Seal was opened, these luminaries appeared fixed in the sky, and the earth at rest and still. But behold, on its opening, the whole scene in agitation!

¹ In verse 14 the *islands* are specified as visible.

² See p. 102 *suprà*.

³ This will be illustrated at the close of this chapter.

A great and sudden earthquake shakes the earth. The mountains and the island-rocks sink beneath the shock. The sun becomes black, the moon blood-red as in total eclipse. The stars fall from the heaven in which they were before shining, even as figs from a fig-tree in a windy tempest. Kings and generals, freemen and slaves, (dress probably in a measure distinguishing them,¹) appear in flight, as men panic-struck, and seeking to caves or holes in the rocks wherein to hide themselves. And this was chiefly observable,—that in the cry which St. John heard uttered by them, no earthly foe was named as their object of terror. They spoke as men conscious that Jesus that was crucified was their conqueror and their foe. They called on the rocks to hide them from *Him who sat upon the throne*, and from the wrath of *the Lamb*.

The general intent of this vision does not seem to me to have been difficult to understand. It surely betokened some sudden and extraordinary *revolution in the Roman empire*, which would follow chronologically after the æra of martyrdoms depicted under the Seal preceding; a revolution arising from the triumph of the *christian cause* over its enemies, and in degree complete and universal. No *partial* change would answer to the strength of the symbolic phraseology; nor, again, any mere overthrow of the persecuting emperors by other milder and more tolerant but still *heathen* emperors. Nothing less would answer it than a destruction of Paganism itself throughout the empire, before the progress and power of Christianity; or, at least, a sweeping from their high places in it of Pagan powers and authorities:—and this, not

¹ A distinctive servile dress was not actually enjoined on slaves by the Roman law. In fact, when a law of that purport was proposed, it was negatived as dangerous, because it would have revealed to slaves their numbers; which, according to the most probable calculation, equalled that of freemen in the empire; and under the early emperors amounted to perhaps sixty millions. (See Seneca de Clem. i. 24, and Gibbon i. 66.) The emperor Severus was similarly dissuaded afterwards from enjoining a distinctive dress on the different ranks and classes in the empire. (Æl. Lampridius de Severo, p. 27.) Yet a distinctive dress was *customary*, as appears from the phrase in common use, *servilis habitus, servilis vestis*, &c. So Eusebius and Lactantius speak of Maximin disguising himself after his defeat in a slave's dress, *οικερα σχημα*, "servilis vestis." Euseb. V. C. i. 58: Lactant. M. P. 47.—The dress of emperors, officers of state, and soldiers was also distinctive.

through the gentle progress of opinion, but with circumstances of force accompanying, such as to strike those Pagan opposers with consternation and dismay.—Let us look then to history to see whether, so interpreted, the vision received its accomplishment.

Doubtless, according to mere human probabilities, it must have appeared most unlikely that such a consummation should be brought about, and at such a time:—a time when christians constituted but a small minority of the population,¹ and when, by the long previous persecution, they had been reduced apparently to the lowest point of depression. But unto Him who ruleth all things after his will, both in heaven and on earth, what are difficulties, what are improbabilities, to frustrate the accomplishment of His declared purpose? Rather, as has been often and most truly observed, man's extremity is God's opportunity. That precisely at the time depicted in the vision,—the time following on the æra of the Diocletian martyrdoms,—a revolution of the character described took place in the Roman empire, is one of the most memorable and most astonishing facts of history. The cotemporary writers seem lost in admiration when they speak of it;² and, in the calm estimate of modern philosophy, it has lost nothing of its character of the marvellous.³

And whose then the agency employed? When God

¹ Lactantius writing at this precise epoch, says, "Quoniam pauci utuntur hoc cœlesti beneficio:" i. e. that few *comparatively* had embraced the Christian religion. Instit. i. 1. So also Gibbon ii. 371; who estimates the Christians as not more than a *twentieth* part of the population before the conversion of Constantine.

² Eusebius again and again speaks of the deliverance and triumph of the church through Constantine's victories, as most extraordinary, and beyond expectation;—"παράδοξατα φησὶ ἡμῶν κατὰ λαμπρὴν εἰρήνην:—παράδοξατα πιστεῖ δὲ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Μακεδονίης—ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀποψυχούσης προσδοκίας" &c. Hist. Eccles. ix. 7—9; viii. 16, &c.

³ Dr. Adam Clarke, on this passage in the Apocalypse, observes;—"The final destruction of Jerusalem, and the revolution which took place in the Roman empire under Constantine, were the greatest events that have ever taken place in the world, from the flood to the 18th century of the christian æra." Of course he means events of a *political-religious* nature. As if he had only added the *Reformation* as a *third* to his list, it seems to me that his estimate of their unparalleled importance must have approved itself to every one's considerate judgment.

is about to act, the fittest instruments appear ever ready for his service. Behold, as in the olden times He raised up *Cyrus*, in order to be the restorer, agreeably with foregoing prophecies, of his captives from Babylon, so now from the far west, for the deliverance of his church in the Roman Empire, as *here* promised, He raised up *Constantine*. Already that Prince was known as a favourer of the Christians,¹ ere he bore down from the Alps against Maxentius, the son and successor of the persecuting emperor Maximian. Then in a manner most extraordinary, and most illustrative of the prophecy under consideration, he avowed his espousal of the christian cause, and of that of Him whom the Christians worshipped, the crucified One of Nazareth, the LAMB OF GOD. From as early a date as that of the great battle with Maxentius, according to the decisive testimony of both Lactantius and Eusebius, he adopted the *cross* as his distinctive military ensign.² That object of abomination to the heathen Romans³ was seen "glittering in the helmets, engraved on the shields, and interwoven into the banners of his soldiers."⁴ The Emperor's own person was adorned by it, wrought of richest materials,

¹ This was his character, indeed, from the beginning of his reign. Gib. iii. 243. It shews the estimation in which christians regarded him at that time, that while the persecuting edicts of Diocletian and Galerius were in full operation in other parts of the empire, Lactantius should have dedicated to him his work on the "Divine Institutions;"—a work published apparently, (so we may infer with Lardner, as observed p. 209, from internal evidence) between the years A.D. 306 and 311.

² "Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret. Fecit ut jussus est; et transversâ X literâ summo capite, circumflexo Christo, in scutis notat. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum." Lactant. M. P. 44. Eusebius (V. C. i. 31.) states that Constantine himself wore the sign of the cross upon his helmet; and how, on his entering Rome, after the battle and victory, he ordered the cross to be placed in the right hand of the statue that was about to be raised to him, with the following inscription on it; "*Hoc salutari signo vestram urbem tyrannicæ dominationis iugo liberatam servavi, &c.*" Hist. Eccl. ix. 9.—After his establishment as sole emperor, the soldiers wore it on their shoulders. So he states himself in a letter to Sapor, the Persian king. V. C. iv. 9.

³ "Nomen ipsum crucis absit non modo à corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam à cogitatione, oculis, auribus." So wrote Cicero in his oration for Rabirius, ch. 5. And what a comment does it furnish on St. Paul's magnificent exclamation, made in the midst of the Roman Empire, when that Empire was in its height of power and glory,—"*God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.*"

⁴ Gibbon iii. 257.

THE LABARUM.



P 215.

THE CONSTANTINIAN PHŒNIX.



From Spanheim.

and with finest workmanship. Above all in his principal banner, the *labarum*,¹ he displayed at its summit the same once accursed emblem; with a crown of gold above it, and the monogram of the name of Him who, after bearing the one, now wore the other.

We may be sure that the question was in every mouth. Why so strange an ensign? And let it not be forgotten, that besides other reasons to impress him,—as the excellence of the doctrine, the virtues of the professors, and other internal and external evidence of the truth of Christianity,—there might have been mention made of a mysterious vision of a *cross of flame* just before seen on the sky, in the night-watches, by the western emperor; and how he had been warned in the vision, by a voice from heaven, to adopt that ensign of the *cross*, with the promise added that through it he should conquer.² Scepticism, as we know, has been frequent in expressing its disbelief of this asserted fact. For my own part I am unable to resist the force of Con-

¹ The *labarum* * is described by Eusebius V. C. i. 31, as also in the passage given in the Note just above from Lactantius. I add Prudentius' description: (in *Symmach.* ii. 486.)

Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *labarum*, clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat: ardebat summis crux addita cristis.

I append an engraving of it from a medal of Constantius, with its famous motto circumscribed. It seems that fifty men were specially appointed to guard it. V. C. ii. 8.

² Compare Mosheim's critical but candid discussion of the story (Cent. iv. Part i. i. 9.) with Gibbon's sceptical critique, iii. 259. Mosheim's conclusion is that the vision of the cross was seen by Constantine in a dream before the battle with Maxentius, with the inscription, "Hâc vince." This agrees with Lactantius's account, "Commonitus est in quiete, &c.;" given in a preceding Note: an account written by Lactantius very soon after the defeat of Maximin, and before Licinius' apostacy to Heathenism, and first war with Constantine; as appears from the concluding chapters of the work.

It may help to guide the reader's judgment on the question whether the vision was a truth or an imposture, to compare it both in its own nature, and in the time and manner of its announcement by Constantine, with some other asserted vision of a similar character, such as was proved in fine to be an imposture; for instance, the vision of the *golden lance* so famous in the first crusade.

* The word *labarum*, about the origin of which there has been some literary doubt and discussion, had been long before used as the name of a Chief Standard in the Roman armies. So Tertullian, *Apol. in Gentes*; "Vexillorum et *labarum*," on which his Editor states that it was then, in Tertullian's time, the chief standard; one borne before the emperor, and adored by the soldiers. Constantine gave it a new device, but retained the old name.

stantine's solemn declaration to Eusebius of its truth. The time, as well as solemnity of his statement,—a time when nothing was to be gained by the fiction, for it was made when life was drawing to a close,—and, moreover, the whole character of Constantine, so little prone either to credulity or to deception,—seem to me alike to forbid its rejection. If true, it satisfactorily explains to us the fact of his adoption of the cross as his ensign, otherwise all but inexplicable; and as to its miraculousness, surely the case, if ever, was one that from its importance might seem to call for the supernatural intervention of the Deity.—Thus Constantine was the first *crusader*; and, with better reason than the Princes of the eleventh century at Clermont, might feel, as he prosecuted the war, that it was “the will of God.”

“By this ensign thou shalt conquer.” Such was the tenor of the promise. And well, we know, was the promise fulfilled to Constantine. Army after army, emperor after emperor, (for since Diocletian's division of it there were, according to the prophetic intimation, *several cotemporary emperors*, or “*kings of the earth*,”)² were routed, and fled, and perished before the cross and its warriors;—Maximian,³ Maxentius, Maximin,⁴ and, after his apostasy to the pagan cause, Licinius. A bas-relief still remaining, on Constantine's triumphal arch at Rome,⁵ represents to us the terror of Maxentius and of

¹ “*Instinctu Divinitatis* ;” said the Inscription on his triumphal Arc, of the expedition against Maxentius. See Montfaucon iv. 108.

² So Gibbon, ii. 169, after noting Diocletian's change of the government : “Three or four magnificent courts were established in the various parts of the empire, and *as many Roman kings* contended with each other for the vain superiority of pomp and luxury.”

³ *Maximian* had been indeed *previously* besieged, taken, and imprisoned by Constantine. But as a heathen and persecuting Emperor, defeated by Constantine after the latter's known favour to the Christians, (see Note ¹, p. 214) it seems not unfit to insert his name with the others.

⁴ I include Maximin's defeat in this list, although accomplished by Licinius; because Licinius was at that time in strict alliance with Constantine as a joint champion of the christian cause. So Eusebius speaks of the two together, as at this time *duo Cesaribus*, and tells how Licinius seemed only second to Constantine in understanding and piety. Eccl. Hist. ix. 9, 10.

⁵ It is given in Montfaucon vii. 426; and represents Maxentius's army drowning, while pursued by Constantine and his army, in their passage across the Tiber.—This destruction of Maxentius and his host in the Tiber is compared by Eusebius to that of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea: and, to express the

his army, in their flight across the Tiber after defeat in the battle of the Milvian bridge.¹ A similar consternation attended the others also. And this was chiefly remarkable,—that it was not the terror of their earthly victor's wrath that alone oppressed them. There was a consciousness of the powers of heaven acting against them; above all, the crucified One, the Christians' God. For the war, in each case, was felt to be a religious war. In the persecution just preceding, the emperors Diocletian and Maximian had struck medals of themselves in the characters and under the names of *Jove* and *Hercules*, destroying the serpent-like hydra-headed monster Christianity;² and these titles of Pagan mythology had been adopted in the same spirit by their successors.³ When Maxentius went forth to battle, he went fortified by heathen oracles;⁴—the champion of heathenism against the champion of the cross. When Maximin was about to engage with Licinius, he made his vow to Jupiter, that, if successful, he would extirpate Christianity.⁵ When Licinius, again, was marching against Constantine and his crusaders, he, in public harangue before the soldiers, ridiculed the cross, and staked the falsehood of Christianity on his success.⁶ Thus, in all these cases, the terrors of defeat must have been aggravated by a

Christians' triumph, he adopts the words of the song of Moses: "They sunk like lead in the mighty waters." &c.—It is observable that neither in the bas-relief on the arc of Constantine, nor in the medals with the *labarum*, do the soldiers' shields appear marked with the cross. In the triumphal arc this is accounted for by the circumstance of the sculptured figures on it having been taken apparently from other triumphal Roman monuments of more ancient date. As to the fact itself, it seems authenticated beyond reasonable doubt.

¹ In a famous picture of this battle by Le Brun, the *labarum*, or banner of the cross, appears so prominent among the standards of the Constantinian army, and the consternation of the defeated Pagan Romans before it so strikingly depicted, that it might almost be deemed a comment on this part of the sixth Seal's prefigurations.

² The medal of Diocletian as *Jovius*, striking down with his forked lightning a wretch whose form ends in the folds of a *serpent's tail*, is given in Walsh:—of that of Maximian as *Herculius*, smashing with his club a seven-headed hydra, a copy is given in a latter Part of this Work, on Apoc. xii.

³ See the passage from Lactantius, quoted p. 219 Note ², *infra*.

⁴ Lactantius M. P. 44.

⁵ Ib. 46. "Tum Maximinus votum Jovi vovit, ut, si victoriam cepisset, Christianorum nomen extingueret funditusque deleret."

⁶ V.C. ii. 4, 5. Elsewhere Eusebius calls Licinius' war against Constantine a *sequax*, or war against God. V.C. ii. 18.

sense of their gods having failed them ; and of the power of heaven being with CHRIST, the Christians' God, against them. It was observed that wherever the labarum, the banner of the cross, was raised, there victory attended. In the war against Constantine, after Licinius' apostacy, "Licinius," says Gibbon, "felt and dreaded the power of the consecrated banner ; the sight of which in the distress of battle animated the soldiers of Constantine with invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions."¹ All this must needs have deepened the impression.—Besides which there are to be remembered the recorded dying terrors of one and another of the persecuting emperors. A dark cloud seems to have brooded over the death-bed of Maximian, if not over Diocletian's also. The report was, that oppressed by remorse for his crimes, he strangled himself.² Again, Galerius had from an agonizing and awful death-bed evinced his remorse of conscience, by entreating the Christians in a public proclamation, to pray to their God (i.e. Christ) for him.³ And Maximin soon after, in similar anguish of mind and body, confessed his guilt, and called on Christ to compassionate his misery.⁴ Thus did a sense of the wrath of the *crucified One*, the *Lamb of God*, whom they now knew to be seated on the throne of power, lie heavy, intolerably heavy on them. And when we combine these terrors of the death-bed with those of the lost battle-field,—which latter terrors must have been expe-

¹ iii. 258.—Eusebius states that Licinius, on joining battle, bade his soldiers take care to avoid assaulting Constantine's great banner of the cross.

² Gibbon seems to think that Maximian was put to death by Constantine, and that the report published abroad of his suicide was untrue. But he has not substantiated his representation. Nor indeed is his disbelief of the reports of Diocletian having put an end to his own life, or died raving mad, sufficiently authenticated. See his Vol. ii. p. 177, 212.—The other view is given in 'Rome under Paganism and the Popes,' ii. 83.

³ The edict is given in full by Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. viii. 17, and Lactantius, M. P. 34. Near the conclusion is the clause,—"*Juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram debebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostrâ.*" His death was by a horrid disease, like that of Herod described in the Acts : viz. being eaten by worms.

"*Tunc demum. . . . Deum videre cœpit candidatis ministris de se judicantem. Deinde quasi tormentis adactus fatebatur ; Christum subinde deprecans et plorans ut suimet miseretur.*" Lactantius M. P. 49. Similarly Eusebius, (E. H. ix. 10.) *Εὐδίκως ταῦτα τῇ κατὰ τὸ Χριστὸν παρουσίᾳ χαρῶν ὁμολογήσας παθεῖν, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν.*

rienced alike by officers and soldiers, each active partizan in the persecution and the war, including low as well as high, the slaves¹ as well as the freemen, all in short that are particularized in the sacred vision,—when, I say, we consider the terrors of these Christ-blaspheming kings of the Roman earth, thus routed with their partizans before the christian host, and miserably flying and perishing, there was surely that in the event which, according to the usual construction of such scripture figures, might well be deemed to answer to the symbols of the prefigurative vision before us: in which vision kings and generals, freemen and slaves,² appeared flying and seeking to the caves of the rocks to hide them;—to hide them from the face of Him that sate on the throne of power, even from the wrath of the Lamb.

Thus, under the first shocks of this great earthquake, had the Roman earth been agitated, and the enemies of the Christians destroyed or driven into flight and consternation.³ Thus, in the political heavens, had the sun of pagan supremacy been darkened, the moon become eclipsed and blood-red, and of the stars not a few been shaken violently to the ground. But the prophecy had not as yet received its entire fulfilment. The stars of the pagan heaven had not all fallen, nor had the

¹ Informations were frequently laid against the Christians by their slaves. So Tertullian in his Tract. Adv. Gent. c. 7: "Tot hostes ejus quot extranei: et quidem proprii ex æmulatione Judæi,—ex naturâ ipsâ domestici nostri." And again; "Quid? cum domestici eos vobis produnt? Omnes à nullis magis prodimur."—With reference to this notice of slaves in the vision, it is not unworthy of remark, that one of the persecuting emperors (Maximin) after his defeat, put off his imperial insignia, and disguised himself in a *slave's dress*, the better to prosecute his flight, and elude the conquerors. V.C. i. 58, M.P. 47.

² The expression, "*every bondman and every freeman*," is to be restricted of course, to those engaged in the war against the Christian side. This amplification of phrase is common. So Jer. xxiv. 1; "When Nebuchadnezzar and all his army, and all the kingdoms of the earth of his dominion, and all the people fought against Jerusalem:" and Matt. iii. 5: "Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the country round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan," &c.

³ So Lactantius M.P. "Nunc qui adversati erant Deo jacent: qui templum sanctum everterant ruinâ majore ceciderunt: qui justos excarnificaverant celestibus plagis et cruciatibus meritis nocentes animas profuderunt." And again, ad fin. "Ubi sunt modo magnifica illa et clara per gentes *Joviorum* et *Herculiorum* cognomina; quæ primùm à Dioclete ac Maximiniano insolenter assumpta, ac postmodum ad successores eorum translata, viguerunt? Nempe delevit ea Dominus, et erasit de terrâ."

heaven itself been altogether rolled up like a scroll, and vanished away. On Constantine's first triumph, and after the first terrors of the opposing emperors and their hosts, though the imperial edict¹ gave to Christianity its full rights and freedom, yet it allowed to the heathen worship a free toleration also. But very soon there followed measures of marked preference in the imperial appointments to the Christians and their faith. And, at length, as Constantine advanced in life, in spite of the indignation and resentment of the Pagans, he issued edicts for the suppression of their sacrifices, the destruction of their temples, and the toleration of no other form of public worship but the Christian.² His successors on the throne followed up the same object by attaching penalties of the severest character to the public profession of Paganism. And the result was that, before the century had ended, its stars had all fallen to the ground,³ its very heaven, or political and religious system, vanished, and on the earth the old pagan institutions, laws, rites, and worship been all but annihilated.

¹ It is given by Lactantius and Eusebius.

² See Mosheim iv. 1. 1. 7. 10: also, for an authority justifying his statement, Eusebius V.C. ii. 45, *Περὶ ῥωμαίων καλυπτόμενων μὲν θυσίας, οικοδομῶν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν προσταττόμενων* and iii. 54; entitled, *Εἰδωλεῖαν καὶ ζοῶντων πανταχοῦ καταλύσις*. See also Mosh. ib. 16, on a probable exception in the execution of these anti-pagan edicts in favour of certain philosophers and generals.

It is from the circumstance of the temporary *legal* toleration of Paganism by Constantine, and its subsequent *partial* toleration in *act*, that the chief argument has been drawn against the application of this prophetic vision to the politico-religious revolution in the Roman empire under Constantine. "How could it suit the times of the early Christian emperors in the Roman Empire," say Vitringa, Cuninghame, and others, "considering that Pagans were still promoted to the highest dignities of the state? What necessity for *them* to call on the rocks to cover them?" Certainly none; nor have the words been applied to *them*. But would the objectors have us forget the introductory wars through which the revolution was effected, and the terror and dismay of the vanquished heathen emperors and their armies, whose terror the vision seems especially to picture? After this, Heathenism *subsisted* for a while in the great cities, but never more *flourished*. It now received the name, in fact, of *Paganism*, as being only known in *pagi*, *villages*. As to the toleration of Pagans in office, it was the infrequent exception, not the rule.

It may be well for the reader to compare, on this subject, the prophecy of Babylon's overthrow by the Persians, noticed in the two next pages, and respecting which the same objection might be made.

³ *Τὸ δὲ πεσεῖν τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τοὺς δοκούντας εἶναι φῶστας ἐν κόσμῳ πεπτέειν* says Arethas.

The interpretation that I have given to the various symbols of this Seal has been illustrated and confirmed, by one and another interpreter, from the similar use of similar figures in other passages of prophetic scripture. Thus, to show how, from earliest times, the symbols of the sun, moon, and stars were used of rulers, so as I have explained them, a reference has been made to Joseph's dream, (Gen. xxxvii. 9,) in which the sun and moon are expressly interpreted of the chief heads of a nascent nation,—the stars of its inferior heads.—To illustrate the meaning of an earthquake, and the consequent convulsions and changes in the firmamental heavens and their luminaries, there have been quoted passages from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others, in which the symbol is used of political revolution in a state or kingdom, of the subversion of its institutions, and fall of its governing powers. So in Jeremiah's vision, (iv. 23,) of the destruction and desolation of the Jewish kingdom by the Babylonians; "I beheld the land, and lo! it was without form and void; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo! they trembled, and the hills moved lightly. I beheld, and all the cities thereof were broken down, at the presence of the Lord, and by his fierce anger." So in Ezekiel, (xxxii. 7, 8, 11,) of the overthrow of Pharaoh and his kingdom by the king of Babylon; "When I shall put thee out, I will cover the heavens, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and I will set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord." And so again in Isaiah, (xiii. 9, 10, 17,) of the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes: it being said that "the day of the Lord should come against it, with his wrath and fierce anger; and that the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof should not give their light, and the sun should be darkened in his going forth, and the moon should not cause her light to shine."¹ In which pas-

¹ Compare too Amos viii. 9, Zeph. i. 14, 15; in which latter passage the time of Judah's destruction is spoken of as "the great day of the Lord."

sages, besides the more prominent parallelisms with the Apocalyptic imagery in the symbolic changes noted of the heavenly luminaries, it will be well, I think, to observe also what is said of the presence of the Lord as manifested, though acting by *human agency*: and again, of the *day of the Lord* and *his fierce anger* being shown in the subversion of the former political government, and the dethronement and destruction of its political governors, even in cases where, after the first shock of the catastrophe, it does not appear that the conquered generally were treated with any particular oppression, or the yoke made very grievous.—Finally, to illustrate what is said of the pagan hosts “hiding themselves in the dens and rocks of the mountains, and saying to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne,” &c, a reference has been made to Hosea’s prediction¹ of the Israelites thus calling on the mountains to cover them, and the hills to fall on them, under the terror and calamities of Shalmanezzer’s invasion. To which we may add what is told us, historically, of the Israelites hiding in such rocky caverns, whensoever, as in the times of Saul or of the Maccabees,² the enemy might have gained possession of the country.—All which being put together, there will not, I believe, remain a single symbolic phrase in this prophecy of the sixth Seal, unillustrated, or with the interpretation referring it to a political revolution, such as has been given, unconfirmed, by similar figures in other prophecies, to which the scriptural context has itself already furnished a similar interpretation.

Since, however, in regard to not a little of the phra-

¹ Hos. x. 8; “The thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars; and they shall say to the mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall on us!”—In which passage, as in the vision of the sixth Seal, the falling on them is evidently meant of the caverned or hollowed hills,—falling, not to crush, but to hide.

Similar to this is the language in Luke xxiii. 30; “Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us!” with reference, first, to the sufferings in the siege of Jerusalem, and further, also,—as appears from the word “begin,”—to the sufferings of the dispersion afterwards.

² 1 Sam. xiii. 6; 1 Maccabees ii. 28, 36. Compare also Esdras xvi. 28.

seology of the prophecy, there is in so far a resemblance to what is said elsewhere of the catastrophe of the last great day of judgment, as to have induced with many a suspicion, with some a full conviction, that such must be the reference and meaning also here,—it may be useful, with a view to the reader's clearer and fuller persuasion, to look a little more closely into the subject; and to add yet a further observation or two, on the *internal* evidence derivable, *first* from the language of the prophetic description, as compared with that of other prophecies confessedly predictive of the last convulsions, *secondly*, from its relative position in the series of the Apocalyptic visions,—in support of the meaning that I have attached to it.

And, *first*, it should be distinctly understood that the expressions here used respecting the earthquake, and the phenomena in the sun, moon, and stars, *cannot* be interpreted *literally*, or as referring to those *physical* changes in the *material* earth and firmament of heaven, which other prophecies lead us undoubtingly to expect at the consummation of the great day. The clearest literal description of these physical changes is perhaps that given in 2 Peter iii. 10;—"The day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens, (or the firmament, Gen. i. 7, 8,) shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up."¹ Now of a conflagration, like this, no hint is given in the vision of the

¹ So in Isaiah li. 6: "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath! For the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment; and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner."—In that remarkable chapter, Isa. xxxiv, there seems to be a description both of the political and the physical revolution occurring at the end: the former very analogous to the language of the sixth Seal; but with a notice also of that which is the grand characteristic of the consummation,—the *burning of the mystical Edom, or Rome*.—"The indignation of the Lord is upon all nations, and his fury upon all their armies. He hath utterly destroyed them. The mountains shall be melted with their blood. (Compare Rev. xiv. 20.) And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved; and the heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down as a falling fig from the fig-tree. And the streams thereof (of Edom) shall be turned into pitch: and the dust thereof into brimstone; and the land shall become burning pitch; it shall not be quenched night nor day." &c.

sixth Seal. Moreover in such a conflagration neither would the sun become black as sackcloth, nor the moon appear blood-red; still less the stars fall to the ground. The expressions *must* be taken *metaphorically*, and as referring to *political changes*, like those in the other parallel prophecies just before referred to. There seems to me a *physical necessity* for this, from what *is* said; as well as almost a necessity from what is *not* said: besides the necessity arising from the requirements of symbolic language, in a confessedly symbolic prophecy.

Still the suspicion may remain that, though referring to *political* revolution and changes, it may be the political changes attendant on the last great consummation. For that there are to be then, and in connection with the great final catastrophe of the earth's drama, extraordinary political commotions and revolutions, is a truth revealed both in the Apocalypse itself, and in many other of the sacred prophecies.¹ This I fully allow. But I think internal evidence is here, too, not wanting, to shew that it is not these that are intended in the sixth Seal. For, let but the description of the earthquake of the sixth Seal be compared with that of the xvth chapter of the Apocalyptic book,—which latter is allowed on all hands to be the description of the great *final* political revolution,—and how is it possible but that an unprejudiced mind will be struck with the marked differences?² The earthquake of the xvth chapter is so great, that “there never was any like it since the time that men were on the earth;”—this, simply, “a great earthquake.” And whereas the most prominent points of accompaniment and result in the former case are the tripartite division of the great city, Babylon receiving the wine-cup of God's anger, and a

¹ Such, I believe, are Matt. xxiv. 29, and the corresponding prophecies in Mark and Luke. Such, perhaps, Hag. ii. 6, Heb. xii. 26, and Joel ii. 10.

² I say an unprejudiced mind. One who is *not* unprejudiced writes thus: “The revolution of this sixth Seal is the same as that again mentioned on the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, xi. 19, and more particularly described under the seventh Vial; (xvi. 17—21;) between which, and the sixth Seal, there is a remarkable similarity.” Cuninghame, p. 35. Of this similarity let the reader judge; after comparing the two descriptions together, as here set before him.

tremendous hail-storm falling on the inhabitants of the Roman earth,—to neither one nor another of these is there the least allusion, in the description of the earthquake of the sixth Seal before us.—Were the one indeed but a notice in brief, as it were, the other the description in detail, the omission and the difference would not be so remarkable. And thus it seems to me very possible, and even probable, that the earthquake noticed on the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, at the close of chap. xi, may be the same in *brief*, as that of chap. xvi in *detail*, on the effusion of the seventh Vial.¹ But in the vision of the sixth Seal the description is as detailed and full, indeed more so, than that of chap. xvi.

Thus my conclusion *from simply comparing the descriptive language in the two passages* is this,—that they pourtray different and distinct earthquakes; that of the sixth Seal the less, that of the seventh Vial much the greater; although at the same time it is allowed that the former may be possibly in a certain sense typical of the latter, in the same way that a *less* event, of the *same character*, is often in scripture typical of a *greater* following.—Which premised, when we consider the vision further in respect of its *relative position* in the Apocalyptic series, its connection with, and chronological sequence on, those of the other five Seals,—when we think how exactly every successive *epoch of change* in the Roman Pagan Empire, with its characteristic *causes* and *symptoms*, from the time of Domitian's death, at the close of the first century, to the persecution by Diocletian and Galerius, at the beginning of the fourth, has been depicted, all in order, in the consecutive visions of the successive Seals preceding, and find ourselves thus brought by them to the very eve of the great *politico-religious revolution* of the time of *Constantine*,—I say, when, with the evidence of this its position and context, we consider the vision of the symbolic earthquake repre-

¹ Two characteristic notices serve to identify the earthquake of xi. 19, with that of xvi. 18: first, the mention of the temple in heaven being previously opened; secondly, the great hail mentioned as a concomitant in the one case and the other. Compare also xv. 5.

sented on the opening of the sixth Seal,—it seems to me that all doubt as to its intended application is absolutely precluded; and that it cannot but be the prefiguration of that wonderful revolution.—Nor let me omit to observe, in further confirmation of this explanation, that the infidel illustrator of the Apocalyptic prefigurations fails not here, as usual, to add his corroborative testimony. “The ruin of the Pagan religion,” says Gibbon, “is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night.”¹

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEALING AND PALM-BEARING VISIONS.

“AND after these things I saw four angels, standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, so that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God. And he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth, and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed; and there were sealed 144,000 out of all the tribes of the children of Israel. Out of the tribe of Judah were sealed 12,000. Out of the tribe of Reuben were sealed 12,000, &c.

After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round

¹ Gibbon v. 123.

about the throne, and about the elders and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen : Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen ! And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, Who are these which are arrayed in white robes ? and whence came they ? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which are to come¹ out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple : and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters ; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”—APOC. VII.

Thus the *first* of these two connected visions opened with a representation of four destroying tempest-angels, just now under temporary restraint, but destined ere while to desolate the Roman earth :—the which earth appeared tranquil again after the earthquake, and with its luminaries shining in the new firmamental heaven :²—presently after which, as if on some premature threatening of the Angels to execute their commission of judgment, another and mightier Angel, rising from the East, in loud voice uttered his inhibition against it, until he should have sealed God’s servants on their foreheads.—Who were the earthly agents intended by the *tempests* of the tempest-angels, and what the thing intended by the *temporary restraint* of those angels, are points best explained to us, as usual, by Gibbon. “ The

¹ *oi επρχουνοι.*

² This is obvious in part from verse 1 of this chapter, where the wind is spoken of as not blowing on the land or the sea ; in part from verse 12 of the next chapter, where the sun, the moon, and the stars are implied to have shone during the three first Trumpets on the Roman earth.

threatening tempest of barbarians," he writes (iii. 97), in his sketch of the empire after the Constantinian revolution, "which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, was still *repelled or suspended on the frontiers.*"—As to the *Sealing Vision*, it lay not within his province to explain it: and indeed it meant much more, if I mistake not, than even professed Apocalyptic expositors have hitherto supposed. Wherefore such a commission of wrath against the empire, after the glorious religious revolution just effected therein, and the triumph and establishment of Christianity? To this, I believe, the Sealing Vision gave answer, by hinting a *wide-spread apostacy* begun in the professing Church. And what the safeguard of the *true* Church against it? The vision answered this question also. For it figured, if I mistake not, a *revelation of grace* then to be given, which would be to it an antidote, and preservative from essential instealing error.—These I regard as the two main points signified in the vision; and, that though retrospectively it gives intimation respecting the half century and more preceding, as measured from Constantine's establishment of Christianity, yet its own proper *chronology* appertains to *the reign of Theodosius*.

§ 1.—INTIMATIONS OF APOSTACY BEGUN.

It will be interesting, I think, and may serve as the best introduction to what follows, to suspend for a few moments our investigation of the prophecy; and look into the state of things and feelings as exhibited in the Roman Empire after its first Christianization under Constantine; agreeably with the representation of them handed down to us by cotemporary history.

When heathenism had been cast down from its supremacy, and Christianity established in the Roman world, the changes consequent were immense and universal. Now, throughout its vast extent, the *cross* once so despised was every where in honour,¹ and the preserving

¹ "Attende gloriam crucis ipsius," said Augustine (in Psalm xxxiv), somewhat

and conquering virtue celebrated¹ that every where attended it. Now the righteousness of the slaughtered martyrs that had been gathered under the altar, was acknowledged in public edicts; and the living confessors restored to their homes in triumph, from the mines and dungeons where they were suffering.² Now, instead of vaults and catacombs for the sacred assemblies of Christians, and other hiding-places shut out from the light of heaven, to which, like their earlier Christian brethren,³ they had been reduced during the late persecution, there arose in the cities and towns churches of magnificence; and the ritual was celebrated with a pomp corresponding. Now, instead of desertions and apostacies from the Christian body, such as had been the case with not a few under the fiery trial, the daily accessions to it were innumerable. Candidates in throngs applied for baptism; and at the Easter and Pentecostal festivals the newly-baptized neophytes, in their white vestments, grouped conspicuous around each Christian sanctuary.⁴ Now, moreover, under imperial auspices, the Christian pro-

later than the epoch spoken of; "jam in fronte regum crux illa fixa est cui inimici insultaverunt."

¹ τὸ στήριον σημεῖον a favourite phrase used by Eusebius to designate the cross. ² Id. de Vit. Const. ii. 29, 30, &c.

³ See Mosheim ii. 2. 4. 8, on the subject of the church edifices of the early Christians: also Burton's History of the Church, p. 317. "It was long," says the latter, "before the intolerance of their enemies allowed the Christians to enjoy the light of heaven, whilst engaged in their sacred duties. Few, if any, religious buildings seem to have been possessed by the Christians, till Alexander Severus decided a case brought before him in their favour."—The case decided by Alex. Severus in their favour, has been before alluded to; p. 195. After Gallienus' edict of toleration, the Christians began to erect more convenient and spacious edifices (Euseb. Hist. Ecc. viii. 1); and, in some cases, not devoid of grandeur; as, for example, the great church of Nicomedia, which was destroyed at the first breaking out of Diocletian's persecution.

⁴ The white dress of the *neophyte*, or newly baptized, was worn eight days by him, then laid up in the church. So Tertullian, in his De Cor. Mil. calls the baptized *albat*. See Bingham's Antiq. xii. 4. 1.

Gibbon, iii. 277, speaks sneeringly of 12,000 men baptized at Rome, besides an equal number of women and children, to each of whom, says he, the report is, that a *white garment* and twenty pieces of gold had been promised by Constantine. At a later period, near the close of this century, we read of 3000 just baptized by Chrysostom's presbyters at Constantinople, being attacked by the soldiers while λευχεινομενους, i. e. in their white dress. Again, we read of a law of Theodosius the Second, prohibiting the celebration of public games during the Easter-week, as being the week through which the neophytes baptized on the Easter Sunday (which Sunday was then one chief season of baptism, Whitsunday being the other,) wore their white robes, lb. xx. 6. 1. 1. These, though exemplifications of a later period, may yet illustrate to us the neophytes' numbers and conspicuousness.

fessing church catholic was gathered for the first time in œcumenical council. Representatives attended from every province, and nation, and tongue in the vast empire. The palace gates were thrown open to the holy delegates. The emperor bowed in respectful deference before them.¹ If in the use of his power he was to the church as a nursing father, his behaviour was respectful as that of a son.

Can we wonder then at the exultation that was felt at this time by many, perhaps by most, that bore the Christian name: or at their high-raised expectations as to the future happy destiny of the Roman, now that it had been changed into the Christian, nation? ² It seemed to them as if it had become God's covenanted people, like Israel of old: and the expectation was not unnatural,—an expectation strengthened by the remarkable tranquillity which, throughout the extent of the now reunited empire, followed almost immediately on Constantine's establishment of Christianity,³—that not only the temporal blessings of the ancient Jewish covenant⁴ would thenceforth in no small measure attach to them, but even those prophesied of as appertaining to the latter day.—Hence on the medals of that æra the emblem of the phoenix, all radiant with the rising sun-beams, to represent the empire as now risen into new life and hope, and its legend which spoke of the happy restoration of the times.⁵ Hence, in forgetfulness of all former prognostications of Antichrist and fearful coming evils, the reference by some of the most eminent of their bishops to the latter-day blessedness, as even then about

¹ V. C. iii. 7, 10, 15, &c.

² "All former evils were forgotten. There was a self-abandonment to the enjoyment of the present good things and the expectation of future." So Eusebius concludes his Church History: x. 9.

³ With reference to this, Eusebius quotes, from Psalm xli. 9, 10, "Come and see the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought on the earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the world." He adds; "And now a day of cloudless serenity shone on the Church." Hist. Ecc. x. 1; also De Laud. Const. ch. xvi.—There is a medal of Constantine, struck in the 20th year of his reign, and therefore somewhat later, commemorative of this remarkable and long-protracted tranquillity, bearing the legend *Beata Tranquillitas*.

⁴ It was natural to compare what had been said of the rests given to Judah under the pious kings Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 5, 6, 7, and xx. 30.

⁵ A copy is given in my last previous Plate from Spanheim, p. 245.

fulfilling. The state of things was such, Eusebius tells us, that it looked like *the very image of the kingdom of Christ*.¹ The city built by the emperor at *Jerusalem*, beside the new and magnificent church of the *Holy Sepulchre*,—the sacred capital, as it were, to the new empire,—might be perhaps, he suggested, the *new Jerusalem*, the theme of so many prophecies.² Yet again, on occasion of the opening of the new church at Tyre, he expressed in the following glowing language, not his own feelings only, but those, we may be sure, of not a few of the congregated Christian ministers and people that heard him :—“ What so many of the Lord’s saints and confessors before our time desired to see and saw not, and to hear, and heard not, that behold now before our eyes ! It was of us the prophet spake when he told how the wilderness and the solitary place should be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the lily.³ Whereas the church was widowed and desolate, her children have now to exclaim to her, Make room, enlarge thy borders ! the place is too strait for us. The promise is fulfilling to her, In righteousness shalt thou be established : all thy children shall be taught of God : and great shall be the peace of thy children.”⁴

¹ “ The event surpassed all words. Soldiers with naked swords kept watch around the palace gate. But the men of God passed through the midst of them without fear, and entered the heart of the palace. The bishops sat down at the emperor’s table, and the rest all around him. It looked like the image of the very kingdom of Christ, and was altogether more like a dream than a reality.” V. C. iii. 15.

² V. C. iii. 33 ; Κατ’ αὐτο το σπτηριον μαρτυριον ἡ νεα κατεσκευαζτο Ἱερουσαλημ αντιπροσωπος τη παλαι βουμενη. . . ταχα που ταυτην ουταν την δια των προφητικων θεσπισματων κεκηρυγμενην καινην Ἱερουσαλημ’ ἡς περι μακροι λογοι, μυρια δι’ αἰθρου πνευματος θεσπιζοντες ανυμνουσι. See also iv. 40, respecting the dedication of this Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

³ So Eusebius, ελθθαι ὡς κρινον.—His application of these prophecies to his own times is express. Ταυτα προπαλαι περι ἡμων εν Ιεραις βιβλοις κατεβεβλητο.

⁴ Hist. Eccl. x. 4. pp. 310—314.—Some authors of comparatively modern times have advocated views thus far similar to those of Eusebius, that they make the saints’ *Apocalyptic millennarian reign* to date from the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire by Constantine. So *Grotius* and *Hammond* ; and also the venerable *Foxe* before them. (See my *History of Apocalyptic Interpretation* at the end of the 4th volume.) It is certainly, after all that has past since, a most extraordinary theory.

It is to be observed that *Lactantius*, in his “ *Divine Institutions*,” still, like the Fathers before him, dwells on the expected coming of Antichrist, and the evils consequent. But this seems to have been written before Constantine’s overthrow of the Heathen and persecuting emperors. See Note ¹, p. 209.

Alas ! what a total contrast to these anticipations did the true prospective of the future offer, as here set before St. John in vision :—a vision, we saw, of four tempest-angels prepared, like the evil angels once let loose on Egypt,¹ to desolate this self-same Roman earth with fury, so soon as a temporary restraint laid on them might be withdrawn.

But what the *cause* of the coming judgments ? Considering that the whole system of Paganism had now vanished from its high places, and the empire been changed into Roman *Christendom*, the severity might surely appear strange, and such as to need explanation. And would it not then be given to St. John ? Was it not declared, “The Lord will do nothing but he revealeth the secret to his servants the prophets ?”²—In truth that declaration was not forgotten. The cause of the coming judgments was not hidden from his prophet in Patmos. In the figuration of the *sealing vision* immediately following, and certain explanatory statements that accompanied it, there was both given him a clear *general* intimation that sufficiently accounted for them ; it being to the effect that the great mass of the professedly christianized people of the Roman Empire would be at the time figured Christians in profession only : and further a certain *more particular*, though obscurer intimation was also thrown out, if I mistake not, as to the peculiar character of this their unsoundness in the faith ; to the effect that it would exhibit, in some form or other,

¹ Psalm lxxviii. 49 ; “ He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation, and trouble, by sending *evil angels* among them.”

On the figuration itself of the tempest-angels, let me make the four following remarks.—1. The *four winds* may be considered as representing *all* the winds. Compare Ezek. xxxvii. 9, Dan. vii. 2, Matt. xxiv. 31.—2. Their angel-directors may be compared with the imaginary gods of each wind, as depicted in the *Æolian cave* of Virgil.—3. *Κραττορες*, *holding*, may be understood probably, not in the sense of *restraining*, so as by Mr. Cuninghame and others ; but in that of *holding*, so as we might hold a weapon of war, *for use*. So κρατεω δορυ, κραταλω, τοξον, &c ; 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 2 Sam. iii. 29, Jer. vi. 23. (Septuag.) For the commission to injure, implied in verse 3, belonged evidently to the same four angels that held the winds in verse 1.—4. The particle *ινα* in verse 1 (“ *that* it blow not”) seems to be meant in the sense *eventualiter*, as Schleusner expresses it ; that is, as signifying the event or result, not the desire or design.

² Amos iii. 7.

the characteristics (properly speaking of an incipient *antichristian* apostacy.¹—I proceed to unfold each of these prophetic intimations, and the illustrations that history furnishes of their truth, under distinct Heads.

1. THE GENERAL AND MORE OBVIOUS INTIMATION :—an intimation, I said, to the effect that *the great majority of the professedly christianised people of the Roman earth would be at this time Christians in profession only, but in heart earthly*, as before.

That this *was intimated* will be found to follow instantly from the sealing Angel's words, "Wait till we have sealed the servants of God," compared with certain statements added afterwards as to the *number* of the sealed, and their *relation to the earth's inhabitants* :—that is, presuming one thing only ; viz. that by the *twelve tribes of Israel*, (including of course the 144,000 sealed out of them,) we are to understand the then *professing Christian body* ; not the *Jews*, and *their twelve tribes*, literally taken. Hence my first object must be to establish that important premise and presumption.

Now, supposing the chronological position of the sealing vision here given to be correct, as following after the Constantinian revolution, the *historical* proof of this being the true interpretation of the symbol would be in itself decisive ; seeing that there is no record of any remarkable conversion of Jews then occurring.—But besides, and altogether independently of this consideration, it is to be observed that there exists in the prophecy itself internal evidence abundantly sufficient to set aside all idea of *literal Israelites* being meant, and to show that the appellation is *figuratively* used of *professing Christians*. For not only long before the revelation in Patmos, and even while the literal Jerusalem was yet standing, had St. Paul taught the Gentile Christians to appropriate to themselves the name and privileges of Israel,—even as those that were Abraham's seed,² those

¹ By "*antichristian properly speaking*," I mean in a sense corresponding with that which I showed at p. 67 applied most properly to the term *Antichrist* : that is, *substituting something in Christ's place*.

² Gal. iii. 29.

that were by adoption of the commonwealth of Israel,¹ and those that had been grafted into the true Jewish olive-tree, while the literal Jews themselves, having rejected their Messiah, were to be regarded as branches broken off;²—but further, in the primary vision shown to St. John in Patmos, (I mean the vision figuring “the things that then were,”) our Lord had clearly indicated that this was to be the *Apocalyptic* sense of the term. For He not merely exhibited the Jewish sanctuary and its candlesticks, to typify the then existing Asiatic Gentile churches, but himself expressly so interpreted the emblem;³ and moreover interwove, in his several addresses to them, other similarly christianized Jewish figures and even appellations:⁴ all as if expressly to prepare St. John,⁵ (as observed in the Introduction to this Commentary,⁶) for attaching confidently, and at once, a similar *Christian* meaning to such *Jewish imagery* and *appellations*, as might occur in the subsequent Apocalyptic visions, on things future.—Thus directed, and by Christ Himself as the interpreter, it was unhesitatingly presumed by me, in my anticipative sketch of the Apocalyptic scenery,⁷ that such was to be the intent of the Jewish temple and city apparent in vision. And the precise accordance of historic fact with the Apocalyptic

¹ Eph. ii. 12, 13, 19.

² Rom. xi. 17—19.—Not without intimation added (let me observe) of the possibility, indeed danger, of their falling away from the spirit of their profession as Christ's anti-typical Israel; even like the Jews, the typical Israel of old. So 1 Cor. x. 6; “Now in these things *they* were our *types* :” (for so, I conceive, the clause, *ταῦτα δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐντύποις*, is to be construed, understanding *αὐτὰ* before *ταῦτα* :) where the context sets forth the sundry *unfaithfulnesses* of the ancient Israel in the wilderness, as examples for the warning of Christians.—Indeed so too Rom. xi. 21; “If God spared not the natural branches,” &c.

³ Apoc. i. 20.—And so too the term *angel* used by Him for *bishop* :—a term derived from the Jewish synagogue. See p. 75 Note ⁴ *suprà*.

⁴ *Figures*; as Apoc. ii. 20, “Thou sufferest that woman *Jezebel*, which calleth herself a prophetess,” &c; iii. 12, “I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and I will write upon him the name of the city of my God, which is *New Jerusalem* :”—*appellations*; as Apoc. ii. 9, and iii. 9, “that say they are *Jews*, and are not.” See on this my Note ⁴ p. 74 *suprà* : with the explanation given, in which not Vitringa only, but also Mede, I see, (on Apoc. vii.) coincides: “*adeo ut pseudo-christiani in Epistolis ad ecclesias pseudo-judæi audiant.*”

⁵ With admonitions included which implied, just like those of St. Paul, that, although they had assumed the place and the name of the ancient Jews, the Christian Churches might yet similarly become corrupt and rejected. E. g. Apoc. ii. 5; “Repent, or I will come quickly, and remove thy candlestick,” &c.

⁶ P. 74 *suprà*.

⁷ See p. 100.

figuration, so construed, in the first and only example of Jewish scenery that has yet occurred, (I refer to the vision of the souls under the *temple-altar*,) cannot but already have added confirmation in the reader's mind to the correctness of my presumption:¹—confirmation, I may say, that will be found to gather strength each step as we proceed, from the equally clear correspondence with historic fact of all the other Jewish visible imagery, so construed, yet to come;² not to add, from the failure also of all attempts at consistently explaining it, on the principle of a literal Jewish application.³ And if Jewish inanimate visible symbols are thus to bear a Christian

¹ A confirmation strengthened by the fact of the understanding of the vision in this sense, and self-application of the Jewish figure, by the Christian martyrs of the æra figured; for example by Ignatius, Polycarp, and others. See p. 198, *suprà*.—Tertullian (adv. Marcion. iii. 23) thus specifically expresses himself on the symbol in question; “*Abstulit Dominus à Judeâ Spiritum Sanctum, qui edificat ecclesiam, templum scilicet, et domum, et civitatem Dei* :”—thereby noting the *literal Jews'* exclusion from answering to the figure of the *temple*, and the substitution for them in that respect of the *Christian Church*.

² As in the explanation of the incense-offering scene, Apoc. viii. 3,—that of the voice from the four corners of the golden altar, Apoc. ix. 13,—that of the measuring the temple and altar, Apoc. xi. 1, 2,—that of the 144,000 seen with the Lamb on Mount Zion, Apoc. xiv. 1,—and that of the new Jerusalem, Apoc. xxi,—besides the present vision.

³ There are two classes of interpreters who have attempted this: the *one* consisting of those who would make part of the Apocalypse fulfilled in the destruction of the ancient Jerusalem; a class stopped and excluded at the very outset, by the simple date of the Apocalypse, compared with the declaration that the prophecy was to prefigure things subsequent to that date (see p. 50 *suprà*, and also my additional discussion of the point in the Appendix to this first Volume:) the other of those that regard the whole Apocalypse to be as yet unfulfilled; a class similarly shut out, as I have before observed, by the declaration that the visions of the Book were to refer to things that would happen in continuous succession next after the state of the church then in existence. (See p. 110.)—And here let the further difficulty be marked that meets either class on the point now referred to. The first (as *Lee*, &c.) explain the martyrs of the fifth Seal, seen under the altar, to be the Christian martyrs of the first century: that is, explain a Jewish symbol to signify *Christians*.—The others (as *Burgh*, &c.) make indeed the 144,000 sealed Israelites to be the converted *Jews* of the last days: as also the 144,000 of Apoc. xiv. 1; though depicted as the whole body that had the mark of God, in contradistinction to those that bore Antichrist's mark. But the *New Jerusalem* of Apoc. xxi, (albeit with “the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel” on its twelve gates, just as specifically as here,) they are constrained to explain as the *whole Church* of the redeemed.

The reader must further bear in mind that *God's servants* is a term here used as equivalent to the 144,000: a phrase apocalyptically applied to those for whose edification the Apocalypse was given,—those whom Antichrist would oppress and murder,—and those who are to be rewarded at Christ's coming. (See Apoc. i. 1, xxii. 6,—xix. 2, ii. 20,—x. 7, xi. 18, xix. 5, 6, xxii. 3.) And is it only to converted Jews of the last days that these things, predicted of the 144,000 apply? But on the two theories of Apocalyptic interpretation just referred to, and their literal explanation of the Judaic imagery in this Book, I must beg the reader to consult my full examination of these theories in the Appendix to my 4th Volume.

meaning, it would surely be nothing less than a palpable and gross inconsistency not to affix a Christian sense also to the personal *appellative* of *Israel*.—Let me just add, ere I pass on, that there are two peculiarities in the order and names of the tribes here enumerated, which might seem purposely framed to point out the intended application of the term to the christian Israel, and the exclusion of the Jewish.¹ In the first place, there is an intermingling of the tribes sprung from the *bond-woman* with those sprung from the *free-woman*; an arrangement suited only to the Christian dispensation, in which there is “neither barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all.” In the next place *Levi* is here inserted in the twelve tribes; a token of his not being detached from the rest by any peculiar office, as under the Jewish dispensation:² in other words,

¹ P. 112 *suprà*.

² In Gen. xxxv. 23, &c. the list of the sons of Jacob is given according to primogeniture: those of the same mother only being placed together; and the sons of the freewomen, Leah and Rachel, taking precedence before the sons of their respective handmaids, the bondwomen Bilhah and Zilpah.

The relation of the order in this list to that here given in the Apocalypse, will be best seen by their juxtaposition. In that from Genesis subjoined, L. R. B. Z. are the initials of the four mothers.

	Gen.	Apoc.		Gen.	Apoc.
L.	Reuben	Judah	R.	Joseph	Simeon
	Simeon	Reuben		Benjamin	Levi
	Levi	Gad	B.	Dan	Issachar
	Judah	Asher		Nepthali	Zabulon
	Issachar	Nepthali	Z.	Gad	Joseph*
	Zabulon	Manasseh		Asher	Benjamin

In the enumeration in Numbers *after the institution of the Levitical law*, Levi is omitted, (i. 3, 49.) and Ephraim and Manasseh placed instead of Joseph their father: his increase into two tribes having been provided, so as to supply the defect in the *δεκαφυλον* caused by Levi's withdrawal.

In their marches and encampments in the wilderness, they were formed in four divisions, East, South, West, and North; in order as follows:—

	Dan,	Asher,	Nepthali	
		Levi,		
	Ephraim,		Judah,	
(W.)	Manasseh,	Levi,	Issachar,	(E.)
		TABERNACLE.		
	Benjamin,	Levi,	Zabulon,	
		Reuben,		
		Simeon,	Gad.	

The first-mentioned tribe, in each case, was the standard-bearer. The reason

* The same as Ephraim; just as in Amos vi. 6.

of the Israel intended being one in which there would be no longer any thing of the ancient peculiarity of the Levitical priesthood, and consequently one in which the Levitical ritual would be done away. "For the priesthood being changed, there is of necessity a change also of the law."¹

My premise established, I next observe, as to the relation of these twelve tribes of Israel and the 144,000 sealed ones, that they are not identical, (so as many have represented the matter,² (but the latter an *election* out of the former. It is not said of the 12,000 sealed from Judah that they *constituted* the tribe of Judah, but that they were sealed *out of* that tribe; or, again, of the 144,000 that they *constituted* the twelve tribes of Israel, but that they were sealed as an election *out of* them.³ Where the preposition *«*, or *out of*, stands after any such verb as *sealed*, between a definite numeral and a noun of multitude in the genitive, sound criticism requires, doubtless, that the numeral should be thus construed, as signifying not the whole, but a part taken out.⁴—Which being so, the twelve tribes, the larger body in all its tribal completeness, must necessarily

of Judah's precedence is given, 1 Chron. v. 2; "Judah prevailed over his brethren, because of him came (or was to come) the PRINCE."

On *Dan's* omission in the apocalyptic list, curious speculations have been founded by some of the fathers, as if it were an intimation of Antichrist's being of that Jewish tribe. It seems to me reason sufficient that, to make room for *Levi's* insertion, which was important, the omission of some one tribe was needed: so as in the genealogical series, 1 Chron. iv, v, &c; where indeed Zabulon also is omitted.—It is observable that Dan, from the time of the Judges even to the captivity, continued in idolatry. So Judges xviii. 30.

¹ Heb. vii. 12.

² Many have called the 144,000, *the sealed tribes*. But see p. 241, Note ².

³ *σφραγισμένοι εκ πάσης φυλῆς Ἰσραὴλ* ἢ *ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσὲν ἰβ' χιλιάδες*, &c.

⁴ The following passages may serve as illustrations. Exod. xxxii. 28; *Καὶ σέσωαν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τρισχίλιους ἀνδρας* "There fell 3000 of, or out of, the people:" 1 Sam. iv. 10; *σέσωον ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ τριακοντα χιλιάδες* "There fell of Israel, or out of Israel, 30,000." Judges xx. 35; *Διεφθέραιον ἐκ τοῦ Βενιαμιν εικοσι καὶ πέντε χιλιάδες*, &c.: Numb. i. 21; *ἡ ἐπισκεψίς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ῥαββιν τεσσαράκοντα δύο χιλιάδες*, &c.; "42,500 (of the age of twenty and upwards) out of the tribe of Reuben." So, again, in the latter half of the chapter we are considering; "I looked, and behold a great multitude out of every nation, and tribe, and people, and tongue;" *ἐκ πάντος ὄθνους, καὶ φυλῶν, καὶ λαῶν*, &c.: and in ch. vi. 1; "When the Lamb had opened one of the seals," *μὴν ἐκ τῶν σφραγίδων*.—So *Matthiæ* says: "*Ex* serves to denote a choice out of several objects," &c. Greek Grammar, Blomfield's Transl. p. 996.

signify the *whole Christian professing body* in the Apocalyptic world, or Roman empire; the latter, God's *true servants* out of it. In the figurative language of the Apocalypse, the one was the *professing* Israel, the other the *Israel of God*, or *true* Israel. For just as under the Jewish dispensation, so under the Christian, "All were not Israel that were of Israel;" (*οι παντες Ισραηλ δι' εξ Ισραηλ*.) God had out of each his election of grace.

And what then the *proportion* of the *faithful* to the *nominal*, the *true* to the *professing*? It was intimated that they would be but few in the comparison. This appears from their number being stated as only 144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel: whereas the population of the twelve tribes, or *δωδεκαφυλον*, at the time when they were united as a kingdom under David or Solomon,—the standard, I conceive, to be referred to, answering as the Church now did to Israel settled under regal government,¹—must have amounted altogether to some six or seven millions;² and much the same probably, if the Jewish population in Christ's own time and the apostles', before the destruction of Jerusalem, were made the standard. According to which standard the proportion indicated was not more than *one to fifty*; according to any, a proportion but small.³

Besides which, there was to be inferred from the prophetic language not only an intimate *connection*, but an impending if not entire *identification* of these *twelve professing tribes*, in respect of spirit as well as of constituency, with *the inhabitants of the Roman earth*. We have seen above that the 144,000 were an election out of the twelve tribes. Now it also appears that they were an election out of the inhabitants of the Roman earth. For in the saying, "Hurt not the earth till we

¹ Not to its wilderness-state: when however the number of *men* in Israel above twenty years old (Numb. i. 3, 46) was some 600,000, and whole population consequently near two millions; or above twelve times 144,000.

² In Joab's numbering of the people under the reign of David, 1,000,000 were found to be the number of the *men of war*. So 2 Sam. xxiv. 9; or, as 1 Chron. xxi. 5, 1,470,000: and this exclusive of Levi and Benjamin. The which implies at least six millions for the whole population. Now under Christ (Gal. iii. 28) male and female are alike to be reckoned.

³ See Note ¹.

have sealed the servants of God on their foreheads," it is implied that, but for the sealing, these servants of God would have been subject, like others, to injury from the tempests ; and consequently that, in respect of the *locality* of their habitation, they were mingled among the inhabitants of the devoted land. Hence, as both the inhabitants of the Apocalyptic earth, and the twelve Apocalyptic tribes of Israel, did alike include, and were alike distinguished from, God's servants, the 144,000, the two former must have been either identical, or the twelve tribes have constituted a notable part of the earth's inhabitants. For the present, as the three parties are separately noted, it might be that the identification was not complete. But in the next chapter, just before the bursting of the tempests, I must observe anticipatively that two only are alluded to,—the inhabitants of the Roman earth, and the saints or sealed ones :¹ so that by that time the identification had been evidently completed. But in what way ? Not so much (so the designation adopted showed) by the Roman world being absorbed into the church, as by the professing church being assimilated in spirit to the world. The mass of the professing Israel, exclusive of the sealed ones alone, were thenceforth designated (just like the Roman heathen population before) as the *inhabitants of the earth* :—that is, according to the sense of the term in Apocalyptic phraseology, as in spirit *earthly*, and *of the earth*.²

Such was the tenor of the *general* intimation given to St. John, as to the state of religion in the Roman empire, after its destruction of Paganism, and first public profession of Christianity :—and mark its verification in *history*. First, it has been already shewn from Eusebius, how, after the overthrow of the Pagan emperors and supremacy by Constantine, the Roman people in multitudes, and at length in the mass, embraced Christianity : nor

¹ viii. 3, 5.

² See at p. 102 *supra*, the reference to Apoc. viii. 13, and Jerome's remark on the uniform bad sense in the Apocalypse of "the *inhabitants of the earth*."

must we fail to remember also how the christian body thus enlarged, imperially headed, and ere Constantine's death recognised as the *chief* constituency of the Roman state, (indeed ere the end of the century as its *only* constituency,¹) did actually themselves adopt the figurative designation in this Apocalyptic vision, and exult in the application *nationally* to themselves of the appellative *Israel*, and of the predictions too respecting Israel's final glory.—Further, the accounts handed down to us of the religious state, at this time, of the mass of the professedly christianized inhabitants of the Roman empire, do too well correspond with the prophetic intimation, in their testimony to the general and grievous lack of vital practical godliness among them. Even Eusebius, notwithstanding his earlier glowing anticipations of good,² confesses in later life the multitude of hypocritical accessions to the church.³ Similar to which are the representations of other cotemporary Fathers, as of *Cyri*l and *Gregory Naziansen*, for example ; not to add those of candid and learned moderns, such as *Mosheim*,⁴ *Neander*,⁵ or *Cole-ridge* : ⁶ and the ready and multitudinous professions of Arianism in the Empire, on the Arian Constantius' accession,⁷ furnished corroborative proof clear and public. Πολλοὶ κλητοὶ, ὀλίγοι ἐκλεκτοί. “Many are called, but few chosen ;” was a saying now markedly true, according to the best testimony. Hitherto the distinction between the *professing* and the *true*, the *outward Israel* and the *Israel of God*,—though it had indeed existed always—was yet during the three first centuries much less observable, in consequence of the repression of hypocritical professors in great measure by the general disfavour of Christianity, and its frequent and sharp

¹ Before his death laws were passed constituting heathen worship illegal in the Roman empire. About the end of the century, as observed in a former note, the profession of the heathen religion was styled *Paganism*, or the religion of *pagri*, obscure *villages*. And in 423 A.D. a law of Theodosius the 2nd states that there were then no more pagans in the empire. ² See p. 230 *supra*.

³ *εἰρωνεῖαν ἀλεκτορ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑποδυομένων, καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ἐκτετατοῦ σχηματίζομένων ὀνόματι*. V. C. iv. 54 ; a Book written after Constantine's death.

⁴ iv. 2. 3. 17, &c.

⁵ See the quotation from him under the next Head.

⁶ See the reference to him in the Comment on Apoc. viii. 3.

⁷ See *Mosheim* iv. 2. 5. 14.

persecutions.¹ But now that the sunshine of prosperity, and of imperial recognition and favour, had beamed on the Church visible, and men abused, as they are wont, the bounty of God, and the christian ordinances of man thereunto conforming,² the distinction described became too prominent to escape cotemporary and historic notice; just as it had long previously been foreshown by God in the visions of Patmos.

Thus much on the more *obvious* and *general* Apocalyptic intimation on this point, given to the Evangelist John. Nor let me proceed further without suggesting to the reader the extreme importance of his marking the distinction just noted, between the Apocalyptic *Israel* and its 144,000; both with a view to his right understanding of this prophecy, and his right understanding also of the origin and history of certain doctrinal changes and errors in the professing church.—As to the *Apocalypse*, from the neglect of observing what I speak of, commentators of eminence have fallen into what I cannot but call the grossest misconceptions;³ nor is it possible, without

¹ Hence probably the selection of faithful confessors under Pagan Rome, for the one and only Apocalyptic picture of the Christian body, during the period of the five first seals, as being the most characteristic one.

² The duty of a christian sovereign to favour, promote, and establish christianity in his dominions, seems clear: being the same, only on a larger scale, as that of a christian head of a family. Would they who speak against Constantine's establishment and patronage of the christian church, carry out their principle, *bonâ fide*, in their own families? Then,—if the duty be clear,—to argue from the evil resulting is evidently unsound argument. It is arguing from the *abuse* of a thing, right and good in itself. It is allowed, and the history of the three first centuries has shewn it, that the church flourishes best under persecution, least under prosperity. But would Constantine, arguing from *results*, have been right in persecuting?—Hereafter, in discussing Apoc. xi. 1, we may perhaps see the divine judgment exprest on this matter.

³ For example, *Mede*: who designates the 144,000 as the “*ecclesia gentium catholica, figurata typo Israelis*,” omitting all notice of the tribes themselves.

Others, as *Daubuz* and *Bishop Newton*, interpret the sealed ones, or 144,000, of the *Jews* admitted by baptism into the visible church about the time of Constantine; the palm-bearing multitude of, the *Gentile* converts in the Roman empire. *Daubuz* even supposes the shining angel from the east to represent Constantine! But if all these were alike to be preserved, who were the excluded ones from the benefit of the sealing, and on whom the injury from the tempests was to fall? The *Jews*, or unbaptized heathen in the empire? Certainly not the *former*: and, as to the *latter*, both *Daubuz* and *Newton* represent the angels as only beginning their tempest blasts against the Roman earth and its inhabitants about the beginning of the fourth century; when, except in obscure villages, no unbaptized heathen were to be found on it. The inconsistency is palpable.

using the key it offers, to enter at all into the spirit of what remains of the sacred prophecy. For the distinction described was not a mere temporary, but an abiding one. The whole subsequent history of the christian church, as time would in its lapse evolve it, was prefigured in what follows of the Apocalypse under the two great divisions which this distinction recognizes:—the *one*, the great body of professing Christians, the inhabitants of the Roman earth, and constituency of the Roman state or city, who are represented as departing farther and farther from spirituality and the truth, notwithstanding the checks of God's severe chastening judgments, until at length involved in complete apostacy:¹—the *other*, the little body of his elect and sealed ones, the constituency of the holy City, and worshippers in His temple and presence; who, though approved and sheltered by God from real evil, are yet described as having to pass through great tribulation, suffering persecution very soon from the professing world, and being trampled down, vilified, murdered; until at length, the time of their vindication having come, they appear under a designation that has reference evidently to this their original constitution, I mean that of “the called, and chosen, and faithful,”² to participate in their Lord's final triumph.—As to the *other* point, the application of the Old Testament prophecies of Israel's final glory to the *Church visible*, in its *earthly* state, under the *present* dispensation, and *previous to Christ's coming*, is, if I mistake not, to be regarded as an innovation now first made on primitive doctrine: the earlier

The difficulty of their explanation meets them again in another form at chapter ix. 4, where the locusts are commanded to hurt those only “who had not the seal of God on their foreheads.” To be consistent, they ought to interpret these also, as unbaptized heathens in the empire. But, finding this impossible from the history, they now interpret the expression, and I doubt not correctly, of apostatizing, though baptized, christians. Thus they are forced on that distinction between the *true* and the *mere professing* christians, on which I have insisted; and which, if applicable to the sealed and the unsealed in ch. ix, must be also applicable to them in ch. vii. Moreover in Apoc. xiv. 3, they make the 144,000 to be the *whole faithful Church*; though in Apoc. vii. it was only its *Hebrew* section.—*Vitringa* and *Mr. Digby* more justly explain the 144,000 as the *faithful ones out of the professing church*.

¹ They are traced onward by notices in chapters viii. 5, 13, ix. 4, 20, xi. 2, 9, 10, &c. into the fully developed apostacy, headed by Antichrist, alluded to in chapter x, and described in chapter xiii.

² Apoc. xvii. 14.

Fathers having indeed applied, like St. Paul, the scriptural promises about Israel to the Christian Church, but only in respect of its *true* consistency of real believers; nor looked for their grand fulfilment till the end of the Church's pilgrimage at Christ's second coming, and introduction of a better dispensation.¹ The innovation is one the more observable, as it was perpetuated ever afterwards in the professing Church, prepared the way for Rome's antichristian appropriation of the prophecies of the latter day, and still impresses by its distant echoes not a few among Protestant Christian bodies of the present day.—But I must hasten to my *second* Head.

II. THE MORE PARTICULAR BUT OBSCURER INTIMATION GIVEN TO ST. JOHN:—to the effect, it was said, that *this general unsoundness and defection from the faith, would possess in it the characteristics of an incipient antichristian apostacy.*

Assuredly, considering that the defection and the distinction was to be thus continuous and important, it might have been expected that not the mere *fact of its existence*, and the consequent and contrasted *fortunes* of the two classes, would be here and elsewhere notified in the prophecy: but that there would be information given as to the primary and subsequent most characteristic *causes* and *features* of it, now and afterwards developed, and so of the chief *steps* and *æras* of the progress of the

¹ The earlier Fathers in any application of the name and privileges of *Israel* to the *Christian Church visible*, made it in the spirit of *charity*; trusting that those who joined their body, depressed and persecuted as it was, were sincere. So *Clemens Romanus*; (Ep. c. 29.) "Let us therefore come to Him with holiness of mind, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who hath made us partakers of his election: for thus it is written; His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of his inheritance." (Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, Sept.)—So again Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* pp. 352, 360) in answer to Trypho's question, *Τίς Ισραὴλ ἐστὶ*; says: *Δείξας τὰς ἀπο πάσης γένους ἀλτρεμενὸς πεπεισθαι αὐτὸς τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, (ὃν καὶ Ἰακώβ καλεῖ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ὀνομαζοῖ) τοὺς καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ.* And again, p. 355, *Πάντες δι' δι' αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) τῷ Πατρὶ προσφειγόντες εὐλογημενὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶ.* In another place (*Apol. i.* 25. 23.) he thus limits his meaning to *true* Christians; *Οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ εὐρισκῶνται βιούντες ὡς οἰδαίῃ (ὁ Χριστὸς), γυμνῆσθαι μὴ ὅτις Χριστιανοί, κ' ἂν λεγῶσι διὰ γλώσσης τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα.* In the Conclusion of my Work, I shall have to refer again to this very important point.

corrupted church into complete apostacy. Such is the method constantly adopted by the Spirit in its biographical portraiture of individuals,—of a *Saul* for example, a *Jehu*, an *Ahab*; selecting the most characteristic traits, and important steps and epochs, in their spiritual history and downward progress, for exhibition: and it seems to me the only method by which the great moral lessons of the subject, whether in retrospective or predictive history, can be duly set before us. Nor, I think, if with thoughts of this kind a person apply himself to a closer examination of the Apocalyptic prophecy, will he fail of becoming convinced that these notices do in fact exist in it; and that before the fuller descriptions of the Roman apostacy, first in ch. xi, then more at large in chapters xii and xiii,—chapters where it is drawn out chiefly with reference to *Antichrist's heading it* after its completion,—there occur *three* distinct references to its operation on the mass of the inhabitants of Roman Christendom, as *beginning*, *advancing*, and then *completed*.¹ But it is by *intimation* and *implication* chiefly;² in that method of *allusive contrast*, of which I spoke in my Introduction.³ And as this principle is one as new in its application as it is important in its results, and this is the first out of my three chief applications of it, it may be well for me, before proceeding, to expand the explanatory hint given in the introductory notice: and very briefly to illustrate its nature and its truth, alike from *divine* and *human* writings. In either class we shall see how often and how naturally in the definition of the *right*, dogmatic writers make specific and pointed, though silent allusion, (always condemnatorily of course,) to something *wrong* and *erroneous* opposed thereto at the time figured.

I begin with *Scripture*.—When *Ezekiel* then speaks of the righteous man as one that “hath not eaten on the mountains, hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath

¹ The first in this chap. vii: the other two in Apoc. viii. 3, x. 1, &c.

² I say chiefly, because in Apoc. ix. 20, 21, there is a *direct* notice of the apostacy.

³ See pp. 112, 113 *suprà*.

spoiled none by violence," &c.,¹ who does not see that he wrote description *allusively*, and in *condemnatory contrast* to principles and habits quite the contrary, by which the great bulk of the Jews were then characterized?—Again, when *St. John* in his first Epistle writes in one place of Jesus being the Christ,²—in other places of Jesus Christ having come in the flesh, come not by water only, but by water and blood,³—and again, of the *knowledge* of things the most precious being communicated by Christ to true Christians,⁴—can the critical reader help seeing a pointedness in the statements, such as might lead him to suspect an intended, though silent allusion to certain contrary doctrines? Under which suspicion if he look into history, it will fully confirm his suspicion by its account of the Gnostic heretics then abounding; teachers who maintained that *Jesus* was a mere man, and not the *Christ*; (the Christ, a divine *Æon*, having indeed entered the man Jesus in the water of baptism, but left him at Calvary ere his baptism in blood :)—moreover that *they* only were the *γνωστικοί*, or *knowing ones*,—*they* only the teachers that had attained to knowledge in divine things, and that possessed the key and the power of communicating it. In short, as Michaelis justly observes,⁵ the scope and point of these verses of

¹ Ezek. xviii. 6, &c.² 1 John v. 1.³ Ib. iv. 2, v. 6.

⁴ Ib. v. 20, ii. 20, 3, iv. 13, 8, iii. 2, 5, 14, v. 15 :—"We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding to know Him that is true." "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things." "We know that we know him, if we keep his commandments." "We know that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit." "He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." "If we know that He hearth us, we know that we have the petitions we ask of Him." "We know that He was manifested to take away our sins, and in Him is no sin." "We know that when He shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see Him as He is." &c. &c.—St. John adds, ii. 26, "These things have I written to you concerning," (or with reference to) "them which seduce you."

Contrasted with this, how poor and vain is all the boasted knowledge of the wise of this world! I am reminded myself by it of Cowper's beautiful contrast of the unlettered and poor christian widow with the great Gnostic of the French Revolution, Voltaire :—

"Yon cottager who weaves at her own door,
Pillow and bobbins all her little store,
Just knows enough,—no more,—her Bible true :
A truth the brilliant Frenchman never knew."

⁵ Introduction to the New Testament, Chap. xxx. 3.

the Epistle are not fully to be discerned, without this historical illustration.

Then turn we to *human* writings. And here so copious are the illustrations, that we can scarce refer to any Code of legal enactments, any Creeds, Acts of Councils, or Articles of Faith, without finding the principle exemplified. Says the *Nicene Creed*, "I believe in Jesus Christ of *one substance with the Father*:" not merely marking therein the true belief, but marking it contrastively to that of the *homœousian* Arians, who would have Christ's nature to be *similar* indeed to the Father's, but not *one and the same*.—Says the *Athanasian Creed*, "Though God and Man, yet not two, but one Christ;" and again, "One not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person:" therein primarily defining "the catholic and right faith;" but not without distinct *allusive contrast* to the Nestorians and Eutychians, doctrinists who were supposed to hold, the *one* that Christ had two persons, the *other* that Christ had but one substance or nature.¹—And so again, and once more, (not to extend the illustration beyond what is necessary,) the *Articles of the Church of England* very generally. Take, for example, the vith on the Sufficiency of Scripture, the xith on Justification by Faith, the xivth on Works of Supererogation, the xixth on the Church, the xxvth on the Sacraments, &c. &c:—not only is the true Christian doctrine laid down there on these points, but it is stated in direct *allusive contrast* all along to the contrary and erroneous doctrines of the Church of Rome. Even on a first perusal of them, a discerning person can scarcely fail to see a certain pointedness in the phraseology, which might make him suspect that some such allusion was intended; and then, on instituting inquiry, and turning to expositors like Bishop Burnet, he finds his suspicions verified, and, point by point, the peculiar force and value of the Article thereby illustrated.

¹ It is in fact known from these very allusive condemnatory references to Nestorius and Eutyches' that the Creed, though called Athanasian, was composed not till near a century after Athanasius; the Council of Ephesus convened against the former having been held A.D. 431, that of Chalcedon against the latter, 451.

The truth of the *allusive* expository principle thus established, we shall be prepared to apply it both more confidently and more intelligently to the Apocalyptic vision now before us. Nor, in order to this, is more needed than that we consider on the one hand the description of the 144,000, or *true* Israel, *God's servants or sealed ones*, here figured, and any thing pointedly set forth in their description; on the other, that of the *outward* Israel, the body of the professing church of the period depicted, in regard specially of these same particulars, as given in *history*: and then, comparing the two together, judge whether the contrast be such, and so pointed, as to indicate a designed reference in the Apocalyptic picture, to its historically-developed counterpart.

In the Apocalyptic vision, then, the figurative sketch given of the *true* Israel points not merely to the distinctive mark imprest, but also to the concomitant *initiation* and *first numbering* of its constituent members in the holy body: in all which, the acting of the LORD JESUS, we shall soon see, is the feature most prominent in the picture. For it is an Angel ascending from the east that is described as sealing them; and the seal he bears is characterized as the seal of the living, or life-giving¹ God. Now the seal designates evidently that "Holy Spirit of God, whereby believers are sealed unto the day of redemption;"² while the angel's delegation from the life-giving God, and ascending from the east, as evidently intimate his bringing life and light with him. And both these characteristics, and his registering the sealed ones, and his language too to the tempest-angels, alike indicate him to be no created angel, but the Angel of the covenant, the Lord Jesus. For to what Angel but Him belongs

¹ This use of the word *living*, especially when applied to God or Christ, is common. So "I am the living bread," John vi. 51; called in verses 36, 48, "The bread of life." Compare also John v. 57, Acts vii. 38, Heb. x. 20: &c.

² Eph. iv. 30. So also in the same Epistle, i. 13; "On whom, also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession:" Greek, *ἐν ᾧ εσφραγίσθητε τῷ Πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας*; marking, I think, Christ as the sealer, the Spirit as the seal imprest. (See Macknight.) And, again, 2 Cor. i. 22: "He who stablisheth and hath anointed us is God; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts."

the symbol of the "light of the world," the "day-spring from on high visiting us?" Of what other Angel is it the prerogative to baptize and seal with the Spirit;³ or, as the Father hath life in Himself, so to have given him to have life in *Himself*?³ To what angelic Being but Him does it appertain to number names in that register which proves eventually to be the *Book of Life*:⁴ or to whom else to stay the destroying angels, and in the plural language of Divinity to say to them, "Hurt not till *we* have sealed?"⁵—By Him, then, as the Author of their

³ John viii. 12, Luke i. 78. In the latter passage the Greek word for the *day-spring* is *ανατολη*. And so too the Septuagint in Zech. iii. 8; "I will bring forth my servant, *την Ανατολην*," not, as our Version, "*the Branch*." In correspondence with this, Tertullian remarks, (as given by Bishop Kaye, p. 404;) "*Amat figura Spiritûs Sancti (i. e. columba) orientem, Christi figuram.*"

Compare too 2 Cor. iv. 6; where the illumination of the soul is ascribed to God: "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of his glory in the face of Jesus Christ." But what God does, Christ, as God, of course partakes in.

³ So John i. 33, Matt. iii. 11, &c.; "He it is which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost:" also Eph. i. 13, quoted in Note ² p. 247.

⁴ John v. 26. Compare verse 24: also John i. 4: "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men;" &c. and John xvii. 2; "Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him: and this is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Indeed the whole history of Christ's people, as intimated in John xvii, may be most fitly and profitably compared with the history of the 144,000 as traced in the Apocalypse.

⁴ The 144,000, in their full number, are noticed in chap. xiv. 4, 5, as the first-fruits to God and the Lamb; also, allusively, as the Lamb's bride, "being virgins." Again, "the called, chosen, and faithful," evidently the same body, appear, as already observed, partakers in Christ's final triumph. Thus the issue with all is salvation. They prove to have been all members of "that church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven," spoken of Heb. xii. 23.

Compare Ps. lxxxvii. 6, Rev. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xxi. 12: and also more especially the following passages; Rev. xxi. 27, where the saved are said to be "written in the *Lamb's book of life*;" Rev. iii. 5; "I will not blot out thy name from the book of life:" and Esek. xlii. 9, "They shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the register of the house of Israel." Which last passage should be collated with the preceding vision (so parallel with this in the Apocalypse) of Esek. ix: in which the sealing angel-priest is represented with an ink-horn, as the registrar of God's servants in apostate Jerusalem.

⁵ On this *staying of the destroying angels* compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, and Esek. ix. 5, 6; where the act is spoken of as Jehovah's.—On the *plural*, *αυτοι σφραγισμεν*, "Wait till *we* have sealed," compare Gen. i. 26, "Let *us* make man in our image:" also Gen. iii. 22, xi. 7: and Isa. vi. 8; "I heard the voice of Jehovah saying, Whom shall I send? Or who will go for *us*?" Commentators are generally agreed in explaining the use of the plural, in these collated passages, as the indication of one of the persons of the Holy Trinity; and Vitringa *here* makes the same inference from it.—Let me add that Kimchi, on Zech. xi. 5, refers to Job xxxv. 10, "Where is God my *makers*," and Psalm cxlix. 2, "Let Israel rejoice in his *makers*;" as passages where the plural is similarly used.

salvation,¹ God's servants, the 144,000, are represented as individually noted, indeed chosen out,² from amidst the mass of the professing Israel, while coincidentally illumined and quickened under his influences : then as sealed by Him with the Spirit, and numbered, without a single one's omission, in the register of the true Israel, the Book of Life.—Thus initiated and sealed, the mark-bearing on their *foreheads* implies the consistent open testimony of a holy profession and life, witnessing to their being indeed, what they are called, the Lord's servants. So that this description of the origin, concomitants, and moral consequences of the sealing with God's seal answers well to the two characteristics elsewhere attached to it :—first, *recognition* of his own *by God* ; “ The Lord knoweth them that are His :” secondly, *holiness in the appropriated* ; “ Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.”³—In the present world, amidst the threatened and quickly-coming judgments, this sealing is represented as a *preservative* to the sealed ones :—a preservative of the aggregate body, in its completeness, from destruction ;⁴ a preservative of the individuals constituting it from real evil. Their participation in Christ's final triumph as “ the called, and chosen, and faithful,” (not to mention other intermediate Apocalyptic notices of their history,) is described elsewhere.⁵ And in the here appended and connected vision of the palm-bearers, (the sealed ones being included, as I shall afterwards shew,⁶ in the palm-bearing multitude,)—a glimpse is given of the results beyond this world. They are depicted as appearing in the divine presence in the white garments of justification, having washed and made them white in the blood of the Lamb,⁷ (a whiteness recognized by God and angels ;)—as victorious, though

¹ Elsewhere successively we shall find this same Angel of the Covenant depicted, in similar contrast to opposed antichristian errors, as the *Angel-Mediator* and the *Angel-Justifier*. So viii. 3, x. 1.

² They are called in Apoc. xvii. 14, “ the called, chosen out, and faithful ;” a passage already referred to.

³ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

⁴ Mede ad loc.

⁵ Apoc. xvii. 14.

⁶ p. 269.

⁷ It is said in the *past* tense, “ they *washed* their garments and *made* them white,” &c. So that the white was their colour while in this world.

brought out of great tribulation,—and beginning that song of thanksgiving to their Saviour God, which will never end.

Such is the figurative sketch of God's servants, the *true* Israel, here given : (a figuration that will remind us of Ezekiel's not unparallel figurative vision of God's servants, and their sealing, when the destroying tempests were about to burst on Jerusalem,¹ though the latter varies indeed in detail, and is less full and particular;)—and respecting which it now remains to see whether (just as Ezekiel's seems to have depicted God's preservative sealing of *his faithful few* in Israel, in contradistinction to the *universal* assurances of preservation given to the nation, though then apostate, by their priests and prophets,² so) there may not be here too an intended and much more particular though *allusive* contrast, to the character and prospects of the mass of the professing Israel of the Constantinian æra. To judge of this, let us now look at the portraiture of the outward church, the professing Israel, as given in cotemporary history.

And here, in a manner somewhat remarkable, it is specially to the *initiation* of its members that our attention is directed, I may almost say forced, by its prominence in the historic records of the æra. This was of course by the rite of *baptism*. And in so far as this outward rite was concerned, we find that all was done in order. They were regularly admitted by the bishops and presbyters into the congregation of the visible church. The crowds of adults³ thus admitted by baptism, after Constantine's accession to the supremacy, have been already noted. It was quite a feature of the times. And thus far it was well. But, what of the neophytes' personal *looking in faith to Jesus*, as the soul's life and light, whereby alone to secure the spiritual blessings shadowed out in the sacramental rite? Of this and of the doctrine inculcating it, we read little. On the other hand,

¹ Ezek. ix. 1—7.

² Ezek. ix. 9, xiii. 7—10, &c. Compare Jer. vii. 4, xxiii. 17, xxix. 8, &c.

³ I beg the reader to mark this. We have here little comparatively to do with the difficulties of *infant* baptism.

it is scarce possible for a student of the church history of the times not to be struck, as he reads, with the exaggerated and unscriptural notions then widely prevalent of the virtue attached to the *outward baptismal rite*, as if *in itself* sufficient to secure them: that is, when duly performed by the ministering presbyter; or, as in Levitical phrase, and with Levitical functions attaching, he was now generally called, the ministering *ιερευς*, *sacerdos*, or *priest*?—Throughout the whole of the preceding century, and even earlier, a preparation had been making for these views by the accumulation of *titles* of honour on it. Besides its earlier title of *λατρον παλιγγενεσις*, it was now entitled, as Bingham tells us, (xi. 1,) the *σφραγίς*, *χαρακτήρ Κυρίου*, *φωτισμός*, *φυλακτήριον*, *αφθαρσίας ένδυμα*, *σωτηριον*; the seal, the Lord's mark, the illumination, the phylactery or preservative, the investiture of incorruption, the salvation. In the language of an eminent bishop of the day; "It was the ransom to captives, the remission of offences, the death of sin, the regeneration of the soul, the garment of light, the holy seal indissoluble, the chariot to heaven, the luxury of Paradise, the procuring of the kingdom, the gift of adoption."² The partial counteractives that had previously operated to prevent the abuse of similar unguarded expressions by earlier Fathers of the Church,³—the counteractives, I mean, not of mere doctrinal cautions, (such as were still indeed at times addressed to candidates, neophytes, and the Church generally, though by no means, either in frequency or in evangelical clearness of doctrine, according to the exigency of the case,) but that of a stricter probationary

¹ It is much to be regretted that the same word *priest* should have come in our language to be used for both the Greek word *πρεσβυτερος*, presbyter, and the very different word *ιερευς*: the latter properly a sacrificing priest, as in the Jewish or in the heathen ritual.

² Cyril. Cat. Lect. Introd. 16. And so again, very similarly, Cyril's cotemporary in the fourth century, Gregory Nazianzen, who in his fortieth oration writes thus of baptism: *Δωρον καλεμεν, χαρισμα, χρισμα, φωτισμα, αφθαρσις ενδυμα, λατρον παλιγγενεσις, σφραγιδα, παν ετι τιμιον*.

³ E. g. by Clement of Alexander, about A.D. 200. "Baptism is called grace, illumination, perfection, washing:—*washing*, because by it we wash away our sins; *grace*, because through it there is remitted the punishment due to our sins; *illumination*, because by it that holy saving light is beheld through which we behold God; *perfection*, because in it there is nothing wanting.

discipline, and yet more of *persecution from without*,¹—these were now either wholly or comparatively inoperative. A *magical* virtue, as it has been expressed, was too generally thought to attach to the rite; and that not only were all sins *ipso facto* washed away by it,² but all evils, as by an amulet, averted.³—The *ceremonies* now superadded to the simple form prescribed and practised at its original institution, added to this impression. The custom is recorded how the candidate turned to the *west*, while priestly words of exorcism were uttered, by which it was supposed that he was now at length delivered from the dominion of the Prince of darkness;⁴ then to the *east*,⁵ as to receive, together with the bap-

¹ Mr. Faber, in his valuable Work on the Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, p. 123, thus notes both these counteractives. "In early times, during the period of vehement persecution, few would become candidates for baptism, who were not deeply impressed with the necessity of seeking a refuge from the wrath to come: and the Church was careful to admit none to the holy rite, save those who had passed through the probationary state of catechumens; and might be justly hoped to have given the required answer of a good conscience to the legitimate interrogation propounded solemnly at the font."

² So Cyril above. Again Athanasius speaks of it as καθαρτικὸν πάσης ὁμῆς θύνοτε ἀμαρτίας a passage quoted by Faber, p. 168: and Ephrem Syrus, on Dan. xii. 9, 10, explains "the many to be made white," as "baptismi lavacro dealbandos."

In this way of speaking of the pardon of sin in baptism, Clemens Alex. had, we have seen, preceded. And so (not to mention others) the Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, called it *indulgentia divina*; a term famous afterwards.—Says Bingham, "The true ancient proper notion of an *indulgence* is God's pardoning sin by the ministerial application of his sacraments." It was in fact a phrase borrowed from imperial usages. In them it signified, 1st, remission of punishment due: 2nd, remission of tribute due. See *Capitolinus*, in Antonino Pio; *Ammianus Marcel.* xvi. 5; and the *Code Theodos.* Tit. *De Indulgentiis*.

³ On its virtue as a *phylactery*, Cyril says; "The blessed John discourses much concerning this chrism:" (that used in baptism:) "for this holy thing is a spiritual preservative of the body, and safeguard of the soul." Cat. Lect. xxi. 7. And similarly Basil says of it: Μη ἀπολεσῇς τὸ φυλακτήριον.

Clement, in his history of the youth that was reclaimed from his apostacy by St. John, furnishes a notable example of the manner in which, in Clement's view, this notion of the preservative power of baptism might be abused. He says that the Bishop, after that he had entertained, cherished, and at length enlightened, that is, baptized him, (τὸν νεανίσκος σέφε, συνέχευ, το τελευταῖον ἐφωτίσεν,) neglected the young man after this his baptism, trusting to its prophylactic virtue: ἐβόηκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὥς το τελευταῖον αὐτῷ φυλακτῆρος ἐπιστάσας, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Κυρίου.

⁴ Neander (p. 356) says that the first unequivocal trace of exorcism in baptism is found in the Council of Carthage A.D. 256, mentioned above. So too Mosheim.

⁵ This turning to the *East* was a custom early applied to prayer. So Tertulian notes the practice in his Apology, ch. xvi. And Clemens Alexandrinus thus explains it: Ἐπει δὲ γενεθλίο ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολή, πάλαιθεν το φῶς αὐγεῖται, ἐκ σκοτὸς λαμβάνει τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κυλιθόμενοις ἀνετίλει γνώσεως

tismal immersion, the illumination of the Spirit. And then he was enrolled in the church register, as being of the number of the christian Israel. A crown was borne by him, in token of his victory over sin and the world ; a white dress put upon him, as on one washed from sin, and robed for immortality : and moreover, as Gregory Nazianzen tells us, he was led up before the altar in token of the beatific vision of the life to come, and received with psalmody, as in foretaste of the hymnings of the blessed.¹—Thus were all the constituent members of the twelve tribes of the antitypical Israel initiated into the Christian Church ; thus unguardedly its consequent blessings intimated to them. After which initiation, besides the title of *εκλεκτοι*, or *chosen*, (a title already attached to them from the time when they were accepted by the bishop as fit candidates for baptism,²) they were further designated as *δγιοι* and *πιστοι*, the *saints* and *faithful*. For, as Bingham says, with reference to the practices of the church as early as the century under consideration, “ The names of *δγιοι*, *πιστοι*, *εκλεκτοι*, *saints*, *believers*, *elect*, names which occur frequently in ecclesiastical writers, signify not any select number of Christians, (as now the words *saint* and *elect* are often used, to signify only the *predestinate*,) but all Christians in general, who were entered into the communion of the church by the waters of baptism.”³

And now is it needful that I draw the reader's attention to the parallel, or rather contrast in the way of parallel, which, point by point, meets the eye between this historical picture of the *general professing church catholic* of the æra of Constantine,—specially in respect

αληθείας ἡμέρα, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἐσθλὴν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαὶ” Stromat. vii. p. 856. Mosheim ii. 2, 4, 7, notes its superstitious tendency.

¹ Bingham, ch. xiii. Vol. iv. p. 226.—Mosheim notices the *crown* worn by the neophytes, and its understood typical intimation of their victory over the world and sin. “ Initiati, coronæ candidæque veste ornati, domum revertebantur. Illa victoriæ de mundo vitiisque partæ, hæc innocentie acquisitæ signum erat.”

² Bingham iii. 16.

³ I. 2.—It was in the third century that Christians were divided into faithful and catechumens, the initiated and uninitiated. See Waddington, Eccl. Hist.

of their *initiation*,—and that of the 144,000, the *election of grace* chosen out of them, as in the Apocalyptic vision sketched to us? In the ecclesiastical phraseology of the times,—a phraseology continued, it is to be observed, from Constantine's time downwards,—the *former* were the *elect*, *holy*, and *faithful*. In the divinely-inspired language of the Apocalypse these same titles *elect*, *holy*, *faithful* are attached to the *latter*, and to *them* distinctively and alone.¹—The *former*, we read, claimed to have been marked with what they call the *Lord's seal* and *mark* upon the forehead: it was the seal of water-baptism, impressed on them by the officiating presbyter, and perfected with the chrism of the confirming Bishop;² this last being deemed an essential point.³ The *latter* are here represented as marked with God's true seal on the forehead; even the seal of the Holy Spirit's baptism, and as applied by Christ himself.—The *former*, looking to the *east* at the time of baptism, were supposed to receive from it,—and perhaps by angelic ministration at the font,⁴—both *life* from the death of sin, and

¹ The appellation of ἅγιοι, *holy*, or *saints*, is often thus distinctively applied to Christ's "peculiar people." A notable instance, the first after this chapter, occurs chap. viii. 3, and will be there noticed. In Rev. xix. 8, the *saints* are identified with the *white-robed*; "The white robes are the righteousness of the *saints*." Other examples occur xiii. 10, xiv. 12, xi. 18, xx. 6, &c.—As regards the other appellation, *elect* and *faithful*, we find it (as already observed) distinctively applied in Rev. xvii. 14, to the partakers in Christ's final triumph. They are called the κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί, the *called*, and *chosen*, and *faithful*.

² The Presbyter only baptized by permission from the Bishop. The Bishop's *confirmation*, of which *anointing* was the sign, was then administered soon after baptism. See Bingham. (Hence the word *christening*, i. e. *anointing*.)

³ See Cyprian's 73rd Epistle on this point. He strenuously insists on the invalidity, and even uselessness to spiritual good, of baptism administered either by heretics or unauthorized persons; and on the necessity of the Bishop's adding his confirmation to it. "Intelligimus non nisi in ecclesiâ Præpositis, et in evangelicâ lege ac dominicâ ordinatione fundatis, licere baptizare, et remissam peccatorum dare. . . . Qui baptizantur Præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac mandâ impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequentur, et signaculo Domini consummantur." Cyprian urged the necessity in such cases of rebaptism. "Quicunque ab adulterâ et profanâ aquâ veniunt, abluendi sunt et sanctificandi salutaris aquæ veritate." Rome allowed the baptism; but equally with Cyprian required episcopal confirmation. So the Roman Bishop Stephen; and Cornelius, as quoted by the Oxford Editor of Cyprian (p. 202) from Eusebius; Ὅθεν τῶν λοιπῶν εὐτυχὲς ὡς χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν, τὰ τε ἀφραγίσθηναι ὑπο τῷ ἐπισκοπῇ τούτου δὲ μὴ τυχόν πως αὐ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εὐτυχίᾳ.

⁴ "Angelus baptismi arbiter," &c. Tertullian de Baptismo. c. 6; referring to the angel at the pool of Bethesda. See the whole passage in Bishop Kaye's Ter-

spiritual *illumination*. The *latter* are here symbolized as receiving those heavenly gifts in reality: and this through the ministry and the spiritual revelation of Himself to them of the Lord Jesus,¹—that only true Angel from the east, the day-spring from on high, the life and light of each dead soul.—The *former*, we read further, after receiving the mark of the baptismal seal, were *enrolled* by the priests in the diptychs or registers of the earthly church catholic, the professing Israel.² The *latter* are here described as numbered and enrolled by Christ in his own register of the Israel of God; an enrolment of names the same as that which is elsewhere called their being written in heaven.—The *former*, in the outward act of baptism, had, as they supposed, a *phylactery*, or amulet of defence from evil. The *latter* are here represented, in vision, as alone and already possessed of the one real phylactery from evil; even in his recognition and care, who stays the angel of destruction in their defence, and, as in Lot's case, shews that He can take no step in the way of judgment until He has first provided for their security.—The *former* are described to have made display before their fellow-men of their *white garments*, as those who by the act of baptism, even as if it had been the blood of Christ,³ had been both justified from guilt, and made innocent and holy. The *latter* are represented, in the second and appended vision, as having the white garments of their justification recognized before God and his holy angels in heaven: but as made white through another and a different washing, the washing from the fountain opened on Calvary, the blood of the Lamb.—Finally, the *former* are described to us as in their white robes, and with crowns of victory,

tullian, p. 433.—The baptismal water is called by Cyprian, "the water of eternal life," as meant Joh. iv. 14, vii. 38. Ep. 63. ¹ Compare 2 Cor. iv. 6.

² Tertullian De Anima, c. 40, quoted by Bishop Kaye, p. 449, speaks of the baptized as those that were no more numbered in Adam, but numbered in Christ.

³ "The neophyte emerged from the waters of baptism in a state of perfect innocence. The dove, (the Holy Spirit) was constantly hovering over the font, and sanctifying the waters to the mysterious ablution of the sins of the past life. . . . The water itself became, in the vivid language of the church, the blood of Christ." Milman, Hist of Christianity, iii. 427.

introduced into the inner sanctuary of the Christian temple: and there, as the *σωζόμενοι*, or *saved ones*,¹ received with psalmody, in anticipation of the heavenly ending of their pilgrimage. Nor ought I to omit in the parallel, how, as the year rolled round, they were wont in *palm-bearing processions* to resort to the churches, on the festival substituted in the Christian Church for the feast of *Tabernacles*; and,—not without similar anticipations of personal salvation and triumph,—to place their palms that symbolized it on the altar, and hymn their hosannas:² or, again, how the custom had grown up, at the time we speak of, to go forth with palms and with hosannas, to give greeting to the bishops and presbyters of the church, the earthly operators of their supposed salvation.³ The *sealed ones*, on the other hand,

¹ Cyril. Cat. L. Intr. 15.—Compare Gregory Nazianzen's *τηνικαυτα σωθησομαι*, "then I will be *saved*;" in the sense of, "then I will be *baptized*."

² The *vierres*, or church members, including the baptized of the preceding Easter, bore palm-branches in procession on the next return of the Easter festival. For its fourteen days of festival,—then the chief season in the church for baptism,—included the week before Easter Sunday, as well as the week after; and thus began with *Palm Sunday*, which was called also *Dominica Competentium*, from candidates for baptism then offering themselves. On which Sunday, as we learn from Epiphanius, there was already begun in the fourth century, and celebrated with much pomp, the same *palm-bearing festival*, which continued afterwards through the middle ages. (See the Homily of this Father *εἰς τὴν Βαυλ.*) It was the substitute in fact in the Christian Church for the Jewish *Feast of Tabernacles*, and its palm-branch bearing; (see Lev. xxiii. 40:) the time of the celebration being however changed from the *autumnal* equinox to the *vernal*, i. e. from the *end* of the Jewish year, to the *beginning*, in consequence of what passed at our Lord's entrance in the paschal week into Jerusalem: somewhat like the change of the *seventh* day sabbath to the *first*.

Epiphanius, in his Homily on the day referred to, speaks as if the whole professing Christian body (designated as the *daughter of Zion*, in *Judaic* figure similar to that of the Apocalyptic vision,) might expect to partake of the benefit of Christ's triumph: the Church *οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀλμας δουλικῆς φερόμενῃ, ἀλλ' αἱματὶ θεϊκῷ σφραγιζομένη* and in its service imitating the songs and stations of angels.

In the Jewish festival there was a similar union of the *commemorative* and *anticipative*. They *commemorated* their ancient dwelling in booths in the wilderness, and subsequent triumphant entrance into Canaan. They *anticipated* Messiah's giving them further and greater triumphs: whence, in accompaniment of their palm-bearing, their shouts in the language of *supplication*, "*Hosanna! Save Lord!*"

³ Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius, (Book ii. c. 23,) mentions that it was the manner of the Christians of those earlier times thus to meet the bishops and presbyters with hosannas and palm-branches. He quotes from the monk Antonine's Jerusalem Itinerary, whose journey appears to have been made just before the death of Constantine, a decisive passage to this effect. "*Ibi venerunt mulieres in occursum nobis, cum infantibus, palmas in manibus tenentes; et prostratæ pedibus nostris plantas nostras unguebant, cantabantque lingua*

are here symbolized, as the real *σωζόμενοι*, or *saved ones*; and, like the palm-bearing Israelites at the feast of Tabernacles, celebrating, although not till after a long interval of tribulation, the actual triumphant accomplishment of their earthly pilgrimage; then as received into the heavenly presence amidst the hymnings of angels, and rendering their hosannas of salvation alone to their Saviour God and to the Lamb.

After the consideration of which parallel between these two classes, and supposing what, after all that has passed, the reader will, I trust, be fully prepared to allow me, viz.—*first*, that the sealing vision appertains chronologically to the times following on the politico-religious revolution under Constantine, *secondly*, that the 12 tribes of Israel, and the 144,000, mentioned in it, designate respectively the visible professing Christian Church in the Roman Empire, and Christ's true Church, the election of grace, gathered out of it,—I say, granting this, is it conceivable that the sketch here given us of the *latter*, in regard specially of their initiatory constitution as Christ's peculiar people, by his own lifegiving, enlightening, and sanctifying influence, can have been drawn without distinct reference to that which history tells us characterized the *former*? Or, again, if thus drawn in designed contrast, can it have been so drawn for the mere sake of point and effect by the heavenly limner; or without the implication of his solemn condemnatory judgment on both the doctrinal system, and the church characterized thereby, to which his sketch of the 144,000 stands so markedly opposed:—the church that of the mere *outwardly* professing, and *outwardly* or *ecclesiastically* initiated; the doctrine that of the *ex opere operato* efficacy of the initiatory sacra-

egyptiacâ, psallentes antiphonam, Benedicti vos à Domino, benedictusque adventus voster! Hosanna in excelsis!"—Well might Jerome, (on Matt. xxi.) soon after express alarm at this appropriation to the earthly ministers of the church of what belonged to its heavenly head only. "*Videant ergo episcopi, et quantulibet sancti homines, cum quanto periculo dici ista sibi patiantur, si Domino, cui verè hoc dicebatur, pro crimine impingitur.* It was indeed a sign of the times!

ment? To my own mind both the one supposition and the other seem inconceivable. The Apocalyptic picture cannot, I think, but have been drawn antithetically to the *ritualistic system and doctrine* of the times referred to. For, just as in all the other figurations of this wonderful book, we see the *spirit of the age* indicated in it;

The very age and body of the times,
Their form and pressure.

And in the allusion there is *necessarily* implied the significant though silent sentence of God's Spirit, in condemnation of the system and doctrine.—Nor indeed without reason. For it involved no trifling error. Its spirit and its effect was essentially *antichristian*; as tending to a practical supercession of Christ, (although by that which should have directed to Him,) in his blessed and glorious character of the *life and light* of the soul.

So has been proved each point proposed in my *second* Head.—Nor let me pass on without noticing the deep self-rooting power of the error, and, in the event, its *inveterate permanency* in the church visible. Instead of an ephemeral existence, like that of many other errors, in one and the same age rising up, flourishing, and passing away, the well-known protests of the Anglican and other reformed Churches against Roman doctrines, prove this doctrinal error of the *ex opere operato* efficacy of the initiatory rite of baptism¹ to have as deeply rooted itself in the christian church, and as perniciously, as that respecting the initiatory rite of *circumcision*, so earnestly and so forebodingly denounced by St. Paul, in the Jewish.² They exhibit it in the sixteenth

¹ Let it be well observed that the doctrine of the Anglican church as to the grace following the baptismal rite is pointedly opposed to that of Rome. The former says in its *Articles*, that no Sacrament is of use, but "to them that receive it *worthily*;" and in its *Catechism*, that *repentance and faith* are essential to its right reciprocity. (See p. 261. Note ¹)—On the other hand, the doctrine and spirit on this point of the Church of Rome is well illustrated in what passed at the first discussion of Cardinal Cajetan with Luther: in which one of the things which the Cardinal required above all things to be abandoned by Luther, and to which Luther above all other things was resolved to adhere, was this statement,—that, in order to benefit from the Sacrament, there must be *the exercise of faith* in the recipient. See Merle D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, i. 437, 439. Engl. Trans.—But in this I am anticipating.

² See his epistle to the Galatians,—“the foolish Galatians,”—*passim*; and on

century, after full 1200 years and more of prevalence, as still manifesting in professing Christendom all its original vigour and strength for evil. It proved, in fact, to be one of the essential constituents of *the great predicted anti-christian APOSTACY*, that was to last for ages: and of which the one grand object and characteristic, ever following out by the MASTER SPIRIT of evil, its originator, and with admirable unity of purpose, was to be this,—while retaining the christian name, and professedly exalting Christ and his institutions, *practically to set Christ aside out of the Christian system, from first to last, in one and all of his offices.*¹

I have spoken of this baptismal error as one peculiarly characteristic of *the times of Constantine and his immediate successors*: not indeed overlooking the *third* century, as that in which it began to appear; but resting on the *fourth* as that in which it was most fully and largely developed, after that the subversion of the Pagan power in the Roman empire had made the way open and easy to the profession of Christianity. In illustration of this historic fact I have noticed, from eminent and approved fathers of the *third* and *fourth*

that to the Romans, chaps. iii. iv, &c. Thus, as against the doctrine of *sacramental justification*, or forgiveness of sins, Rom. iv. 8; "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin. Cometh this blessedness on the circumcision only, or on the uncircumcision also? For we say that *faith* was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? When he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised:" &c.—And against resting in *the mere outward form*, ii. 28; "That is not circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter:" &c.—In these and similar passages, who that considers the subsequent history of the Church can suppose that the Eternal Spirit, speaking by St. Paul, had only as his object to guard the church against *Judaizing* errors then prevalent? and not rather to guard it against similar errors which He foresaw would prevail, and with yet longer and more pernicious influence, in reference to the christian corresponding sacrament?

¹ Various occasions will occur afterwards for illustrating further from history the development, in this point of view, of the apostacy, and of Antichrist, its destined head.—For the present let me only add *Dr. Arnold's* opinion, express on the modern revival of that particular perverted doctrine of the fourth century, which has been the subject of this Section: "I call all this Judaizing a direct idolatry. It is *exalting the Church and the Sacraments into the place of Christ*; as others have exalted Christ's Mother, and others in the same spirit exalted circumcision." Life, Vol. ii. p. 74.

centuries, the various exaggerated titles of honour, and superstitious ceremonies, which had been then super-added to the simple title and ritual ordained by the Lord Jesus. And perhaps these might of themselves suffice as evidence of the *chronological propriety* of the apocalyptic picture. In order, however, that no suspicion may remain with the reader of my having strained the unguarded expressions of a few church writers of the day, construed too harshly a harmless ceremonial, or given an exaggerated view either of the prevalency or perniciousness of the error at the time spoken of,—it may be well that I set before him the opinions, on the point in question, of a few modern ecclesiastical historians, who are generally known and approved. To begin then with *Milner*, this is the judgment pronounced by him on the prevalent religion of the day, after the establishment of christianity by Constantine. “There was much *outward* religion, but this could not make men saints in heart and life. The true doctrine of *justification by faith* was scarce to be seen; and that of *real conversion* very much lost, or *external baptism* placed in its stead.”—*Dean Waddington*, speaking of the *preceding*, the *third* century, thus observes: “The original simplicity of the office of baptism had already undergone some corruption. The *symbol* had been gradually exalted at the expense of the *thing signified*: the spirit of the ceremony was beginning to be lost in the *form*.”¹—*Mosheim*, while noting the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the christian church during that same century, specifically in the matter of baptism, attributes this, as well as other nascent superstitious notions and practices, very much to the corrupting influence of the platonic and oriental or gnostic philosophy, which, about the middle of the century, had partially infused itself into the church.²—*A living writer*, not unacquainted with the subject he handles, designates the religion of the Constantinian æra as “*a religion of sacraments*.”³

¹ p. 33.² iii. 2. 4. 1, 4, &c.³ Antient Christianity. p. 247. See also p. 191, 235, &c.

and quotes in confirmation a striking passage from the celebrated Boethius's Compendium of christian Faith (a work in date somewhat later) in which, as the grand means of man's recovery from the evil, guilt, and condemnation consequent on Adam's fall, he declares that Christ has granted to us *remedial sacraments*;—"just as if the sacraments," says Mr. Taylor, "when duly accepted from the priest's hand, were potent drugs, or chemical antidotes, infallibly dispersing the poison inherited from Adam!"—*Neander*,—in terms often so similar to those of Bishop Burnet in his exposition of the Articles of the Church of England, that but for the greater warmth and feeling of the former, one might almost doubt whether it was the German historian illustrating the corrupt doctrine of the church catholic of the third and fourth centuries, or the English prelate that of the Romish church in the sixteenth,¹—again and again laments the prevalency of what he designates the *opus operatum* doctrines, then germinated and in vogue,—more especially in respect of *baptism*,—and the idea of a *magical effect* and *charm* attaching to the rite. "Oh!" he exclaims, "that men had not so soon confused the *divine thing* and the *sign* which represented it; and had not wished to bind the work of the Spirit on the outward sign!"²—Finally, both he and *Bishop Kaye*,—the latter in his learned sketch of the church in the age of Tertullian,³ and thus with reference to as early a period

¹ *Neander*, p. 315, &c. So Bishop Burnet on Art. xi. p. 153; "The doctrine of *sacramental justification* is justly to be reckoned among the most mischievous errors in the Church of Rome. . . . It is as if the sacrament were of the nature of *charms*," &c. Again on Art. xxv; "We look on all sacramental actions as acceptable to God only with regard to the temper and inward acts of the persons to whom they are applied, and cannot consider them as *medicines* or *charms*, which work by a virtue of their own." And he quotes 1 Pet. iii. 21; "Baptism saves us; *not* the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God." Again: "The doctrine of Rome represents them as so many *charms*; which may heighten the authority of him who administers them, but serves to extinguish or deaden all true piety." ² *Neander*, p. 361.

³ p. 247, 8. "The teachers begun," (i. e. in the age of Tertullian,) "by insisting on the necessity of repentance and amendment of life. Unfortunately, the effect of their exhortations upon the minds of their hearers was frequently counteracted by a fatal perversion of the doctrine of the church respecting the efficacy of baptism. In every age, the object of a large portion of those who call themselves christians has been to secure the benefits without fulfilling the condi-

as the beginning of the third century,—notice a practice then introduced, and in the fourth century prevalent, (I mean the *delaying of baptism to the death-bed*,) that furnishes the most striking possible illustration of the real nature and evil working of these notions respecting baptism; and show that the *φάρμακεια*, the *magic charms* of the APOSTACY, had already begun. They did this, says Neander, in order that they might the longer give themselves to sin; and yet, “in the hour of death, being purified by the magical annihilation of their sins, might be received into eternal life.”¹ It was in fact, in estimation and in practice, the *extreme unction*² of the day.

After the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, this practice became, as I said, prevalent. The

tions of the christian covenant. When therefore the proselyte was told that baptism conferred upon him who received it the *remission of all his former sins*, he persuaded himself that he might in safety defer the work of repentance,” &c.

The learned prelate speaks of this as a “*perversion of the doctrine of the Church*.” And, doubtless, many cautions are to be found in Cyprian, Origen, Cyril, &c. Yet while so much was made of the ceremonial, and while language was common on the subject such as in the passage that Bishop Kaye quotes from Tertullian, (De Pœnitent. ch. 6,) “*Neque ego renuo divinum beneficium, id est abolitionem delictorum, inituris aquam omnimodo saluum esse*,”—was not the perversion a natural one? The suggested difficulty of a man’s obtaining baptism in case of his being impenitent,—“*Quis enim tibi, tam infidæ pœnitentiæ viro, asperginem unam * cujuslibet aquæ commodabit*,” was not likely to be of much counteractive force. It is also observable that the qualifications now insisted on were mostly *repentance* and *amendment*, not *evangelic faith*;—faith in Him with whom personal communion is essential both to the beginning and the continuance of spiritual life.

¹ The following note of Gibbon is too illustrative of the subject to be omitted. “The fathers who censured this criminal delay could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy even of a death-bed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Chrysostom (Ep. ad Hebr. Hom. xiii.) could find only three arguments against these prudent christians. 1. That we should love and pursue virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism. 3. That although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars, when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labour, with success, and with glory.”—He adds; “I believe this delay of baptism, though attended with the most pernicious consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any private act, or declaration of the church.” iii. 274.

² When the whole empire had become Christian in profession, and baptism consequently came to be administered almost universally to infants,—this ceremony of *baptismal extreme unction* was cut away from the superstitious ritualist. At first the ministration of the Lord’s Supper might take its place. (See Du-cange on Viaticum.) It was not till the xith or xiith century that the Romish ceremony of extreme unction, as a seventh sacrament, came into vogue.

* Let the reader observe, in passing, this proof of baptism having been sometimes administered by *sprinkling*, as early as the second century.

emperor Constantine himself offers us the most illustrious example of it. Notwithstanding his conversion to Christianity full 20 years before, and more, he deferred his baptism to his death-bed. I subjoin the affecting account given us of it in Eusebius;¹ and commend it to the reader's perusal. The charitable hope is most allowable,—and it is one which we will fondly cherish,—that his error was forgiven him; and that the spiritual grace of the sacramental rite, and all the blessings of the gospel covenant, were in this case really imparted to the dying neophyte, even as to one in sincerity of heart repentant and believing. And thus we may look with a melancholy satisfaction to the narrative as an exemplification alike of his conversion to the truth, and of the wonderful triumph of christianity over heathenism, effected so greatly through his instrumentality, in the Roman empire. But we must also painfully look to it as illustrating the manifestation and acting, even then, of this earliest unfolded feature of the mystery of iniquity.² It may serve

¹ The account is thus given by Eusebius. On finding his health declining, Constantine gathered the Bishops around him, he relates, and declared his wish to have the rite administered. "'This,' said he to them, 'is the time so long looked for by me, thirsting and praying that I might partake of the *salvation* of God. This is the time of my enjoying the *seal* that confers *immortality*. I had wished to have partaken of this washing in the streams of Jordan, where the Saviour was baptized as an example to us. But God, who knows what is best, has ordained that it should be here. Now then let there be no hesitation. If the Lord of life and death will that my life be prolonged, and it is once settled that I be *numbered* with his people, I promise I will lay down to myself a rule of life becoming.'—Then they, after the usual ritual, imparted to him the holy mysteries. And thus Constantine, alone of Roman Emperors, in the Church of the Martyrdom of Jesus, was regenerated and made perfect: and, having the *divine seal* impressed on him, he rejoiced in spirit, and was filled with heavenly *light*.—Then, after the other ceremonies, he put on a dress of *white*, bright as the light; for he would no more touch the purple: and, raising his voice, he thanked God, and spoke of his happiness, as having been thought worthy of immortal *life*. Then, having admitted some of the generals and captains of his troops into his presence, as they wept around him, and wished him years of prolonged life, he answered them that he had now been made partaker of that which was indeed the *true life*: that none but himself could be aware of the blessings he had received; and that he was fain to depart and not delay his passage to God! All this took place in the Pentecostal festival: „ (i. e. the fifty days between Easter and Whitsunday, the chief season of baptism at that time:)—“and on the Pentecostal Sunday itself, the seventh Lord's day from Easter, at the noon-tide hour of the day, by the sun, Constantine was received up to his God.” V.C. iv. 61—64.

² Let me observe that the Emperor Valentinian, in the *latter* half of the fourth century, furnished another example of the operation of the same erroneous view of the baptismal rite: but in his case death overtook him before Ambrose, whom he had sent for to perform it, arrived. Ambros. De Obit. Valentinian.

as a memorial to us of the *first æra*, and, as Gibbon would say, of the first *symptom* and *cause*, (here allusively preintimated to St. John) of the *antichristian* APOSTACY.¹

Oh ! how was it, we may well say with Neander, that men so soon confused the divine thing with the sign which presented it ! And how was it that they did not even then perceive the real nature and portentous evil of the doctrine ! Surely, had they profited by the light of scripture and its holy prophecies, as by a light shining in a dark place, they would have recognised, through the obscure mistiness of the moral atmosphere, the awful features of the instealing phantom, and the enemy of man animating and guiding it.

Apparent diræ facies, inimicæque Trojæ
Numina.

But the word of God (though not as yet forbidden) was still not studied or explained with the same simplicity and singleness of mind as once. Silently and slowly an advance had been already made to that which was essential to the successful establishment of the Apostacy, the *supersession of the written word*. In the undue reference to supposed *apostolical unwritten tradition*² an almost

Let me further observe that Ambrose, in noting Constantine's baptism, tells how "Baptismatis gratiâ, in ultimis constitutus, omnia peccata dimiserit," without any remark on the error of thus delaying it. De Obiit. Theodius. vii. 37.

¹ In the two former editions a medal was given with the Legend *Constantinus Bap.* round the Emperor's bust, as illustrative of the event and occasion. But Mr. Lewis has convinced me that Baronius' and Ducange's reading of the Legend BAP is incorrect, and that it is in reality BRP. I have therefore now withdrawn the engraving.

² Even in some of the earlier fathers, unguarded statements will be found on this point. Thus *Irenæus*,—although in i. 1. 15 noting the preference of *unwritten traditions* to Holy Scripture as a characteristic of *heretics*, and in iii. 2. saying of them, "Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non rectè habeant, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas qui nesciant *traditionem*, non enim per literas traditam illam sed per vivam vocem,"—does yet soon after himself make appeal to the tradition kept by the Bishops of the Church. And *Tertullian*, De Cor. Mil. iii. 3, thus asserts its authority. "In traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo queramus an et traditio non scripta non debeat recipi." And then, having limited the cases in which unwritten tradition was of authority to such as Scripture had not determined, ("Si nulla Scriptura determinavit, certè consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit,") he exemplifies in the baptismal rite ; in which sundry things then done that had not been enjoined in

coequal standard of authority had been set up. In the *philosophy* of the Alexandrian Platonics, an engine had begun to work, which, through *allegorising*, did away with much of its true and simple meaning.¹ In the *discipline of the secret* it was made a part of the religious system to hold *reserve*, except to the baptized or *initiated*,² on certain of the gospel verities; especially on one the most glorious of all, and against which, as the great object of justifying and saving faith, the Apostacy was to direct its bitterest enmity,—I mean the vicarious and propitiatory atonement of the Son of God.³ Once more, by the *falsitas dispensativa* it was deemed permissible, and even meritorious, for approved ends to pervert truth and Scripture.⁴—Thus no wonder that the true and only source of life, light, and justification to the soul should have been more and more forgotten. No wonder that the doctrinal error should have crept in of mistaking the form for the spirit, the outward for the inward, the instrument for the original and effectual agent, the means for the object and end. No wonder that the priesthood too, as well as the ritual, should have begun to interpose between the people and Christ.—Indeed it must never be overlooked, in our view of the first germinating of the Apostacy, that it was very much to the neglect of the spirit of the written word, even while it was outwardly had in honour,⁵ that all this was owing.

Scripture, as three dippings, tasting milk and honey, and abstaining for a week from the usual ablutions, &c. were, he thought, thereby sufficiently sanctioned.—Yet the very limitation shows that Tertullian was mainly sound on this point. See Riddle's *Christian Antiq.* p. 71.

¹ See Burton's *Church History*, ch. xvi.

² *μυστηριωνοι*.

³ This too originated in the Alexandrian School. See Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 35, 250, 251. He concludes; "Having already given our opinion respecting the mischievous consequences which have arisen to the church from the countenance lent by the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus to the notion of a *disciplina arcana*, we shall now only express our regret that Protestant divines, in their eagerness to establish a favourite point, should sometimes have been induced to resort to it."

The *disciplina arcana*," says Lardner, iv. 231, "was unknown to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and other primitive Christian writers."

⁴ See Gilly's *Vigilantius*, p. 269.—Augustine's strong reprobation of this as advocated by Jerome, both appears in his letters xxviii. 3, lxxxii. 21, address to Jerome himself, and abundantly elsewhere. Mosheim is unjustifiable in classing him with others his cotemporaries, iv. 2, 3, 16.

⁵ So more early Origen, and a little later Jerome and Chrysostom.

Hence the superstitious exaltation of the ceremonial. Hence the misapprehension of the character and functions of the clergy that ministered in it; the forgetting that in the christian Israel *Levi* mingles with the other eleven tribes:¹ and changing of the communion *table* into the *altar*; and of the commemorative *supper* into something like the *sacrifice of the mass*.² So did instealing

¹ Basnage ad ann. 100, quoted by Lardner, iv. 231, says that this Judaizing language about the christian clergy and sacrament had not come into vogue in the earlier half of the second century: "Germana virorum apostolicorum scripta,—Clementis scilicet, Polycarpi, Justini,—vocabula pontificis, sacerdotum, Levitarum, Christiano clero significando nunquam usurparunt: neque magis Clementinæ ætatis est vocabulum *θυσιαστήριον*, *altare*, ad eucharistiæ mensam indicandam."—These earlier fathers applied the Judaic sacerdotal figure, like St. Paul,* rather to the whole Christian body.† But the innovations had begun even before the third century: (see Mosheim ii. 2. 4. 4: (and Cyprian continually applies the term *sacerdos* to the Christian Minister; e. g. Epist. i. "Singuli divino sacerdotio honorati, et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi *altari* et *sacrificiis* deserve debeant," &c. Again in the Canons 24, 29 of the Council of Carthage, held under his presidency, the Lord's Supper is called *sacramentum altaris*; and the words used, "ut panis et vinum offeratur."

² Mosheim (iv. 2. 4. 8.) says that in the fourth century the elevation of the sacramental elements prepared the way for their adoration soon afterwards.

* Hebr. xiii. 10; "We (i. e. all Christians,) have an *altar*, whereof they (viz. the Jews) have no right to eat that serve the sanctuary."

† E. g. for *Ignatius'* view on this point see the quotations given p. 17 *supra*. He uses the figure of being *within the altar* (of the antitypical altar-court) as a figure not of the local ministering position of the Christian clergy, but of church-membership generally.—So too *Justin Martyr*.

Again, *Irenæus* speaks of *all* believers as *priests*, in the Levitical or sacerdotal sense of the word. So iv. 20, "Omnes justi *sacerdotalem* habent ordinem." And again v. 34, "Ostendimus in superiore loco quoniam *Levites* et *sacerdotes* sunt discipuli omnes Domini." The *offerings* that he speaks of were the offerings given by the whole early Church at the Lord's supper; as the whole Jewish Church offered their first-fruits: "Novi testamenti oblationem, quam *ecclesia* ab apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in novo testamento:" citing Malachi's prophecy, "From the rising of the sun to the setting, incense shall be offered, and a pure offering." Compare iv. 34, where he says that God "dedit populo præceptum faciendarum oblationum, ut disceret Deo servire; sicut et ideo nos quoque offerre vult munus ad *altare* frequenter sine intermissione;" explaining the altar meant by him thus; "Ergo *altare* in *cælis*; illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur: et *templum*; quemadmodum in Apocalypsi Joannes ait, 'Et templum Dei in cælo apertum est.'" &c. (Apoc. xi. 19).

We need not, I think, except on this head *Clemens Romanus*: because his reference, ch. 36, to *Christ* as the Christian's *High Priest*, and chs. 42, 44, 47, 54, 57 to *presbyters* and *deacons*, (for the contexts show, that by the *ἐπισκοποι* of ch. 42 were meant *presbyters*,) as if the only ecclesiastical rulers in the Corinthian Church, seems to show that the *three Levitical orders* mentioned by him, ch. 40, just as the *Jerusalem* and the *altar* mentioned ch. 41, were meant *literally* of the old *Jewish* system.—*Tertullian*, too, though he sometimes speaks Levitically of the Christian ministry, does yet in a well-known passage (De Exhort. Castit. ch. 7) apply the sacerdotal figure to *all* Christians; "Nonne et *laici* sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Reges nos et sacerdotes fecit." &c.

Judaism, by the infusion of its spirit into the religion which had subverted it, furnish one primary principle of the Apostacy; and *Heathenism*, too, (of which much more hereafter,¹) find occasion, even thus early, to enter in and assist. And together they helped forward,—and with singular union of effect,—that which was the grand object of the Apostacy with him who devised it, viz. the obscuration and supercession of Christ Jesus.²

§ II.—ANTIDOTE TO THE APOSTACY, IN THE REVELATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF ELECTING GRACE.

In the preceding Section I considered the Sealing Vision chiefly in regard of what we might judge it to have *implied*, as to certain tendencies to an antichristian apostacy, and the germinancy of certain errors of a ritualistic religion, which would unfold themselves in the christianized Roman Empire, (an intimation fully verified in the ecclesiastical history of the times referred to) shortly after the great Constantinian revolution. I must now call attention to the *more direct* prophetic import of this *sealing vision*, and of its intimately related sequel of the *palm-bearing vision*; an import signified by the circumstance of its having been seen by St. John, not as a mere individual, but as one sustaining a *representative character* on the apocalyptic scene:—that is, as impersonating Christ's *true Church* of the æra prefigured, or rather its more eminent and influential ministers; such ministers as were the apostles' successors not lineally alone, but also in doctrine and in spirit.—Here will appear the Lord's own *antidote* against the instealing apostacy.

That the Evangelist saw, heard, and acted too as a *representative man* on the scene of vision, I have already hinted in the Introduction;³ and in the vision of the souls under the altar,⁴ have applied and exemplified the idea.

¹ See Part ii. ch. 1, Part iii. ch. 3. &c.

² p. 102.

³ See Neander, i. 385.

⁴ pp. 199—208.

It is here first, however, that its exceeding importance will appear, as a principle of apocalyptic interpretation. Which being so, I think it may be well before proceeding to pause a moment; and to illustrate the nature and truth of the principle by examples from the older prophecy.

It is to be observed then, as remarked long since by Irenæus, that the ancient prophets fulfilled their office of predicting, not merely in the verbal delivery of predictions, but by themselves seeing, hearing, and acting the things in *type*, which were afterwards to be seen, heard, or done by others in *reality*. In every such case they were to be considered, as they are called in Isaiah² and Zechariah,³ מופתים *mophthim*, that is *figurative* or *representative persons*.—They might thus symbolize, it is evident, any of the different parties to whom the prophecy might relate. Thus when Isaiah went barefoot, and without his sackcloth upper garment, for three days or years, it was for a sign of *the men of Egypt and Ethiopia* soon walking similarly unclothed, as captives to the king of Assyria.⁴ When Jeremiah made yokes, and wore them on his neck in public, he typified, as he declared, *the kings and people of Moab, Edom, Tyre, Sidon*, that were soon about to come under the yoke of the king of Babylon.⁵ When Ezekiel, having portrayed on a tile the city Jerusalem, laid siege thereto by casting up a mound, setting a camp, and planting battering rams against it, he figured, as was evident, *Nebuchadnezzar* and his besieging army.⁶ Again when, as described elsewhere, he publicly prepared his stuff by day

¹ Lib. iv. ch. 37. "Non enim solo sermone prophetabant Prophetæ, sed et visione, et conversatione, et actibus quos faciebant, secundum id quod suggerebat Spiritus : quæ quidem videnda erant videntes, quæ vero audienda erant sermone præconantes, quæ vero agenda erant operatione perficientes ; universa vero prophetice annuntiantes."

² Is. viii. 18 ; "Behold I and my children are for *signs* and for *wonders* in Israel, from the Lord of Hosts." On which Patrick observes, "The word *mophthim*, translated *wonders*, signifies here more properly *types* or *figures*."

³ iii. 8 ; where the word is rendered in our version, *men wondered at*.—Compare also Ezek. xii. 11 ; "Say I am your *sign* : like as I have done, so shall it be done to them."

⁴ Is. xx. 2. See Vitringa or Bp. Lowth in loc.

⁵ Jer. xxvii. 2, &c.

⁶ Ezek. iv. 1, &c.

for removing through the wall in the twilight, and then carried the stuff forth thereby, as those that flee from captivity, he represented *the Jews* seeking to escape on the capture of Jerusalem by the enemy.¹ And most generally indeed it was *these, their own people*, that they in such cases typified.—In all the above examples, however, the prophets acted the symbolic part assigned them in the open walk of life, and amidst the observation of the people around them. In order to complete the parallel with the case of *St. John* hearing, speaking, and acting symbolically or representatively, as we presume him to have done in the Apocalyptic visions, we must show that the ancient prophets acted as *mophthim*, even while *rapt in vision*. Nor are cases of this character wanting. Take, for instance, the notable example given in the beginning of Isaiah's prophecy. In that early vision with which he was favoured of Jehovah, upon a throne high and lifted up,² we read of his being solemnly commissioned as a prophet, (after previous purification, through the application of a live coal from the altar,) and then receiving the charge, "Make the heart of this people fat and their ears heavy; lest they see with their eyes, and convert, and be healed." On which the question and answer that followed,—“Then said I, Lord, how long? and He answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the land be utterly desolate,”—shewed that the terms of the commission extended to times long subsequent to the prophet's own life, even up to the destruction of Jerusalem; and so had reference not to Isaiah himself only, but to the succession of Prophets long after:—that prophetic line of which, as measured from the epoch of Israel's casting off in Isaiah's days, Isaiah may properly be regarded as the representative and head.—Again in some of the latter chapters of Isaiah's prophecy, especially the 63rd and 64th, another notable exemplification occurs. Rapt into future times, the prophet seems here almost to lose his own person-

¹ Ezek. xiii. 3—7.² Is. vi. 1, &c.

ality. His mind and soul being thrown, as it were, into that of the Jewish people, such as it will be developed at the crisis of their restoration, whatever he sees, hears, or speaks, is as their impersonator. It is in this character that he sees and speaks with the Redeemer coming from Bozrah; in this that he mourns over the then state of Jerusalem, "Zion a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation, our holy and beautiful house burned up with fire;" in this that he expresses both remorse for the past, and concomitant relents and penitential prayers.—To which add yet again the case of Ezekiel prophesying to the dry bones in the valley of vision, at which prophesying the bones began to move and come together, all in type of Israel's latter-day restoration, at the voice of Gospel-preachers, Ezekiel's successors in the prophetic office;¹ and, I think, we shall have all that can be needful to satisfy us on the soundness of the hermeneutic principle in question.

And its soundness and propriety thus established, how can the thought help striking us, with reference to its application to the visions of the Apocalypse, that if important to the understanding of *other* Scripture prophecy, it must be preeminently so in the Apocalyptic; seeing that whereas other prophetic visions were insulated and detached, those of the Apocalypse form a continuous chronological series: so that at each chief crisis in the history of the true Christian church and ministry, we must expect St. John in his seeings and doings to enact a varying representative part, accordantly with the seeings and doings of those represented by him at each æra respectively. Thus the principle will be no barren one, such as it has been in the hands of the older

¹ Ezek. xxxvii.—See another and remarkable example in Zech. iii. 8; a passage already referred to. For it was in the vision which Joshua the High Priest had of the Angel Jehovah that he was told, "Hear now, Joshua, thou and thy fellows are *mophthim*;"—i. e. figurative men. After which followed the prophecy of the Branch, and then the vision of the golden candlestick and two olive trees: to which latter it will be necessary to revert when considering the account of the two Witnesses, and Apoc. xi. 4.—In Dr. McCaul's edition of Kimchi on Zechariah, there is given a very interesting explanation of the prophecy in Zech. xi, of the shepherd priced at thirty pieces of silver, on this same principle.

interpreters *Tichonius*, *Primasius*, *Andreas of Cæsarea*, *Ambrosius Ansbertus*, &c ; and of certain modern expositors too of eminence, as *Vitringa* and *Daubuz*, who, though recognizing the principle, have yet altogether failed to work it out with consistency or advantage. In the present Commentary the reader has already seen its use and truth, on a minor scale, in the vision of the souls under the altar. In subsequent parts he will find it applied with results much more new, striking, and important, towards the elucidation of the prophecy. Most of all this will appear in my explanation of the Angel-Vision of Apoc. x, xi. Next in important results will be its application in the case of the very interesting vision now to be considered.

For, if St. John saw as a *symbolic* or *representative man*, (I beg the reader's careful attention to my argument) and the vision seen by him was one figurative, so as was here the case, not of events cognizable in real life by mortal eyes, or the actions on the mundane scene of a *visible Providence*, but of certain *invisible and spiritual actings* on his people by Christ himself, then the apostle's seeing this must have indicated a perception, *on the part of such apostolic men of the depicted æra as he was then impersonating*, of those selfsame spiritual actings of Christ ; and, supposing the actings figured to have been not for the particular age or occasion only, but a specimen of what He carries on constantly, then their perception in some remarkable manner, at the time, of *Christ's character, actings, and offices* so exemplified. Further, in case of the vision being exhibited with the superadded circumstance of an efflux of light shedding itself coterminaneously on the Apocalyptic scene, (so as seems here implied to have been the case,¹) then the ad-

¹ Implied in the Angel's *coming from the East* : a light illustrating, we must suppose, both the individuals specially concerned in the Angel's ministration, and in a measure the scene generally. Compare the similar figure in the prophecy of Zecharias, Luke i. 78, "Whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness ;"—a figure applicable alike in a more *general* and a more *special* sense : in *general* to the world ; in *specialty* to the Church and the saints.

ditional fact must be regarded as presignified thereby, of this doctrinal revelation concerning Christ being one of notoriety, and that would be attended with light to his Church, correspondently, at the æra prefigured.—This premised, we have only, with a view to our application of the principle in the present instance, 1st, to consider *what was the doctrinal truth implied* in the emblematical figurations of the *sealing* and *palm-bearers*, now exhibited to St. John; 2ndly, to show from the actual history of the æra represented, that, in point of fact, *a light and revelation did then beam on Christ's true Church* accordant with it.

I. The DOCTRINAL TRUTH acted out in the two Visions.

As to the *sealing vision*, the figuration of an Angel (a *divine* Angel, we saw, even *Jesus Jehovah*) that had the seal of the life-giving God, descending with his accompaniment of light on the Apocalyptic scene, choosing out of professing Christendom a certain fixed but small number, as the objects of the blessings of his mission, viz. of spiritual light and life in the first instance, and then of the impress of God's own seal on their foreheads,—the last in token of his appropriation of them as his servants, and for an amulet to preserve them both in the aggregate as a living succession in this world, and individually unto eternal salvation in the next world,—a figuration depicting all this could surely signify no other doctrinal truth but that of the Lord's own sovereign grace, Himself choosing, enlightening, and quickening his true servants, (contradistinctively to any mere outward Christianization by baptism or profession,) and protecting and preserving them even to the end.

I have expounded the preserving virtue of the sealing as intended to include not only the preservation of a continued living succession of the sealed ones, on this world's theatre, but also their spiritual preservation individually to ultimate salvation. And, in proof of this double sense being meant, I might appeal to the fact of the fulfilment of either point being markedly depicted,

in the actual course of the long series of Apocalyptic prefigurations following. For not merely are these 144,000, or *sealed ones*, God's election of grace, alluded to afterwards as a succession still existing on the earthly scene, undestroyed by the tempests of the four first Trumpets,¹ (in contrast with the perpetual succession, generation after generation, of what are called the *inhabitants of the earth*, or children of this world,) alike at the opening of the judgments of the fifth Trumpet,² and also both during, and up to the close of, the Beast Antichrist's reign,³—but further, on the blast of the seventh Trumpet, as *all*, both dead and living, being about collectively to receive reward, on Christ's taking the kingdom: the identity of the *rewarded ones* of that final Trumpet with the *sealed ones* of chap. vii. being evinced by their having attached to them the same designatives, elsewhere attached to the 144,000 also,⁴ of *God's saints and servants*,⁵—Moreover the same twofold

¹ The correspondence of the fearful tempests which, on the soundings of the four first Trumpets, after the seventh Seal's opening, fell upon the Roman *earth, trees, sea, and sky*, (viii. 7, &c.) with those which the four angels of the winds pictured in this seventh chapter were, just before that Seal's opening, spoken of as destined to cause,—the commission of these latter being (so soon as the time of respite was ended) to “blow on the *earth, trees, and sea*,”—is almost too obvious to need suggestion to the reader.

² On the fifth Trumpet sounding, the scorpion-locusts, that constituted its woe, are said to have had the charge given them to “hurt only those men that had not the *seal of God* in their foreheads:”—a charge implying that there were others on the scene of action who bore *that seal's impress*, and were not to be hurt.

I may further intimate here, what will be more fully shown in the sixth chapter of the Second Part of my Commentary, that there appears to be an allusion to the *four* tempest-angels of the Sealing Vision, as still commissioned and in action under the sixth Trumpet, in a passage (Apoc. ix. 14) hitherto I believe altogether misapprehended by modern expositors:—and, if so, an almost implied recognition, there also, of the still continued co-existence of those *sealed ones* whom, throughout the whole course of the tempest-Angels' destroying desolations, the latter were charged not to injure.

³ Apoc. xiv. 1; “I looked, and lo a Lamb stood on Mount Zion, and with him 144,000, having *his Father's name* written on their foreheads.” This is in contradistinction to the mass of the Apocalyptic earth's inhabitants, that had the *Beast's name and mark* on their right hand or foreheads (xiii. 16.); and consequently, in respect of *time*, a symbolization synchronous with the Beast's reign.

⁴ Verse 3; “till we have sealed the *servants of God* in their foreheads.” In viii. 3, just after the sealing and palm-bearing visions, the “*prayers of all the saints*,” evidently mean those of the *sealed ones*. So too xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, &c.

⁵ Apoc. xi. 18: “The time is come that thou shouldest give reward unto *thy servants*, the prophets, and the saints, and them that fear thy name, both small and great:”—in which passage I think the expression, “*thy servants*,” was intended to include not the prophets only, but the rest of the saints, also specified.

saving result of the sealing was *here too and at this time foreshown to St. John*, in the immediately consecutive vision of the *palm-bearers*:—a vision which I have previously presumed,¹ and shall now show, to be one *prospective*; depicting in anticipative figure the final heavenly happiness of all the aggregate of the *sealed ones*, and implying the previous continued preservation on earth of their line and succession.

I must stop for a moment or two to prove this.

And 1st, the *identity* of the *palm-bearers* there depicted with the *sealed ones* of the sealing vision just preceding appeared hence, from their being alike of the class of God's faithful and redeemed servants, and alike associated, in respect of their time of mortal life, with an æra of great tribulation;—a tribulation however alluded to in the one vision as about beginning, in the other as past. The predicated difference of *number* (for the palm-bearers were a number numberless, the sealed ones first sealed only 144,000,) did not affect this their identity; it being accounted for from the circumstance of the different periods of time to which the two visions related, and consequent necessity of the former comprehending various generations of the latter:²—a circumstance this which was further clearly implied to St. John in the stated fact of the palm-bearers having been gathered in great part from beyond the limits of the Roman world, out of all nations and tribes and people and languages;³ whereas at the time of the sealing, and of the restraint of the tempest-angels, the christianization of the Roman world itself was represented as but just and scarcely complete.

¹ p. 249.

² So I now find, the ancient expositor *Berengaud* explains the passage. "Per 144,000 electi, qui in ecclesiâ Dei singulis temporibus laborant, designantur: et quia in comparatione reprobtorum exigua est turba electorum, non immerito numero 144,000 designantur. In cœlesti vero beatitudine, ubi singulis temporibus ex omnibus gentibus tribubus et linguis congregantur, tanta eorum efficitur multitudo, ut nullo numero comprehendi possit."—2nd Ed.

³ The same was afterwards beautifully illustrated by the form of the heavenly Jérusalem, a later symbol of the same collective body of the redeemed in their heavenly glory: it being a *cube* whose height and length and breadth were equal; whereas each living generation of the sealed ones was but a *square* number, viz. 144, or 12 times 12, chiliads. See Apoc. xxi. 16.

—2. That the figured beatitude of the palm-bearers was that of *the heavenly state*, appeared from its being represented to consist in admission to the vision of God, and eternal exemption from all sorrow and trial :—the figures used to depict it, moreover, being precisely those figures that are used elsewhere in Scripture of the saints' heavenly blessedness : alike that of a band of Zion's pilgrims arrived out of the weary wilderness in their Canaan of rest, and rejoicing over it in the Feast of Tabernacles ;¹ and that too of Paradise restored, so glowingly and beautifully applied by Isaiah and other prophets, in their pictures of the glory of the latter day.² —Hence 3rdly, (I mean as inferred from the palm-bearers' *numbers, extended local origin*, and translation out of the great tribulation into *heavenly blessedness*,) the necessity of the vision being one *far prospective* in its character :—that is, supposing the chronological place of these connected visions of the tempest-angels, the sealing, and the palm-bearers, to be that which I have assigned to them ; viz. at the period just preceding the burst of the Gothic tempests over the Roman Empire.

But here the objection meets us, (and it is one which absolutely needs an answer) that the alleged fact of the Vision being thus *prospective* and *anticipative*,—of events still far distant, not of events of the time assigned to the vision,—is a fact unprecedented, perhaps unparalleled, in the Apocalypse. Indeed, I doubt not, it is this diffi-

¹ Compare Lev. xxiii. 34—43 ; " The fifteenth day of the seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles : . . . And ye shall take you branches of palm-trees, and shall rejoice before the Lord seven days : . . . And ye shall dwell in booths seven days, all that are Israelites : that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt."—Compare too Isa. xii. 3, " With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation : "—a figure drawn from the same festival.

On the early martyrs' tombs in the Roman catacombs *palm-branches* were often sculptured, in token of their then heavenly triumph and joy. See an example, in the Epitaph of a Christian martyr, taken from Boldetti ; in my examination of the Church Scheme of the Seals, given in the Appendix to my 4th Volume.

² So Isa. xxxiv. 1—10 ; " The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, &c. &c. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads : they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." So also Isa. xxv. 8, &c.

culty which has contributed, beyond any other, to induce belief with many in views different from my own of the Apocalyptic structure; views such as to allow of the sixth Seal, (with its sealing and palm-bearing Visions,) as well as the last Trumpet and Vial, reaching to the time of the end. Now that this structure cannot be the true one, follows as a necessary consequence from my explanation of all that precedes; i. e. if correct, as I trust the reader will have deemed it: not to note other clear evidence against the theory, which will however be given by me fully elsewhere.¹ And I have now to add (and I beg the reader's most particular attention to it) that there exists, if I mistake not, in the palm-bearing vision itself an internal mark, clear and distinct, though hitherto unobserved by expositors, indicative of the Vision being *necessarily*, so as I explain it, one *prospective* and *anticipative* of a distant future. The mark is this,—that *there is no change in the general Apocalyptic scenery during its exhibition*, correspondent with that new state of things which is to be introduced at the *actual* time of the consummation, and of the saints entering on their heavenly blessedness. The emblematic inner temple, depicted before St. John on the Apocalyptic visions first opening, and which afterwards continued in view as the perpetual foreground of the scene, with its twenty-four presbyters and four living creatures, the representatives of the separate spirits of the just, in their time of waiting and expectation, around the throne of God and of the Lamb,² still continued throughout this palm-bearing Vision in the heavenly foreground, just as before: nor is a hint given of any happy change taking place cotermporally in the visible *terrene* landscape. There the angels of the winds seem to have remained still each in his quarter; all ready as before to let slip the winds in their fury, the instant that the Almighty restraint upon them might be removed. Whereas when the occasion came

¹ Viz. in my Examination of the Church Scheme of the Seals, referred to in the note next but one preceding—as given in the Appendix to my 4th Volume.

² See pp. 86—92.

for representing, in its true order of time, *the actual realization of this blessed consummation*, there was instantly a corresponding change in all the visible scenery; a change such as not the propriety alone, but indeed the very necessity of the case required. Instead of the representative presbyters and living creatures then observing any more their posture of quiescent waiting, new thrones were seen set, and on them the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus, took seat, together with all the saints, whom these presbyters and living creatures had hitherto represented, for his assessors.¹ Moreover the New Jerusalem appeared descending upon earth, with the visible glory of God enlightening it; a glory then no longer hidden within a temple-wall's covering:² and there was a new heaven and a new earth, the former things having passed away.³—So that the palm-bearing-vision, however great the peculiarity of the case, *could not*,—I say positively, *could not*,—depict the saints' consummation of blessedness *at the real time of its accomplishment*. It could only be, so as I have supposed it, a *prospective* vision of the final salvation of the sealed ones of the mystic Israel, given *anticipatively* to St. John. If the question be asked, Why such a vision here alone, and not elsewhere,—the answer will be found in the circumstance of St. John seeing it as a *symbolic* or *representative man*; and of its importance, and almost necessity, as will soon appear, in order to the complete figuring of the *doctrinal revelation* given at the period intended, to those whom he here thus symbolically represented.

This difficulty cleared up, I have only to add a brief remark on yet two other particulars noticeable in the palm-bearing vision. The *one* regards the appellative *the great*. "These are they that are to come out of *the great tribulation*,"⁴ applied to designate that from which the palm-bearing pilgrims would have emerged. On which I may observe that this appellation, *the great*,

¹ Apoc. xx. 4.

² Apoc. xxi. 22: "And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it."

³ Apoc. xxi. 1.

⁴ εκ της θλιψεως της μεγαλης.

appears to be a term of comparison with some other previous and lesser tribulation ; and that it is explained as simply as satisfactorily by the prophetic announcement addressed in the vision of the fifth Seal to the souls under the altar, that they should wait "until *their brethren, that were to be slain even as they*, should be completed : " seeing that those words implied a *second term of tribulation*, as well as second body of martyrs, to succeed after that of the persecutions of Pagan Rome.¹ —The *other* is as to the reason assigned in St. John's hearing by the palm-bearing company for their attaining to heavenly-blessedness. This shewed most strikingly that it was felt to be not for any works or righteousness of their own or of other men, but simply through divine saving grace, and by virtue of the application of the cleansing blood of Jesus :—their cry being, "The salvation² be ascribed unto our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb ;" and the statement, "They washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," followed by, "*Therefore* are they before the throne of God, and He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them," &c.

On the whole, the main doctrinal truth figured in the *palm-bearing* vision, seems to have been that of the assured final blessedness and salvation of those that should then, and in every after age, answer to the *sealed ones*, —in other words, of God's election of grace :—also that of these there would be a number numberless, gathered out of every clime and nation, as well as out of many a succeeding age,—that they would be brought to the fruition of their heavenly joys not till after the lapse of a great, perhaps long tribulation,—and would judge and feel themselves to have been saved only by redeeming grace. I think too St. John's reference to one of *the presbyters* on the meaning of the vision, (certainly a re-

¹ See p. 203 &c. *suprà*.—Perhaps "*the great*" might imply its being the *long* tribulation also ; as in the case of that of the Jews. Compare Matt. xxiv. 21. with Luke xxi. 24.

² ἡ σωτηρία, "*The salvation* ; " i. e. the salvation just experienced by us.

markable circumstance,) might be further meant to indicate the *scriptural* source of the doctrine thus manifested: in other words, that it would be derived from the scriptures of the twelve apostles: the same that, as I conceive, were symbolized by twelve of the twenty-four Presbyters, as the heads of the New Testament Church.¹

Thus we are now prepared for looking into history, to see whether there was of all this any actual fulfilment at the æra prefigured. Between the completion of the Constantinian revolution and bursting of Gothic tempests on the Roman earth,—while they threatened, but were yet withheld, as if by some direct interference of Divine Providence,—was there a revelation made to Christ's true Church, or to any one of its more influential ministers, of the doctrines of electing, saving grace, accordant with the emblems of the two consecutive and intimately connected visions of the sealing and the palm-bearing;—a revelation so notable, and with such important light resulting to the Church, both then and in the troublous times that followed, as to evidence its fitness for so prominent a prefiguration in the visions of the Apocalypse? We ask the question, and the answer is given in one word, AUGUSTINE.—This was to be the subject of our Second Head; viz.

II. The HISTORICAL FULFILMENT.

I repeat it then, *Augustine's æra, doctrinal views*, and *preeminently blessed influence*, as reflecting the chief light given to the Church throughout the long dark ages that followed, measured by the Gothic, Saracenic, and Turkish woes, down even to the Reformation, all concur to point out his history and teaching, as an exact and most remarkable fulfilment of these remarkable visions.

1. As to the *chronology* of Augustine's life, the dates of its chief epochs may be stated as follows.² He was

¹ Compare Augustine on Psalm cxxi. § 2, 9: where he speaks of the twelve apostles occupying twelve thrones in heaven; and of the invitation to the heavenly Jerusalem addrest to men on earth by those who have already entered it.

² I follow the dates given in the Life prefixed to the last Volume of the

born near Hippo, in North Africa, A.D. 354, during the reign of Constantius; a time when (to quote Gibbon's very illustrative words yet a second time) "*the threatening tempests of barbarians*, which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, were still *repelled or suspended on the frontiers*." He went to Rome, and thence to Milan, A.D. 383, 385; just a year or two after that the fatal battle of Adrianople had, agreeably with the prefiguration, established the Gothic hosts on the Roman earth,¹ and shown their preparedness, like as with fierce tempests, to overwhelm it: also while Theodosius, raised up by a most extraordinary intervention of Providence for the purpose, was enabled, still just agreeably with the prophecy, (through the very instrumentality in part of the Gothic chiefs themselves,)² effectually and at once to arrest them. There and then he heard the Bishop of Milan, Ambrose; and was converted, and baptized. This was between the years 385 and 387. In 388 he returned to Carthage; was in 391 ordained Presbyter, and in 395 Bishop of Hippo, near Carthage; the last just after the death of Theodosius. His episcopate and life continued for near thirty-five years afterwards. At length, just when the tempests that had during that time been desolating the European or *land* provinces of the empire, crossing the *sea*, began to make their ravages felt in the *African transmarine province* also,³—the great work assigned him by his Divine Master (that same which we suppose prefigured in the visions under consideration) having been completed,—even as if the tem-

Benedictine Edition of Augustine; Paris, 1836; to which Edition my subsequent references are made.

¹ "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds," &c.—Compare Jer. xlix. 36, "Upon Elam I will bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven;" where the four quarters of *heaven* seem marked as their *original* locations: and Ezek. vii. 2. "An end is come on the four corners of the *land*:" said of it when the woe had actually arrived there.

² So long as Theodosius lived, they joined their Prince Athanaric in saying that they wished no other king than him.—Compare the prophetic expression, "Angels holding the four winds that it should not blow," &c; though these were the angels of the winds themselves, and destined to desolate the Roman earth. I have in the Note ¹, p. 232 shown that *καταστροφας* need not signify *restraining*. But possibly the historical fact just noted may justify and explain that rendering.

³ "Hurt not the *land*, nor the *sea*, till we have sealed," &c. Apoc. vii. 3.

pest's reaching him had been the signal preordained of his death, he was taken from the evil to come, and fell asleep in Jesus, A. D. 430.

2. As to his *doctrinal views*, they were, as all know, emphatically and pre-eminently *those of divine sovereign grace*;—grace predestinating, electing, preventing, quickening, illuminating, adopting, saving; saving alike from sin's dominion and all other *real* evils of this life,¹ and saving unto the end. So copious is he on this subject, and so much is it his own, that his name has in fact been associated with it in all subsequent ages;—I mean his own, in contradistinction to other cotemporary or preceding *human* teachers of theology. For from the time of Justin Martyr, downward, this doctrine had been by the doctors of the Christian Church very partially propounded and obscurely taught.²—The manner in which he was himself both *prepared* by Divine Providence to understand and feel its truth and value, and the manner in which by the same Providence he was *led* zealously and effectively to advocate it, alike deserve notice. Born of a Christian mother, and at one time anxious while a boy for Christian baptism, (it was on occasion of a dangerous illness,) his wish was strangely not complied with; the danger of sin after baptism, according to the current superstition of the day, constituting an objection in the

¹ This is illustrated in p. 284. Note ⁴.

² So Milner, p. 297, remarks that *Chrysostom*, in commenting on that passage 'Not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,' &c., "introduces the doctrine of *free will* in the same manner as most of the Fathers who spoke of it at all from the days of *Justin*, and observes that the *whole* is said to be of God because the *greater part* is." At p. 276 he remarks the same of *Ambrose*.—Compare too *Tertullian* adv. Marc. ii. 5, as one of the earlier Fathers referred to by Milner.

In Mr. Faber's historical Work on the Primitive Doctrine of Election, the *patristic novelty* of the Augustinian doctrine is the very foundation of his argument.—As to Mr. F's Work itself, just objection might, I conceive, be made both against its fundamental principle, and many of its details; against its view of Scriptural election, and its view of the doctrine on that point of the Church of England.—Its fundamental principle, I may observe, (as well as that of Mr. Faber's sister Works on Regeneration and Justification,) is the appeal to *pure primitive consenting antiquity*, for the right sense of doctrinal Scripture. But,—waiving other difficulties and objections as to the *primitive* and the *consenting*,—where the *pure antiquity*, if the *leaven of the apostacy* was to begin its insidious working in the Church visible (as I believe it was) even from apostolic times?—On the Church of England doctrine of Election, see p. 291, Note ¹ infra.

minds of his parents.¹ So that he grew up into life not even by baptism, or outward profession, a Christian. In the course of his youth and early manhood that followed, he tells us in his Confessions how he was led captive by his lusts; and then how, in the desolation of a mind dark, restless, and unhappy, he wandered into speculations on man's formation, and the origin of evil; and at length in the sensual and fatalistic doctrines of Manicheism,²—doctrines which alike did away with all idea of holiness and love attaching to God, and of moral guilt and responsibility attaching to sinful man, —sought refuge from himself, but in vain. It was in this state of heathenism, sensuality, hardness of heart, and philosophic pride and darkness, that he visited Milan, and heard, and was converted to Christianity: being so plucked like a brand out of the burning; and made to feel in *his own experience*, while yet *unbaptized*, the truth of God's free, sovereign, electing grace and love.—And thus he began, we find, very early afterwards, (in fact ere the fury of the barbarian tempests had yet been let loose on Roman Christendom,) both to preach, and to write, on this subject of God's free electing grace.³ But at first less prominently and distinctly. A few years afterwards the diffusion of the *Pelagian* heresy of *free will* drew from him argumentative and copious dissertations on the subject: and, under his direction, ecclesiastical Councils were induced solemnly to condemn the Pelagian error, and to recognize the doctrines of grace.⁴—Further, on occasion of Alaric's

¹ So he tells us in his Confessions i. ii; "quia videlicet post lavacrum illud major et periculosior in sordibus delictorum reatus foret."

² A sketch of this doctrine, very much drawn from Augustine, will be found in a later portion of this work. See my paper No. 2, in the Appendix to my 2nd Volume.

³ See, for example, his *Expositio quarundam Propositionum ex Epistolâ ad Romanos*, written while he was yet a Presbyter. In later years, when charged with innovation on the doctrines of grace, election, and perseverance, he says that he wrote on the subject as early as the beginning of his bishoprick, A. D. 395. See the Paris Benedictine Edit. Tom. xiii. col. 1434, 1435; also col. 1353, 1354, &c.: in his Treatises on the *Predestination* and *Perseverance* of the Saints.

⁴ So the Councils of Carthage, held A.D. 412 and 416. See Harduin, i. 1214, and for Rome's primary anti-Pelagian declaration, Hard. i. 1255; also Mosheim v. 2. 5. 23, 24.—Milner, p. 322, notes, as I do, God's Providence in the matter.

capture of Rome, A. D. 410, the heathens that remained having cast reproach on Christianity, as if the cause of the catastrophe, and Christians too being disappointed and in bitterness, such as had entertained hopes and opinions, like Eusebius before them,¹ that there would attach a preservative virtue to the Roman Empire in the fact of its political and professed Christianization,—he was led to write his great work on the *City of God*:² the object of which was to distinguish this *city*, *commonwealth*, or *kingdom of God*, from the *city*, *commonwealth*, or *kingdom of this world*, alike in respect of its *constituency*, *character*, *privileges*, *present state*, *home*, *destiny*:—its *constituency*, the whole body (not of the circumcised, or baptized, or professing, many of whom though *called* were not *chosen*,³ but) of the predestinated and elect by God's sovereign grace; their *character*, that of the love of God, contradistinctively to the love of self and this world;⁴ their *privilege*, that of being enlightened, quickened, sanctified, and saved by the same divine grace, even to the end; their *state in this world* that of pilgrims and strangers, with warfare and tribulation here appointed them; but with the assured *hope* of being all gathered at length to their heavenly *home*, in the

¹ See pp. 230, 231 *suprà*.

² *De Civitate Dei*. Our word *city* can scarcely convey the idea that *civitas* does, of a *community*, or *state*, made up of its citizens.

³ So, for example, in C. D. xviii. 49, headed, "De indiscretâ multiplicatione Ecclesie, quâ in hoc sæculo multi reprobi miscentur electis." &c. Also lb. 51. 2; "Multi sunt intus qui corda piè viventium suis perditis moribus cruciant."—In C. D. xx. 7. 3, he distinguishes between the *regenerate* (by baptism), and the *elect* (the citizens of the Jerusalem above); saying that the former are often seduced by the devil, i. e. to perdition, the *elect* never. See too, Vol. iv. 2508, in his Tract on 1 John ii. 18, § 5, "They went out from us because they were not of us;" "Multi qui non sunt ex nobis accipiunt nobiscum sacramenta, accipiunt baptismum, et quidquid in sacramentis sanctis est, ipsius altaris communicationem accipiunt nobiscum,—et non sunt ex nobis." Again De Correp. et Grat. c. 21, 22 (Vol. xiii. 1297); "Fuerunt ergo isti ex multitudine vocatorum; ex paucitate electorum non fuerunt." Also Epis. 93, Vol. ii. 366, &c., &c.

⁴ C. D. xiv. 28; "Fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: *terrenam* scilicet amor sui, usque ad contemptum Dei; *celestem* vere amor Dei, usque ad contemptum sui." And on Psalm lxiv. § 2: "Duas istas civitates faciunt duo amores: Jerusalem facit amor Dei; Babyloniam facit amor seculi:" adding, "Multi cives sanctæ matris Jerusalem cupiditatibus Babylonie corrupti tenentur. Sed novit Dominus, conditor Jerusalem, quos cives ejus prædestinaverit, quos videat adhuc sub dominatu Diaboli, redimendos sanguine Christi." (Vol. v. 898.) So too in the Treatise De Gencai ad Litt. xi. 20. (Vol. iii. 452.)

Saviour's presence. In short it was the *very embodying of the idea of the 144,000 elect sealed ones of the Apocalyptic vision into a corporate form*; and both historically with regard to the past, and prophetically with regard to the future, the tracing out of their fortunes in this world and the next, contradistinctively to those of the kingdom of *this* world, and its citizens.—Even in regard of *details*, his description of this body of the elect agrees most exactly with that of the symbolic visions under consideration. He speaks of them as not merely *elect Israelites*,¹ but specifically as God's twelve tribes of election out of Israel's twelve professing tribes;² and also as of the constituency of the New Jerusalem.³ He asserts their *inviolability*, as *God's sealed ones*, from real injury by the Devil, or any of his instruments.⁴ He notes the *number* as a number *definite*,⁵ and answering, while on earth, to the Apocalyptic 144,000:⁶ moreover as one

¹ So on Psalm xlix. § 14: "*Israel nomen electionis est*:" Psalm cxlii. § 2, "*Nullus Christianorum se à nomine Israel arbitretur alienum*:" C. D. xx. 21, "*Fratres electorum Israelitarum*." &c.

² On Psalm cxxi, "Thither the tribes go up," § 8; "*Duodecim tribus erant populi Israel; sed erant ibi mali, et erant ibi boni. Quid est tribus Domini? Quæ cognoverunt Dominum. Ex ipsis enim duodecim tribubus malis erant ibi boni de bonis tribubus; et ipsæ erant grana inter illas tribus, quæ inter paleas commixta sunt. Ascenderunt autem non cùm paleis, sed tribus purgatæ, electæ, quasi tribus Domini.*" Again on Psalm cxxiv. § 7, he distinguishes the "*Israel Dei*," or "*Israel pertinentem ad Deum.*"

³ "*Civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quæ nunc in sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terras*:" C. D. xx. 21:—including, as another part of its citizens, the saints and angels above: "*Est in cælo æterna nostra Jerusalem, ubi sunt cives nostri angeli*," &c. Ps. cxxi. § 2.

⁴ C. D. xviii. 51. 1; "*Diabolus, princeps impiæ civitatis, adversus peregrinantes in hoc mundo Civitatem Dei, vasa propria commovendo, nihil ei nocere permittitur*:" and in C. D. i. 10 he particularizes, in stating that the good had lost nothing in the taking of Rome.—Again in Tract 50 on John xi. 55, he says, "*Signum Christi à nobis repellit exterminatorem, si cor nostrum habeat Christum habitatorem*," with allusion to the destroying Angel of Exod. xii: contrasting this with the mere *outward* signature in baptism; "*Quam multi habent in fronte signum Christi, et corde non recipiunt verbum Christi.*" In his Sermon 156. 16, he speaks of the Spirit of adoption, with which true Christians are sealed, as their *arrhabo* or *pledge* of salvation.

⁵ E. g. Epist. 186. 25; "*Certus est ergo Dei præscientiæ, definitus numerus, multitudo sanctorum: quibus diligentibus Deum omnia co-operantur in bonum. Quos enim prædestinavit*," &c. Also De Corrept. et Gratiâ, 40; "*Numerus sanctorum per Dei gratiam Dei regno prædestinatus, donatâ sibi etiam usque in finem perseverantiâ illuc integer perducetur, et ellic integerrimus jam sine fine certissimum servabitur: adherente sibi misericordiâ Salvatoris sui, sive cùm convertuntur, sive cùm præliantur, sive cum coronantur.*"

⁶ De Doctr. Christ. iii. 51; "*Centum quadraginta quatuor (mille), quo numero significatur universitas sanctorum in Apocalypsi.*"

though small in comparison at any given period with the number of the reprobate,¹ yet in itself and in the aggregate very large; indeed, (for more than once he quotes in proof the very words of the *palm-bearing vision*,) as *a number numberless*.² He speaks of them as to be gathered out of *all nations and kindreds and tribes*; ³ and of the remaining time consequently of the Church's pilgrimage and tribulation, including specially that of Antichrist's predicted persecution,⁴ as probably by no means so short or near its ending, as Hesychius and others, like many of the Fathers before them, had been led to expect.⁵ He describes them, moreover, as washed and made white through the alone cleansing blood of Jesus: ⁶ and, yet

¹ Epist. 93, 30, &c.

² E. g. in his Sermons, 249, 250, on the narrative of the disciples fishing, given in John xxi. 3—11; Vol. vii. pp. 1500, 1506. In this world, he says, speaking of the mixed number of fish through which the ship was nearly sinking, the Church (the visible Church) has in it many bad; "*Turba turbavit ecclesiam*:"—then, with regard to the 153 fish drawn to land, that it represents the collective body of the *true* saints, gathered together at the resurrection. "*Tunc congregatio sanctorum erit; divisiones hereticorum non erunt. Pax erit, et perfecta unitas. Nemo minus, nemo plus erit. Integer numerus erit.*—Sed valde pauci sunt, si 153 tantum sunt. Absit à nobis ut tot soli sint in hac plebe: quanto magis in universa ecclesia Dei. Apocalypsis ipsius Johannis Evangelistæ ostendit visam fuisse tantam multitudinem sanctorum, et in illa eternitate felicitium, quantum numerare nemo possit. Et tamen omnes ad numerum istum pertinent, 153."—So too Epist. 93. 30; where also (after the clause referred to in my last Note) he refers to the palm-bearing vision's number numberless; "*Millia quæ numerare nemo potest videntur in Apocalypsi, in stolis albis palmisque victricibus.*"

³ C. D. xix. 17; "*Hæc cœlestis civitas (vel potius pars ejus quæ in hac mortalitate peregrinatur) dum peregrinatur in terrâ, ex omnibus gentibus cives evocat, atque in omnibus linguis peregrinam colligit societatem.*"

⁴ So on Psalm xlix. 22; "*Cujus tribulationis? Nostræ peregrinationis.*" With the constant trial of an *antichristian world*, in Augustine's sense of *antichristian*, viz. as opposed to Christ, (so he explained the prophetic phrase,) and with the crowning tribulation of *Antichrist's persecutions and reign*, ere the close. "*Martyrum numerus complebitur Antichristi temporibus*:" Vol. xii. 999. (Contra Gaudent): these martyrs being the *final* complement, he says, of the number afterwards to be killed, referred to by the *souls under the altar*.—See also C. D. xxi. 26. 4, &c.

⁵ So Epist. 93. 31; "*Ecclesia, quæ per omnes gentes crescit, in frumentis Dominicis conservata est; et usque in finem, donec omnino gentes omnes etiam barbaras teneat, conservabitur.*" Also Epist. 197—199, referred to by me in a later Chapter; expressing his conviction of the world not being then very near its end, because the Gospel had not then by any means been preached to all nations. See too his observations on Luke xii. 45. and Matt. xxiv. 42. See Part ii. ch. iii. infra.

⁶ "*In Apocalypsi, revelante Angelo, Joannes vidit turbam multam quam dinumerare nemo poterat. Hanc requirens quemnam esset, responsum accepit, Hi sunt qui laverunt stolas eorum, et candidas eas fecerunt in sanguine Agni. Jam agnoscis, anima Christiana, quemadmodum et tu ex illo sanguine efficiaris*

once more, as in their heavenly blessedness destined to realize, like the Apocalyptic palm-bearers, alike the type of Israel's rest and festival-keeping in Canaan, after its long and weary wilderness-wandering,¹ and also the Paradisiacal emblems in the Old Testament and Apocalyptic prefigurations of heaven;² there to see God,³ to drink of God's own fountain of life and knowledge,⁴ and to have all tears wiped by Him from their eyes.⁵

Such were Augustine's *doctrinal views of grace*: doctrines derived not from patristic doctors, but, as he tells us, from the *Scriptures* themselves, and *revelation of the Holy Ghost*:¹ and to prefigure which revelation,—regard-

candida:" &c. Vol. ix. p. 1004.—The Benedictine Editors doubt this Treatise being Augustine's. If not, it was the treatise of an early Augustinian; and agreeable with Augustine's own doctrine. So on Psalm ciii. § 1. 6; "Anima decora esse non potes, nisi confessa fueris fœditatem ei qui semper pulcher. . . . Dicitur de Ecclesiâ, *Quas est ista quas ascendit dealbata?* Dealbata quia non per se alba. Accedit gratia dealbens. Primo nigra fuisti, sed facta es alba ex gratia illius;"—the grace of him "qui pro impiis moreretur."—And again on John xix. 34, "Quid isto sanguine mundius?" See too his remarks in C. D. x. 22, 24, and on Psalm cxxix. § 3; where he descants on the Christian's *propitiatory* provided of God: "With thee is propitiation."

With all this contrast Tertullian's explanation of the Apocalyptic cleansing; "Multitudo albat, et palmis victoriæ insignes, revelantur, sc. de Antichristo triumphales; sicut unus de Presbyteris, 'Hi sunt qui veniunt ex illâ pressurâ magnâ &c.' . . . Vestitus enim animæ caro; sordes quidem *baptismate* abluuntur; maculæ vero *martyrio* candidantur." Scorp. adv. Gnostic, c. 12.—Compare too Ephrem Syrus, cited p. 252 Note 2. *supra*. Also Ambros. de Myst. cap. 7. and Apol. David. cap. 12, to the same effect.

¹ So Tract xxviii. on John vii. § 9, "The Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand:" where he compares the Christian's course through this world to Israel's through the wilderness; and observes that as Christ's time, so the Church's time for celebrating that festival, is not till its arrival in a better world. Vol. iv. pp. 2002, 2003. So again Psalm lxxii. 5; "Quidquid in eremo passus est ille populus, et quidquid eis Deus largitus est, significationes sunt rerum quas in solitudine hujus vitæ ambulantes in Christo, quærentes patriam, accipimus ad consolationem."

² C. D. xx. 26. 1; "Illud tempus nulli temporis. . . . comparandum est nisi quando primi homines in Paradiso ante prævaricationem innocentissimâ felicitate vixerunt." This of their freedom from sin.—Then he applies Isaiah's prophecies: "Per Isaiam, inter cætera quæ ibi de sanctorum beatitudine per allegorias et ænigmata exequitur," &c, referring to Isa. lxxv. and in C. D. xxii. 3 to Isa. xxvi. &c.—See too the exquisite passage in his De Cantico Novo, ad fin. Vol. ix. 1000.

³ "Locus qui promittitur tam pacatæ ac securæ habitationis æternus est. . . . ubi erit veraciter populus *Israel*. Hoc enim nomen interpretatur *Videns Deum*."

⁴ "In illo regno quæ bona accepturi sumus! Rerum omnium quanta scientia! ubi Dei sapientia de ipso suo fonte potabitur." &c. C. D. xxii. 24.

⁵ C. D. xx. 17; "In Apocalypsi obscurè multa dicuntur. Verùm in his verbis, 'Absterget Deus omnes lachrymas ab oculis eorum, et mors non erit, neque luctus,' &c, tantâ luce dicta sunt de seculo futuro, et immortalitate sanctorum, ut nulla debeamus in litteris sacris legere manifesta, si hæc præterimus obscura."

ing as it did the *future* as well as *present*, the saints' *final perseverance to salvation* as well as their *election by grace*,—there was needed not the *sealing* vision alone, the reader now will see, but the prospective vision of the *palm-bearing* sealed ones, (noted elsewhere as “the called and *chosen*² and faithful,”) in their final triumph also.—Indeed I must beg the reader, ere he passes onward, just to pause and think with himself, whether he can possibly imagine any two symbolic figurations that would more exactly symbolize the doctrinal revelation made to Augustine, than these two exhibited at the exactly correspondent epoch in the Patmos visions, to the representative man St. John.

3. Finally, I have to observe on the manner in which, through the divine overruling providence, it was both suitable and effectual, even beyond Augustine's own intentions, as an antidote with the faithful against the *baptismal*, as well as other corruptions of the age.—In so far as controversy about it was concerned, Augustine's direct object was not correction of the baptismal and ritualistic errors, now more and more prevailing, but of the Pelagian doctrines of man's free-will, merit, and inherent inborn power for working out his salvation. Indeed, though he distinguished carefully, as may be seen, between *baptismal* regeneration and the regeneration or conversion of the heart,³—to which last *personal faith* in

¹ While faintly referring to three of the Fathers as having held the doctrine before him, he rests on the Scriptures as his true authority: “Istam prædestinationem quam *secundum Scripturas* defendimus.” De Prædest. et Persev. “Prædestinatio prædicanda est, quemadmodum eam *Sacra Scriptura* evidenter eloquitur.” Writing to Prosper and Hilary, he says that God will *reveal* the doctrine to them that pray for it. lb. i. 1. See Faber on Election, p. 123.

² ἐκλεκτοί. Apoc. xvii. 14.

³ “In baptizatis infantibus præcedit regenerationis sacramentum; et si Christianam tenuerint pietatem sequetur etiam in corde conversio:—quibus rebus ostenditur aliud esse sacramentum baptismi, aliud conversionem cordis.” Adding; “Illud (sacramentum baptismi), sine isto (conversione cordis) potest esse in infante, et hoc sine illo potuit esse in latrone,” &c. Contra Donat. iv. 31, 32.—See on this Faber on Election, pp. 82—89. “Nothing is more evident,” says Mr. Faber, p. 86, than that what *Augustine* in the case of baptized infants styled *conversion*, is precisely that *moral change of disposition* which *Calvin* universally and in all cases denominates *regeneration*.” The same is illustrated in Mr. Faber's Work on Regeneration, pp. 67, 209 &c.

Christ was deemed by him essential,¹—though conscious, from observation of men around him, that the baptized did not in the majority of cases profit unto spiritual life,² as well as of their abuse of the baptismal rite, and on the other hand conscious *from his own experience*,³ (as well as from the examples of the Ethiopian eunuch and others,⁴) that spiritual life might be begun before and independent of baptism, yet did he entertain a high opinion of the benefits often conferred by baptism, or rather by the Divine Spirit *in* baptism; that is, if rightly performed, and followed by faith in the recipient.⁵ And thus it was that his doctrine of electing

¹ "Sic enim caro nostra regenerabitur per incorruptionem, quemadmodum est anima nostra regenerata per *fidem*." C. D. xx. 5. 3. Also Epist. 217. 10: "Veracissima Scriptura dixit, omne quod non est *ex fide* peccatum est:" &c. Adding; "Nihil sic agit Princeps tenebrarum ut not *credatur* in Deum, nec ad Mediatorem credendo veniatur." To which effect our Homily on Faith also cites Augustine.

² "Si non nascitur ex Spiritu nisi qui veraci conversione mutatur, omnes qui sæculo verbis et non factis renunciant non utique de Spiritu, sed ex aqua solà nascuntur." And again; "In illis sunt quos Apostolus, *jam per sacramentum Novi Testamenti natos*, adhuc tamen dicit, animales non posse percipere quæ sunt Spiritûs Dei." Contra Donat. i. 24. See too the extract given Note ⁴ p. 284, and others in Faber on Regeneration, 57 &c.

³ Here we may mark the importance of the fact of his conversion taking place before baptism. So he describes it distinctly in his Confessions, Books viii, ix. "Was it my will, or deeds that have done it? No, but thou, Lord, good and merciful, and thy right hand, looking at the depth of my death, and exhausting the abyss of corruption from the bottom of my heart. In a moment I bowed my neck to thy easy yoke, Christ Jesus my helper and Redeemer. Thou ejectedst those delightful vanities, O my true delight, and enteredst in their room. I communed with thee, my light, my riches, my Saviour, my God. . . . I had tasted the internal eternal life." Afterwards follows an account of his *baptism*, but with no particular remarks on it. ⁴ Acts viii. 37, x. 47.

⁵ On *infants* he considered that it conferred *justification from the birth*—sin derived from Adam, its guilt and its condemnation. So C. D. xxi. 16. (In which sense, I presume, our Augustinian Homily also speaks of *justification in baptism*, not in any other.) With regard to other sins, Augustine adds, that so soon as the child may be of age to understand God's commands, the conflict must begin: and that sins are not really overcome "*nisi veræ delectatione justitie, in fide Christi*."—In the case of *adults* he considered that not only did *this* justification from original sin accompany the sacrament, but much *inward spiritual grace*, provided the recipient came in *faith*.

Mr. Faber in his Work on Election, p. 89, observes on this Augustine's distinction between the cases of *infants* and *adults*.—And would it not be well, let me ask, in questions concerning the saving efficacy of baptism, and its necessary prerequisites, to argue rather from the case of *adults* to that of *infants*, than vice versa,—from the more plain to the more obscure?—For example, (if I may be allowed the illustration), in Geometry we reason from the *rectilinear* to the *curvilinear*. What holds true *always* of inscribed rectilinear figures, however its bounding right lines may in *length* be diminished, in *number* increased, until at length approximation is made to the curve,—that we argue must hold in the

preserving grace obtained a general sanction and credence in the professing Church, Rome itself assenting,¹ (the rather because pure Pelagianism tended to make men independent of the *ecclesiastical* system of salvation, which Rome cherished, as well as of Augustine's more *spiritual* and *scriptural* system,) such as the eloquence, talents, episcopal authority, and weight of character, with which God had endowed this his eminent servant and instrument, influential as they were, would by themselves doubtless have failed to obtain.—But who does not see the contrariety of this system of salvation by grace,—God's own individual, direct, electing, and saving grace,—to a system of salvation *ecclesiastical*, begun by the *opus operatum* of the priest in baptism, and carried on simply by the saving virtue of church ceremonies and church observances?—In fact the contrariety of the two systems was quickly felt; and Rome (though still professedly reckoning Augustine in its list of saints) eschewed very soon its former direct approval of his doctrine, and substituted virtually a mongrel system of *ecclesiastical semi-Pelagianism*.²

And so, as the barbarian tempests from the North were ravaging the Roman world, a twofold stream of doctrine was perpetuated in the Church visible through the ages following;—the one the *ritualistic ecclesiastical* doctrine of religion, the other the *Augustinian spiritual* doctrine of *saving grace*. In chapters that will follow, I

curve itself. Similarly since, in the case of *adults*, faith (*personal faith*) must needs accompany baptism to make it effectual, and this holds of the *youngest adults*, if only the age be rational,—the same, we may argue, must hold proportionally in the baptism of *still younger children* and *infants* also, in order to its being effectual to spiritual life and salvation:—i. e. that faith must be then so implanted *in the germ*, if the child become at that moment in the *largest* sense of the word *spiritually* regenerate, that, in proportion as reason is developed, *faith* shall be developed also.

¹ So Pope Zosimus. See Augustine's Life. Also afterwards Pope Celestine.

² Take for example the extract following from Pope Gregory III's *Judicia Congrua Penitentibus*, written about the middle of the eighth century. Hard. iii. 1871.

"*Prima est remissio quâ baptizamur in aquâ, secunda caritatis effectus, tertia elemosynarum fructus, quarta perfusio lachrymarum, quinta afflictio cordis et corporis, sexta emendatio morum, septima intercessio sanctorum, octava fidei meritum, nona conversio et salus aliorum, decima indulgentia et remissio nostra!*"

shall have to note, on the one hand, the names of many in the middle ages, professedly of the Romish Church, who fed on this spiritual doctrine as on heavenly food,¹ and found in it a blessed antidote to the ritualistic formalism in vogue, down even to the Reformation; and, on the other, to observe how Rome more and more shrunk from, and hated, and opposed it.² Indeed I might trace both Rome's opposition to it, and God's blessing on it, even beyond the Reformation. Witness the histories of Luther,³ of the Jansenists,⁴ and indeed of

¹ In my Chapters on the Western Line of Witnesses.

² E.g. in the case of Gottshalk, which will be noted subsequently.

³ He was an *Augustinian* monk; and Augustine's writings united with the Bible to help him to the discovery of evangelic truth.

⁴ See in Harduin, xi. 1634, Pope Clement XI.'s condemnation, A.D. 1713, of the 101 Propositions of Jansen, mostly taken from Augustine: from which, as being eminently illustrative of my subject, though in respect of *chronology* long anticipatory, I must here beg to extract.

The Pope selects for condemnation among other propositions of Jansen the following:

1. Quid aliud remanet animæ quæ Deum atque ipsius gratiam amisit, nisi peccatum et peccati consecutiones, superba paupertas, et segnis indigentia; hoc est generalis impotentia ad laborem, ad orationem, et ad omne opus bonum.
2. Christi gratia, principium efficax boni cujuscunque generis, necessarium est ad omne opus bonum: absque illâ non solum nihil fit, sed nec fieri potest.
5. Quando Deus non emollit cor per interiorem unctionem gratiæ suæ, exhortationes et gratiæ exteriores non inserviunt nisi ad illud magis obdurandum.
8. Nos non pertinemus ad novum fœdus nisi in quantum participes sumus ipsius novæ gratiæ, quæ operatur in nobis id quod Deus nobis præcipit.
14. Quantumcumque remotus à salute sit peccator obstinatus, quando Jesus se ei videndum exhibet lumine salutari suæ gratiæ, oportet ut se ei dedat, occurrat, sese humiliet, et adoret Salvatorem suum.
25. Deus illuminat animam, et eum sanat, æquè ac corpus, solâ suâ voluntate.
26. Nullæ dantur gratiæ nisi per fidem.
27. Fides est prima gratia, et fons omnium aliarum.
28. Prima gratia quam Deus concedit peccatori, est peccatorum remissio.
29. Extrâ ecclesiam nulla conceditur gratia.
72. Nota ecclesiæ Christianæ est quod sit catholica, comprehendens et omnes angelos cœli, et omnes electos et justos terræ, omnium sæculorum.
73. Quid est ecclesia nisi cœtus filiorum Dei, manentium in ejus sinu, adoptatorum in Christo, redemptorum ejus sanguine, viventium ejus Spiritu, agentium per ejus gratiam, expectantium gratiam futuri sæculi.
75. Ecclesia est unus solus homo compositus ex pluribus membris, quorum Christus est caput, vita; unus solus Christus, compositus ex pluribus sanctis, quorum est sanctificator.
80. Lectio sacræ Scripturæ est pro omnibus.

This enumeration ended, the Bull condemns them as—"falsas, perniciosas, impias, blasphemias, hæresim ipsam sapientes," &c. &c.—So, says Ranke, iii. 199, speaking of this Bull Unigenitus, "the Jansenist doctrines of sin, grace, justification, and the church, even in their mitigated expression, and sometimes as literally taught by *Augustine*, were denounced as heretical."

Gibbon, vi. 24, when observing on the affinity between Augustine and Calvin, remarks justly also on the secret repugnance of Rome to the former. And Mr.

our own Anglican Church:—a church in its doctrines (we might almost say) half Augustinian, as well as half Lutheran: though with an Augustinianism moderate as the Apocalyptic figuration which I suppose to have symbolized it; omitting all deeper mysteries of the doctrine, and asserting simply its grand spiritual truth of the Lord's marking out from amidst the professing Church of an *individual election of grace*; ¹ to be preserved, through sanctification and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus, unto everlasting life.

Which being so, and the Augustinian light the chief that still, long after its first brighter orient beams,² glimmered through the dark ages,³ down to the outburst of Gospel sunlight at the *Reformation*, I cannot but pray the reader, in conclusion, to mark the admirable prophetic truth and propriety wherewith the Apocalyptic Revelation, ere passing onward to depict the Gothic tempests' irruption into and desolation of the Roman

Newman, in his work on Romanism, p. 93, notes that in an Edition of Augustine published at Venice, the publishers speak of having "taking care to remove whatever might affect the minds of the faithful with heretical pravity."

¹ I refer, of course, to its Art. xvii, On Predestination and Election. "They which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God (predestination to life) be called, according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they walk religiously in good works; and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity."

Compare the Collect for All Saints' Day; "O Almighty God, who hast knit together *thine elect* in one communion and fellowship, in the *mystical body of thy son Christ our Lord*;" where the sense of the word *elect*, as meant by our Church, is fixt by its choice of the very passage under consideration for the Gospel; I mean Apoc. vii. 2, &c, with its 144,000 sealed ones and palm-bearing company.

Mark too the Augustinianism of the Anglican Church doctrine in its Articles ix, x, on Original Sin and Freewill. In Art. xxix, on the inefficacy of the sacrament in case of wicked partakers, Augustine is expressly cited.—The writings of Cranmer, Hooper, and others of the *real* founders of our Reformed Church, abound with references to Augustine.

² Augustine's cotemporary *Paulus Orosius*, in the Preface to his History, speaks of the light shed on the Church and Christendom by the first ten Books just then published of the *De Civitate Dei*, in figurative language singularly correspondent with the Apocalyptic symbol: "*Quorum jam decem orientes radii mox, ut de speculâ ecclesiasticæ claritatis elati sunt, tuto orbe fulserunt.*"

³ "It is evident that real Christianity, notwithstanding its nominal increase under the emperors, must soon have been extinct, if God had not interposed with a second great effusion of his Spirit. This involves the private life of Augustine.—The effects of this diffusion of the Spirit were solid, though never brilliant. The light from Augustine's writings never broke out into a vivid extensive flame, but shone with a moderate brightness at first, and afterwards glimmered through many ages, down even to the Reformation." Milner, v. 2, 3; also v. 9.

world, paused at this precise æra, with its two light-shedding visions from heaven, of the *sealing* and the *palm-bearing*, to depict it. The peculiarity and distinctiveness of the figuration will appear to us yet more remarkable, on finding, as we go forward, that there was depicted afterwards before the Evangelist no other vision of light from heaven, but only of tempests, and woes, and sins, and of Christ's two witnesses witnessing in sackcloth: until at length, just in the midst of the second or Turkish woe, the same divine Angel in yet more glorious vision appeared descending to illuminate the scene, with the sun-light beaming from his face, and a rainbow encircling his head: which vision will be shown to have designated with equal, or even greater accuracy of delineation, the outburst and successive epochs and events of the glorious *Reformation*.—The one picture is in fact the counterpart of the other. Nor can either the evidence of their meaning what I have expounded them to mean (strong as it may have already appeared in the present case) be fully appreciated, nor the admirable suitableness of the two symbolized revelations of gospel-truth themselves to combat,—the *one* the *incipient* antichristian apostacy, with its more seemly yet earthly scheme of mere ecclesiastical salvation,—the *other* the *perfected* antichristian apostacy, with its worse than earthly terrors to enthrall a fearful conscience,—and by consequence their suitableness to preserve to the Lord a true Church in Christendom, unless they be considered and compared together; each with its own proper comment and illustration in history.

PART II.

APOC. VIII. 1.—IX. 20.

THE FIRST TRUMPETS.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE BY
THE GOTHs ; AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE BY
THE SARACENS AND TURKS.

A.D. 395—1453.

CHAPTER I.

THE HALF-HOUR'S SILENCE IN HEAVEN, INCENSE-
OFFERING, AND TRUMPET-SOUNDINGS.

“ AND when he had opened the seventh Seal, there was silence in heaven¹ about the space of half an hour.—And I saw the seven angels which stood before God : and to them were given seven trumpets.—And another angel came, and stood at the altar, having a golden censer : and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints,² upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand.—And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it upon³ the earth. And there were voices, and thunderings, &c. . . . And the seven

¹ ἤσυχον ὡς ἐν τῇ σπῆντι. I shall presently have to observe on this clause, and its rendering in our translation.

² πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, with the article.

³ εἰς τὴν γῆν. I prefer to render the preposition by *upon*, rather than *into*.

angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound.”—Apoc. viii. 1—6.

So began the SECOND PART or ACT of the great Apocalyptic Drama.—In the sealing Vision, just preceding, intimation had been given to St. John that almost immediately after the dissolution of the Roman *Pagan* Empire, and its conversion into one professedly *Christian*, there would ensue in it the rapid development of an antichristian Apostacy. But could it be without *judgments from heaven* following? To this question an associated figuration of threatening tempest-angels, prepared to desolate the Roman earth, already then gave answer. It is the evolution of that figuration that constitutes the Act of the Drama now opening. The scenic representation which heads the present chapter was its introduction.

I. “And when he opened the seventh Seal, there was *silence in heaven* for about the space of half an hour.” What might be the meaning of this *half hour’s silence in heaven*, is here the inquirer’s primary question.

Of course, noticed as it is in connection with the *seventh or last Seal’s opening*, Expositors have regard to their own several theories of the *structure of the Apocalypse*, in the explanations that they offer of it. Of those who suppose the Book to consist of a *triple series* of prefigurative visions, (chronologically parallel with each other, and each reaching to the consummation,) corresponding with the three septenaries of the Seals, the Trumpets and the Vials,—the one class, viewing the seventh Seal and its figuration of the half hour’s silence as the ending of the first series, expound this silence to signify the *millennial rest of the Church*, following on the final convulsions and revolution designated, as they presume, by the earthquake, &c. of the preceding *sixth* Seal. So, for example, *Vitringa*.¹ But how can we suppose

¹ Somewhat similarly the ancient expositor *Tichonius* makes it signify the commencement of the saints’ eternal rest; and *Bede*, the peace of the Church in some brief interval between Antichrist’s destruction and Christ’s second coming.

a repetition, *after* the seventh Seal's opening, of that which had been depicted, as they judge, in the palm-bearing vision *before* its opening? Or, again, how can we suppose a half-hour's *silence in heaven* to figure the joyous active rest of the Church in the Millennium?—Another class of the advocates of a triple parallelism of structure,—who, however, make the first series to end with the visions of the *sixth* Seal, those of the sealing and palm-bearing inclusive, and the *seventh Seal* to comprehend the seven Trumpets, and so, with its opening vision, to begin a new and second series,—these, I say, explain the silence as *a pause in the heavenly representations*; a pause simply significative of this break of separation between the two parallel series of prophecies. So *Dean Woodhouse*, *Cuninghame*, and others.¹ But surely in such case the silence ought to have occurred *before*, not *after*, the opening of the seventh Seal;—*before*, not *after*, the commencement of the new series: besides that, in that case, there ought to have been a similar break of silence elsewhere also, to mark the break between the second and the third series.

I pass to those expositors (as *Mede*, *Daubuz*, and *Bishop Newton*) who adopt what I conceive to be the correcter view of the Apocalyptic structure; i. e. who not only regard the Trumpet septenary of visions as included in the seventh Seal, but also regard this new septenary as *chronologically consecutive on that of the six Seals preceding*. Their view is to the effect that the half-hour's silence in heaven figured the *Church's silence in prayer* before the Trumpet's sounding, during the incense-offering by the angel-priest, noticed in a verse that follows: stating, in support of this view, that the Jews were wont to pray silently in the court without, while the priest (like *Zechariah*, *Luke i. 10*) went within the temple to offer incense. But here too we cannot find satisfaction. For, *first*, the silence is not represented as accompanying, and connected with, the angel-priest's offering the incense;

¹ Somewhat similarly *Chytræus*, *Arctius*, and *Bullinger* explain it, (so *Foxe* says in his *Eicasm*.) to be a mark of transition from the Seals to the Trumpets..

but as preceding, and pointedly-separated from, the latter action, by the act of the seven angels that stood before God, having the seven Trumpets given them, which intervenes. *Secondly*, it seems incredible that the expression "silence in heaven," should be used, not of a silence in the Holy of Holies, which here distinctively figured the heaven of God's presence, but in the temple-court simply and alone.—As to *Daubus's* further notion that this silence may also signify the *peace of the worshipping Church* after Constantine's establishment of Christianity, the inappropriateness of the emblem in any such sense must be obvious: besides that there would be then a repetition, under this new and inapt emblem, of what Mr. D. considers as the subject also of the much more apt palm-bearing vision, that preceded the seventh Seal's opening.

Can we then in no wise find what may satisfy us? I trust that by careful attention to the prophetic phraseology, and facts of the correspondent history, we shall arrive at a solution alike simple and satisfactory.

"There was silence in heaven;" *ἐγένετο σιγή ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ*.—The word *heaven*, we must observe, is one often used in scripture and elsewhere of the *aerial firmament*,¹ as well as of the *invisible heaven*, the seat of God's manifestation. Again, *silence* is used as often of the *stillness of inanimate nature*.² Which being so, the complex phrase *silence in heaven* might fitly, should the context suit, be interpreted to mean *stillness from storms* in that firmamental region. In fact Pliny, St. John's cotemporary, so uses the precise phrase "*silente cælo*;"³ nor does the usage of the He-

¹ So Matt. vi. 26, "the fowls of heaven;" xvi. 2, "The sky (or heaven, οὐρανός) is red;" James v. 18, "the heaven gave rain;" Apoc. xi. 6, "These have power to shut heaven, that it should not rain," &c; also vi. 14, &c.

² E. g. in Psalm cvii. 29, "He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still;" where the Hebrew word for *calm* is literally *silence*; and again in Jonah i. 11, "that the sea may be calm unto us;" where the literal Hebrew is, "that the sea may be *silent* to us."—Similarly write the *Greek* classical authors, as Theoc. ii. 38;—

Ἥλιος σιγῇ μὲν ποταμός, σιγῶντι δ' ἄηται·

And *Latin*; as Virgil. Eclog. ix. 57,

Et nunc omne tibi stratum silet æquor.

On which last Heyne observes, "*Silens solenne de ventis cessantibus*."

³ Nat. Hist. xviii. 28.—So Ovid, "*Silet humidus aer*." Metam. vii. 187.

brew scriptures disagree.¹—What then our present context? Was it not in the vision just preceding that we were told of *the four winds being remarkably restrained from blowing*; in other words, (to use Pliny's phrase) of there being a remarkable *silence in the firmamental heaven*? Surely then it might seem natural, if there be nothing in its position to negative the idea of connexion with what precedes, so to understand the phrase here.²—But does not the intervention of the seventh Seal furnish this precise negative, it will be said; the tempest-calm being *before* the seventh Seal's opening, the silence in heaven *after* it? The answer is to be found, if I mistake not, (unless an alternative explanation be adopted, of which more ere I conclude my argument,) in the Evangelist's constant use of the Greek *aorist*, after the idiom of the Hebrew, to signify the *pluperfect*; ³ which last-mentioned tense itself never, I believe, occurs in the Apocalypse. Thus in Apoc. xi. 10. *εβασανισαν* has the sense "*had tormented*;" for the witnesses were then dead of whom it is spoken. In Apoc. xx. 4. *προσεκυνησαν* means "*had worshipped*;" for the Beast to whom the worship was given had, at the time to which the verse applies, been destroyed. In Apoc. xxi. 1. we read, "I saw a new heaven and new earth, for the first heaven and first earth *had past away*;" where the Greek is *παρηλθε*, or, as Griesbach reads, *απηλθον*. And, once more, in John i. 10, the very same verbal *aorist* *εγενετο*, that occurs in the clause before us, is used as a *pluperfect*; "He was in the world, and the world *had been made* by him," *εγενετο δι αυτου*:—the sense being, not that it was made by him when or after Christ came into the world, but that it *had been made* by Him before. Hence it seems perfectly legitimate to construe the *aorist*

¹ Compare Psalm lxxvii. 17, 18; "The *sky* sent forth a sound: the *voice* of thy thunder was in the *heaven*."

² Since writing this I see that Grotius explains the phrase similarly; "Factum est silentium in celo: id est venti illi, de quibus actum supra vii. 1, quievere."

³ Take as examples in the Hebrew Gen. xii. 1, "Now the Lord *had* said to Abram;" as our translators, according to the exigency of the context, have rendered the preterite: and Exod. xi. 1, where the context evidently requires the pluperfect sense also; "Now the Lord *had* said to Moses."

cyvero in the same pluperfect sense here. In which case the translation will be, "And when he opened the seventh seal *there had been silence in heaven* for about the space of half an hour:"—thereby not merely allowing the idea of a connexion between this silence in heaven and the stillness of the threatened tempests previously noted, but almost implying it.

Thus there only remains to be considered the period during which this *silence of the winds of heaven* must be supposed to have continued, before the seventh Seal's opening, as transferred from vision to real life. I conceive then its specified *half-hour* to have been *literally* the time (for where the formal phrase of *mystic* time?) during which the calm lasted, measured on the scale of the *one Lord's day* mentioned Apoc. i. 10; which, with its 24 hours, is thought to have been the time of the representation of the whole visions.¹ I speak of it as a day of 24 hours, because it is to be inferred from the ecclesiastical history of the early Church that the Lord's day kept by it, like the sabbath by the Jews, was one consisting of all the 24 hours of the natural day.² Further, it is my impression, as will be explained afterwards, that the period prefigured in the Apocalypse, from St. John's time to that of the Millennium, might be somewhere about 1800 years, or with the Millennium inclusive about 2800; the prefigurations of which, with the exception of the supplemental Part, will appear to have been consecutive. And allowing some four or six hours for the time of this supplemental part being more succinctly represented, and also for that of dictating the

¹ So Ansbert "Hanc revelationem, sicut ipse Johannes fatetur, unâ Dominicæ resurrectionis die in spiritu elevatus meruit videre." Lib. viii. ad Apoc. xviii. 1.

² Augustine (Hom. 221, de Tempore), after noticing the apostle's change of the holy day of rest from the seventh or Jewish sabbath to the Lord's-day, adds, that therefore "à vespere diei sabbati usque ad vespem diei dominici soli divino cultui vacemus."—Bingham too observes, that "the first service in the earlier times began at midnight, and lasted often till break of day." So Tertullian, De Cor. Mil. 3, speaks of the Christians' "*antelucanis cœtibus*." Elsewhere, with reference to the hindrances to their church-meetings from persecution, he says, "If fearful to meet by day," "*habes noctem*." And again, in his Apology, ch. 2, he refers to Pliny's description, Ep. 97; "*Soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem*."

epistles to the seven churches, there will remain some eighteen or twenty for the representation of the main continuous series of visions. And if this were on a *scale of time*, and proportion were *at all* observed between the time prefigured and the time of the prefiguring, then an *hour* of that Lord's day that the Evangelist was in the Spirit, might be considered in a general manner as answering to some 140 or 150 years prefigured, and *half an hour* consequently to some 70 or 80.

Thus explained, the chronological intimations conveyed in the half hour's firmamental stillness, and respite from the overwhelming tempests threatened in the vision, will be found to correspond sufficiently well with the state of things in the Roman Empire during the 70 years that intervened between Constantine's final victory over Licinius, followed by the dissolution of the Pagan heaven, A.D. 324, and Alaric's revolt and invasion of the empire, consequent on Theodosius' death, A.D. 395. That is with one proviso,—a proviso essential to the satisfactoriness of the explanation: viz. that the period spoken of to be divided into two, from Constantine to Valens' death, and from Valens' death to that of Theodosius; and that the intersecting epoch of Valens' defeat by the Goths in the fatal battle of Adrianople, an epoch pointedly marked, as I conceive, in Apoc. vii. 1, be distinctly noted. During all the first period, (a period the commencement of which was celebrated by Lactantius and others, and illustrated by the Constantinian medal before spoken of,) ¹ the tempest-angels of the vision had not established themselves within the Roman frontiers. The Goths especially either remained inoffensively within their own territory, according to the tenor of their treaty of submission made A.D. 323 with Constantine: or, if marauding bodies either of them, or of other bar-

¹ With the legend *Beata Tranquillitas*. See p. 230 *suprà*. Lactantius writes of the same; "Restitutâ per orbem tranquillitate, . . . nunc post tantæ tempestatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux refulsit." De M.P. 1.—Lactantius' reference is chiefly to the previous tempests of persecution within the empire. The *medal* doubtless referred chiefly to stillness from wars, alike from without and from within.

barians crossed the frontier, as was the case sometimes during the reign of Valentinian, they were driven back almost instantly into their own land. Even Sapor, the celebrated Persian King, after repelling Julian's *war of aggression*, was unable to make impression within the proper Euphratean frontier of the Roman empire. To use Gibbon's language again, "*The threatening tempests of barbarians* were still repelled or suspended on the frontiers."—But, in the events which attended and caused the death of Valens, a fearful change occurred. A whole nation of the Goths, under terror of the threatened invasion of their Dacian country by innumerable hordes of Huns that had issued from the depths of Chinese Tartary,¹ having implored permission to cross the Danube, were received into the Roman world, never thenceforward to quit it;² rose up a military host against the Romans, on some insult or injury; and, after the slaughter of Valens and his army in the fearful battle of Adrianople, A. D. 378, stood before the world, connectedly with other of the frontier barbarians,³ like the tempest-angels seen by the Evangelist on the *four corners of the land*, the evidently prepared instruments for effecting its desolation.—But an Almighty and invisible arm even then at once arrested them. "Hurt not the land, &c. till we have sealed the servants of God in their foreheads." The respite was prolonged. The firmamental stillness was renewed. Theodosius was

¹ Gibbon's descriptive language should again be marked. Speaking of the news brought to Valens respecting this Hunnish immigration into the trans-Danubian countries, he says the report was communicated to him that Dacia "was agitated by a *furious tempest*." iv. 379. The tempest-angels were then advancing to their posts on the frontier.

² It is now thirty years, says Claudian, writing, A. D. 404 on the Gothic war,

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Istrum transvecta, semel vestigia fixit,
Threicio funesta solo.

Montesquieu's error, in supposing that the Goths left the Roman territory after the defeat of Valens, "is inexcusable," says Gibbon, "since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Roman Empire." iv. 443.—The tempest-angels, *then fixed upon the soil*, were its appointed destroyers.

³ Here again I must quote Gibbon. Speaking of the Emperor Gratian's consideration of the critical state of the empire after Valens' death, he says, "*A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany* seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul." iv. 420.

the instrument of Providence for the purpose. The Goths partly defeated, partly conciliated, submitted to him. He renewed substantially the treaty and alliance made with them by Constantine. So Schlegel observes;¹ "When Valens perished in the Gothic war, Theodosius contrived to conclude an advantageous peace with that people; and renewed the armed confederacy with the Goths which Constantine had formed. The Goths declared to Theodosius that so long as he lived, they wished to have no other king but himself." Nor did the barbarians elsewhere violate the frontier. The Persians especially, though before flushed and insolent with victory, now strangely sued for peace and friendship.² And Bishop Newton³ thus amalgamates the two periods of tranquillity from external war, as substantially one, though without any object in prophetic interpretation like my own: "This period (of tranquillity) we may suppose to have continued, with some little intermission, from the *reign of Constantine* to the *death of Theodosius*, about seventy years."

Such is the solution to which I myself incline, of the *half-hour's silence in heaven*. At the same time the alternative solution is open to him who prefers it,—while still explaining the *silence* to mean stillness from the threatened tempests, as before,—yet to interpret the *half-hour* on the *prophetic year-day scale*, as but a *very short interval*, even as of a *few days*.⁴ In which case the *verb cymeto* will be construed in its usual *imperfect* sense: and the clause signify that after the opening of the seventh Seal (a prophetic epoch answering in either solution to that of the *death of Theodosius*) there was, or was continued, stillness from the tempests only the space of a few days, when seven trumpet-angels appeared on the scene.

So that in either case the term of respite, the stillness before the storm, was figured as brought to an end

¹ Philosophy of History, Vol. ii. p. 54.

² So Orosius, B. P. M. vi. 444; speaking of the thing as most extraordinary; and of the peace then made with Persia as one which the whole East still, says he, "*tranquillissime fruatur*," when writing thirty years after.

³ End of his Comment on the Sealing Vision.

⁴ A half-hour on the year-day scale equals $7\frac{1}{2}$ days. In the prophecy the time was defined to be *ὡς ἡμωρια*, about a half-hour.

almost immediately after the seventh Seal's opening. For the trumpets then given to the seven angels were evidently trumpets of war from God and judgment; and the previous check on the threatened tempests, and the spirits riding them, thereupon withdrawn. Just accordant with which (if I may anticipate for a moment) is the record of history. "*The fourth century*," says Hallam,¹ speaking of the same precise period, "*set in storms.*"

But wherefore these judgments?—Already, we have seen, explanation had been hinted in the *Sealing Vision*, of good cause existing for their *threatening*, in its allusive intimation of some antichristian apostacy having then begun among the inhabitants of Roman Christendom. In the *Incense Vision*, prefixed under this Seal to the trumpet-soundings, we shall find explanation, if I mistake not, of the reason of God's proceeding to *execution* of the threat against it; as against an empire in which the respite was unimproved, the sin unrepented of, the apostacy in progress.—This is the *next* point to consider, and a most important one: and, as before, we must, in order to its right understanding, first analyze the *vision itself*, then trace the *fulfilment in history*.

II. 1. The *scenic vision*, then, was as follows. "And another Angel came,"—i. e. after the delivery of the seven trumpets to the seven trumpet-angels,—“and stood at the altar, having a golden censer. And there was given to him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne. And the smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the Angel's hand.” After which follows: “And the Angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth: and there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake.”—Such was the vision. To understand that its significance was to the purport that I stated, it only needs

¹ Middle Ages, iii. 307.

that we attend carefully to three points ; *the Angel-priest ministering,—his position at the altar ere receiving the incense,—and the persons described as offering incense through Him, in contrast with others who did it not.*

First, *the Angel-priest ministering.* And whom can we scripturally suppose to be hereby intended but the *Lord Jesus ?* For He is “ the great High Priest over the house of God, passed into the heavens.” In that character He was expressly represented as acting on the mystic temple-scene, at the opening of the Apocalyptic visions. Nor is the *angelic-title* here ascribed to the ministering priest inconsistent with our supposition ; seeing that this priesthood was but one of the functions of Christ as *Angel of the Covenant*.¹—An argument confirmatory of this interpretation is derived, by Sir I. Newton² and others, from the specification of the censer as a *golden* one that was used by the angel-priest. For they state, from the Rabbins, that the High Priest alone used a golden censer in the Jewish ritual ; the common priests using one of silver.³—Besides which there is yet another confirmatory argument, and which I cannot pass over in silence, deducible from the vision in Ezekiel ix :—a vision of which the *first* part was noted by me as strikingly parallel to the Apocalyptic vision of the *sealing* ;⁴ and of which the *concluding* part is as strikingly similar to that we are now considering. In Ezekiel it is the same person, clothed in the linen garb of the priesthood, that had been previously marking

¹ Compare what is here said of the incense ascending up out of the Angel's hand, with the description of the Angel of the Covenant ascending in the flame of Manoah's sacrifice. Judges xiii. 20.

² “ On other days it was the custom of the *priest* to take fire from the great altar, in a *silver* censer. But on the day of expiation the *High Priest* took the fire from the great altar in a *golden* censer.”—Sir Isaac is referring this to the high priest's ministration on the great day of expiation only. But as no mention is made of the angel-priest going further than the altar of incense, entering the Holy of Holies, or performing other of the rites peculiar to that day, we do not seem warranted in using the statement of the Jewish Rabbins further than I have done.

³ In the Apocalyptic temple, created angels appeared often habited as priests, and officiating as priests ; but, I think, no where as performing the functions of *high priest*, or the proper sacerdotal functions of sacrificing and incense-offering.

⁴ See p. 250 *suprà*.

God's servants on their foreheads,¹ who is described as afterwards coming into the sanctuary, to make report of the fulfilment of his commission ; and then taking the fire from between the cherubim, and scattering it over the apostatized city Jerusalem. What then the natural inference, but that here, too,—immediately consequent as the present vision is on that of the sealing,—the Angel who now goes into the Holy Place, and afterwards takes of the altar-fire to scatter over the apostatizing land of Roman Christendom, must be the same as the sealing Angel of the former vision, whom we saw reason to conclude was the *Lord Jesus* :—He having past into the sanctuary, we may suppose, from acting out *one* of his characters before St. John, in the illumination and sealing of his own people ; and, ere he scatter fire on the earth, stopping in *another*, viz. in his priestly and mediatorial character, (still before St. John,) to receive and present the prayers of his people.

The next thing to be here noted and explained is the *Angel's representation*, at the opening of the vision, as *standing with his censer beside the altar*, to receive the incense of the people offering ; i. e. beside the great brazen altar of sacrifice in the temple-court. "He stood," it is said, "*at the altar*, and much incense was given him." The position was that of the officiating priest under the Levitical law, when about to exercise the same ministration : and it arose out of the divine ordinance, that forthwith, on receiving the incense of the worshippers, he should take burning coals from off the altar, place them on his censer, and carrying them at the same time as the incense into the sanctuary, apply the sacred fire to the incense to make it burn, after laying it on the golden altar before the veil. The which particular in the ritual was insisted on as most important, indeed essential. Other fire than this in the ministration was called "strange fire : " and, for offering in-

¹ From comparing Ezek. ix. 6, "Come not near any man upon whom is my mark," with Ezek. xxi. 3, "I will cut off from thee (the land of Israel) *the righteous* and the wicked," I infer that in *this* case, as in Apoc. vii, the guaranteed salvation of the sealed ones was from spiritual and *real* evil.

cense with such strange fire, Nadab and Abihu, though sons of Aaron, were struck dead by God upon the spot. The true reason for all which particularity was, that a deep and holy mystery was shadowed forth in this ordinance of the Mosaic ritual; viz. that except by association with the meritorious atoning sacrifice of the Lamb of God, and the application to them of its purifying and propitiatory virtue, the prayers and praises of his people could never rise up acceptably before the mercy-seat.—Now then in the symbolic vision before us, the Angel's standing by the altar, and receiving the incense of such as offered it, indicates that in *their* case this essential, in order to acceptableness, was attended to. There was the association of *Christ* with their offering, in his two-fold anti-typical character and office,—of *sacrifice* and of *priest*. Just as the true Christian's privilege is elsewhere stated; “We have an advocate, (an intercessory priest) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation (the propriatory sacrifice) for our sins.”¹

And thus we are led to inquire, thirdly, who were, and who were not, *the offerers* that gave Him incense? This is a question soon answered. It was “*the saints*” that offered it; i. e. the 144,000, the sealed ones.—It was these,—“*all these*,” we read,—and (let this be marked) these *alone*. There is evidently an *allusive contrast* here (just as before in the sealing vision) to those that were *not* the Lord's saints, as pointedly not present, and not partaking in the action. Indeed the *inhabitants of the earth*, generally, (for “the earth,” mentioned in verse 5 as the object of God's wrath and judgment, implies its inhabitants,) may be almost said to be *expressly noted* in contrast, as *not* participating.²

But how not participating? Was it to be inferred

¹ 1 John ii. 1, 2.—On the *ιασμος*, (propitiation,) compare Numb. v. 8, where the ram of the atonement is called *κριος τε ιασμος*; and again Ezek. xlii. 27, *προσποισεν ιασμον*: passages which show that it was in his character of *an atoning sacrifice* that Christ has here the term applied to him. So too 1 John iv. 10, “He sent his Son to be a propitiation (*ιασμον*) for our sins.”

² A similar contrast occurs in a later prefigured period of the apostacy, Apoc. xiii. 7, between the inhabitants of the earth that worshipped the Beast, and the saints (*αγιοι*) against whom the Beast made deadly war.

that they had forsaken the altar-court, and virtually at least renounced the offered privileges of Christ's atoning sacrifice and Christ's mediatorship? Such in truth seemed the meaning of the symbol ;—a meaning fully confirmed by a subsequent and most notable use of the same symbol in the same sense in a later chapter.¹ Indeed, as the vision depicted what passed in the *altar-court*, the scene of what used to be visible and public in the ancient Jewish worship, it seemed implied that this forsaking of the altar-fire and the High Priest of the altar, by the mass of the inhabitants of Roman Christendom, would be characteristic, not of their *private* worship and devotions only at this time, but of their *public* worship also :—insomuch that, even publicly, Christ's saints would be now peculiar in availing themselves simply and sincerely of his mediation, and of his propitiatory atoning sacrifice.

But how, and for what, could they thus have forsaken Him ?—For the answer to this question we must recur, as proposed *secondly* under this head, to *history*.

2. And indeed the history of the times at once answers the inquiry. For it tells how the *invocation of saints* and *martyrs*, and new means of *propitiating God*, had now come into vogue among the inhabitants of the Roman world ; and how they were thus quick relapsing, though under the Christian name and profession, into a Christ-renouncing idolatry. This was in fact the *second great step* of the *anti-christian* APOSTACY ; and one that specially deserved observation, as being that whereby the *invisible* world itself became allied with the *visible* in strengthening it.—Hear Dean Waddington's account of the strange lapse of the professing Church into it. "The Christians of the *ante-Nicene* Church," he says, shunned with horror every approach to the abomination of idolatry. So definite and broad was the space which in this point separated between Christianity and Paganism, that it

¹ Viz. Apoc. xi. 1 ; "Rise, and measure the temple, and the altar, and them that worship in it : but the court without the temple (including its worshippers) cast out, for it has been given to the Gentiles." See Part iii. Chap. vi.

seemed impossible that a compromise should be effected between principles so fundamentally hostile. Yet the contrary result took place : and a reconciliation, which *in the beginning of the fourth century* could not easily have been imagined, took place *before its termination*. Enthusiasm respecting *the martyrs* easily passed into superstition. Those who had sealed a Christian's faith by a martyr's death were exalted (it was thought) above the condition of men, and enthroned among superior beings. Superstition gave birth to credulity. Those who sate among the powers of heaven might sustain by miraculous assistance their votaries on earth. . . . Hence the stupid veneration of bones and relics. It was inculcated that prayer was never so efficacious as when offered at the tomb of some saint."¹—And as to the kind of *public worship* resulting, take the graphic sketch of Gibbon. "If *in the beginning of the fifth century* Tertullian or Lactantius had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation at the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the Church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of the incense,² the perfumes of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers ; which diffused at noon-day a gaudy, superfluous, and in their opinion a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altars, they made their way through the prostrate crowd : consisting for the most part of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast, and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism and perhaps of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice ; and their fervent prayers were directed (whatever might be the language

¹ History of the Church, p. 115. See too Neander, p. 331 : Mosheim, v. 2. 3. 2 ; and Le Bas' sketch of the church of the fourth century, taken from Chrysostom, in his Life of Wiclif, p. 7, &c.

² Tertullian (Apol. 42) declared that even *trading in incense* was sinful ; because it was a thing burnt on heathen altars.

of their church) to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saints, which were usually concealed by a linen or silken veil from the eyes of the vulgar. They frequented the tombs of the martyrs in hope of obtaining from their powerful intercession every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal blessings. . . . [In case of the fulfilment of their wishes] they again hastened to the martyrs' tomb, to celebrate with grateful thanksgiving their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received ;—eyes and hands and feet of gold and silver : and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotions, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint."¹

Such is Gibbon's graphic sketch. It occurs in a chapter thus significantly headed, "*Destruction of Paganism, Introduction of the worship of saints and relics among the Christians ;*" and which, I beg the reader to observe, is placed, in exact chronological accordance with our incense-vision, between the epoch of *Theodosius' death*, A. D. 395 with which epoch, as I suppose, the seventh Apocalyptic Seal opened, and that of the Gothic revolt and first irruptions A. D. 395, 396, the fulfilment, I further conceive, of the immediately-following earthquake, lightnings, &c. of the Apocalyptic vision.²—Nor, I am persuaded, will he who candidly consults the most authentic memorials of the times³ fail to acknowledge, that whether as regards the main fact asserted of *saint and martyr-worship* having now come in, (even as of beings who both chiefly exercised the intercessorial office between man and God, and constituted moreover God's chief executive to favor the supplicants addressing them,) or as regards the *relics* and *images*

¹ v. 134.

² Ch. xxviii.

³ I would strongly recommend the reader, who wishes thus to form his own judgment on the subject, to read Dr. Gilly's very interesting, picturesque, and instructive Volume, entitled *Vigilantius and his Times*: a Volume in which certain illustrative documents of this nature are embodied : and the ecclesiastical spirit prevalent at the close of the fourth century as truly as strikingly set forth.

⁴ See generally Dr. Gilly's Chapter on Paulinus ; (Paulinus, Bishop of Nola,

through which that worship was paid,¹ the *fictitious*

and "the delight of his age," as he was called;) and particularly the specimens inserted by him of the many natalitial odes addressed by Paulinus to St. Felix, his avowed *patron saint*, and the *dominædus* of the church and monastery built by the former to him. The following from the first, second, and eighth odes, and of the dates A. D. 393, 394, 400, are fair samples, and sufficiently illustrative.

1. Vectus in æthereum sine sanguine Martyr honorem,
O pater, O domine, indignis licet annue servis. . . .
Seu placeat telluris iter, comes aggere tuto
Esto tuis; seu magna tui fiducia longo
Suadeat ire mari, da currere mollihus undis: &c.
2. Et maria intravi duce te, quia cura pericli
Cessit amore tui. . . .
Semper eo et terris te propter tutus, et undis.
8. Sancte, precor, succurre tuo; scio proximus adstas,
Et de contigua missis hunc auribus sede
Audisti Felix fletum infelicitis alumni.

And the same in prose as poetry. Indeed the worship of St. Felix was a matter of all earnestness with him, the very business of his life. So that the Romanists (Baronius and others) may well cite Paulinus as an authority for saint-worship. (Gilly, p. 80.)

Pope Damasus, who died A. D. 384, had however preceded Paulinus in this invocation of St. Felix. In the B. P. M. xxvii. 84, among some of his Carmina, I find the following.

De Sancto Felice.

Corpore, mente, animo, pariter de nomine felix,
Sanctorum in numero Christi sacratæ triumphis,
Qui ad te sollicitè venientibus omnia præstas,
Nec quendam pateris tristem repedare vianem,
Te duce servatus, mortis quodd vincula rupi,
Versibus his Damasus supplex tibi vota rependo.

And I must add in the same category the well-known name also of *Sulpitius Severus*. In his Epist. 2, after speaking of the death of Martin of Tours, he thus refers to the departed monk as his ever-present guardian, intercessor, and hope. "Non deerit nobis ille; non, non deerit. Intererit de se sermocinantibus, adstabit orantibus; quod que jam hodiè præstare dignatus est, videndum se in gloriâ suâ sæpe præbebit, et assiduâ benedictione nos proteget. Spes superest illa sola, illa postrema, ut quod per nos obtinere non possumus, pro nobis orante Martino mereamur." B. P. M. vi. 356. Also Ep. 3; "Illinc (from Abraham's bosom) nos, ut spero, custodiens, me hæc scribentem respicit, te legentem." Ib. 357.—So too *Gregory Nyssen* of Meletius, "Intercedit pro nobis et populi erratis;" A. D. 381: and *Synesius*, (Bishop of Ptolemais in Libya, A. D. 410,) in his Hymns; B. P. M. vi. 157; &c.

¹ Saints' relics were so in demand that monks hawked them for gain. August. Oper. Monach. 36. Hence the saint-worshippers were called *cinerarii* by Vigilantius and others. Of course what were *saints'* bones, what those of persons less holy, was often doubtful. In one case Martin extorted, it is said, a confession from the demon, that the bones adored were those of an *executed malefactor*, not a *saint*. See Gilly 53, 146, 210; and compare Mosheim iv. 2. 4. 5.—Pompous translations of the bodies or bones of supposed saints formed another visible variety in the actings of the same superstition at this time. We have Gregory Nyssen's funeral oration on the translation of Meletius' body to Antioch. ("ecclesiam vectus ad suam, thesaurus ingens,") A. D. 381. Jerome, in his Book against Vigilantius, alludes to the more celebrated transfer of Samuel's bones to Constantinople, A. D. 406, by the Emp. Arcadius. "Episcopi cineres in serico et vase aureo portaverunt: omnium ecclesiarum populi occurrerunt sanctis reliquiis, tantâ lætitiâ &c." And in 416 followed that of St. Stephen's to Africa.

Pictures of saints too were now introduced. Paulinus introduced them at

miracles that supported it,¹ or the *pilgrimages* and the *revellings* with which it was accompanied,²—I say in respect of all these points the candid investigator will, I am persuaded, be forced to acknowledge that Gibbon's historic sketch is here, as usual, literally correct. It was not a mere few of the population, or simply the lower and less instructed, that thus deserted Christ Jesus, the one only appointed Mediator between God and man, for other and imaginary mediators and intercessors. The highest and most influential of their bishops and doctors, Pope Damasus, Gregory Nyssen, Paulinus, Sulpitius,³ (may I not add Jerome?) these led, and the multitudes followed.⁴ And when (not to speak of cer-

Nola; Sulpitius at Primuliac; these latter being pictures of St. Martin and Paulinus. Gilly 52, 86.—A picture of Christ was destroyed in a church by their cotemporary Epiphanius; as tending to idolatry.

¹ See Gilly, p. 187, for specimens of the reported miracles of St. Felix: also p. 443. See too, p. 62, the account of the manner in which, among the three crosses found buried in the earth of Mount Calvary, the true one was discovered to Helena, by the miracle of its raising a dead man to life.

² In the year 395, the year when Vigilantius visited Paulinus at Nola, there was a grand feast in honour of St. Felix. "The people," says Paulinus, "assembled in such crowds that there was no counting them. It was a dense multitude, urged on by one vow and object. Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, Campania, Latium, poured in their population: worshippers came from Capua, Naples, and even Rome. You might suppose it was Rome itself rising before you, not Nola." Then, on the manner of keeping the feast; "Oh that they would offer up their vows of joy with more sobriety; that they would not be quaffing wine within the sacred precincts. Yet some allowance must be made. Simple piety fancies that the saints will be pleased with the offerings of fragrant wine poured on their tombs," &c. Gilly, p. 216.—See too Augustine's Ep. 22, 29, written A. D. 392, 395, describing and denouncing the excesses.

I add an earlier example from Gregory Nyssen's life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, a celebrated bishop of the middle of the third century. "When Gregory perceived that the ignorant multitude persisted in their idolatry on account of the pleasures and sensual gratifications (*corporeas delectationes et voluptates*) which they enjoyed at the Pagan festivals, he granted them permission to indulge themselves in the like pleasures, in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs; hoping that in process of time they would return of their own accord to a more virtuous and regular course of life."—I quote from Mosh. ii. 2. 4. 2; who adds that by this permission, as it appears from the context, Gregory allowed the Christians to dance, sport, and feast at the tombs of Martyrs; and to do every thing at *their* festivals which the *Pagans* were accustomed to do in their temples, during the festivals in honour of their gods.—The same policy was pursued afterwards by Pope Gregory I; and it is to be traced in the missions of the Romish church in Japan, China, India, &c. even to the present time. See of late years the Abbé Dubois' work on the Indian Mission.

The Rev. H. Wilberforce, in his late Prize Essay, (p. 2) alludes to Gregory's success in the conversion of the Pagans of his diocese to Christianity. The above extract will show that his example is not exactly one to be either admired or followed.

³ See the Notes p. 309.

⁴ Compare Mosheim v. 2. 3. 2.

tain discerning and scriptural Christians, of whom more presently,) alike the Manichæan heretic, and the Pagan sophist, (of which latter class still a few remained,) objected and ridiculed the heathenish character of the new worship,—when Eunapius the Pagan exclaimed in A.D. 396, “These are the gods the earth now-a-days brings forth,—these, the intercessors with the gods,—men called *martyrs*; before whose bones and skulls, pickled and salted, the monks kneel, and lay prostrate, covered with filth and dust,”¹—and the Manichæan Faustus, A. D. 400, “You have but exchanged the old idols for martyrs, and offer to the latter the same prayers as once to the former,”²—what was the defence put forth for the Church by its chief and most influential champions, such as the monk St. *Jerome*?³ He did but, while most loudly disclaiming the charge of *idolatry*, both admit, and indeed contend for, just such a veneration and view of dead saints and martyrs, as was essentially *anti-christian*. For throughout the whole of his two treatises, in answer to the charge of saint-worship and martyr-worship,—while *not one word was said about Christ's being our great mediator and high priest*, not one word expressive of jealousy for *his* honour, or to show that *He* was not to be superseded in the office,⁴—the whole strength of this church-advocate's oratory was expended in magnifying the dead saints and martyrs in question: asserting, as he did, their ubiquity,⁵ influence with God,⁶ and power to

¹ Lardner, viii. 66. The year 396 is his date of the Lives of the Sophists, whence the extract is borrowed.—Similarly wrote Maximus the Grammarian of the saint-worship prevalent, A. D. 390. See Augustine, Epist. xvi, Vol. ii.

² “Vertitis idola in martyres, . . . quos votis similibus colitis.”

³ Both Jerome's Letter and Treatise against Vigilantius, the one of the date A.D. 404, the other 406, are given in full by Dr. Gilly in chapters xvii and xviii.

⁴ I pray the reader to mark this. The contrast with *Augustine*, when speaking on the same subject, as will soon appear, is most striking.

⁵ “Do you put them in bonds?” says he to Vigilantius, in reply to his assertion that they had a fixed place appointed them. “Are they not with the Lord, of whom it is written, They follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth? If the Lamb is everywhere, they who are with the Lamb must be believed to be everywhere. And since the devil and his angels wander over the whole world, shall martyrs be cooped up?” Gilly, p. 398.

⁶ Moses, he argues, obtained pardon for 600,000 men, while alive; and Stephen besought forgiveness for his persecutors. After being with the Lord, shall they less prevail?

hear and answer suppliants, even to the extent of miracle-working in their behalf;¹ as also to punish neglectors, and torture demons.² In short he asserted a relation between men and them which, if not that of worshippers and the worshipped, was yet that of clients and patrons;³—patrons invested with the chief intercessory and mediatorial, as well as chief ministering functions, between God and man. A view this which could not but involve practically the supercession of Christ, in his character of the one Mediator, to whom was given all power for the help of his saints, alike in heaven and earth:—as well as in that also (which could not be separated from the former, and was equally noted in the Apocalyptic vision,) of the *propitiatory meritorious sacrifice*; whereby alone sinful man's incense-offering could be purified, and made acceptable before God.—I say which could not be separated. For how was Christ a prevailing *Advocate* with the Father, except as being Jesus Christ *the righteous*, who had made *atonement* for our sins?⁴ And how, in the counter-system, could departed saints be supposed *successful mediators*, except as having a stock of *merit*, sufficient to propitiate God?⁵ Besides which, *human*

¹ "Answer me this, How is there such efficacy of signs and miracles in this most worthless dust and ashes?" &c. Gilly. p. 408.

² "The unclean spirit which compels you to write these things, has often been racked by this trashy dust.—I give you my advice: enter the churches of the martyrs: and you will then be burnt with invisible flames, and confess what you now deny." Ib. 409.

³ I add an illustration from Prudentius, *Περὶ Ἀρετῶν*, Hymn 8: written about A.D. 405, with the precise title of *patrons* given to the saints; in which, however, *Christ* is just mentioned, though not as the *intercessor*:—indeed distinctly as *not* one to be addressed by sinners. (Lardner, v. 5.)

Indignus, agnosco et scio,
Quem Christus ipse exaudiat;
Sed per patronos martyres
Potest medelam consequi.

⁴ 1 Joh. ii. 1. Compare Is. liii. 11, 12.

⁵ So Paulinus, of St. Felix (Gilly, 53):
Sancta sub æternis altaribus ossa quiescunt;
Ut dum casta pio referantur munera Christo,
Divinis sacris animæ jungantur odores.

Or, as the French translators;

Les os sont enfermées sous l'enclos de l'autel;
Ou, quand s'offre au Seigneur l'holocauste immortel,
L'odeur de ses vertus, en tous lieux reverées,
Se joint au doux parfum des offrandes sacrées.

merit was now needed, such as might propitiate the saints ; (for an anti-christian system of merit like this, once begun, knew no ending ;) especially of ritual devotion (or rather rioting) ¹ at their tombs, and of church-gifts and alms-deeds. ² So that it was all *strange fire* now with the offerings. God's own *ashes of the altar-fire*, as well as God's own *High Priest*, were, according to the Apocalyptic figuration, forsaken by the mass in Roman Christendom.

Oh ! sad apostacy of the Church from that which was its proper and glorious office, (I mean the directing each sinner's soul to personal communion with Christ as its Mediator, atonement, and Saviour,) into a system whereby it became more and more the instrument of *interposing* each sacred thing between Christ and the soul ; — whether the sacraments, ³ or church-ritual, or tradition ; or the dead saints, or the living priests ! — Surely ! had but God's holy written word, construed in the simple unperturbed sense, ⁴ been taken for its guide and rule, neither example, nor church authority, ⁵ nor traditional observances, ⁶ would have availed so to lead it wrong. No doubt the seeds of martyr-worship were early sown. They were sown as innocently as unconsciously. What more allowable, as well as natural, than that when the early martyrs fell under the enemies of the faith, their remains should be regarded as precious, and their remembrance be kept up annually, on the returns of those their birthdays into eternal life ? ⁷ Again, what more

¹ See Note * p. 310 ; and especially Augustine's Ep. 29, there referred to.

² Without *alms-deeds*, says Chrysostom, how can the incense be accepted ?

³ See the first section of my chapter on the Sealing Vision.

⁴ See, for an example of the perversions of Scripture by Jerome, that which has been already noted, of the Apocalyptic passage about the 144,000 that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. In its true meaning we shall hereafter see, I doubt not, that it has no reference whatsoever to dead saints after death, but to saints while still living. But Jerome held the *falsitas dispensativa*, spoken of p. 265. *supra*. See for specimens Gilly, 199, 267.

⁵ Jerome urges this : " Was the Emperor Constantine guilty, and the Emperor Arcadius, and all the bishops sacrilegians and fools, who carried the ashes in silk and in a golden vessel ? Does the Bishop of Rome act *amias*, &c, and the Bishops of the whole world." &c. ⁶ This consideration hampered even Augustine.

⁷ Even as early as *Ignatius'* martyrdom we see the tendency in Christians to an undue estimate of the value of these relics. " Parts of his holy remains," it is said in the Acts of his Martyrdom, ch. 13 ad fin. " were taken to Antioch, and laid up in linen, a treasure *past price* to the Church : *θησαυρος ατιμητος, οτι της εν τω μαρτυρι χαριτος, τη αγαια εκκλησιαι καταλειφθεντα.*

innocent, as well as natural, than the solemn commemorative services at their tombs ;¹ and then the inquisitive searchings into what their state in the world of spirits ; and then the persuasion that they were still living and conscious, and with the same interest about surviving Christian friends, which ere while on earth prompted them to intercessory prayer ?² Once more what more natural (but ah ! here began the danger of speculating on things secret, here the trenching on the great Mediator's office) than the speaking to and asking their prayers ? Alas ! nature's was no safe guiding. What said the Scripture ? Was it not just such a *stealthy* development from earliest beginnings that had been predicted of the great apostacy ? "The *mystery* of iniquity," said St. Paul, "doth even now work."³ And were not ominous words spoken in Scripture about *the worship of dæmons*, or deified dead men, as one marked feature of the unfolded apostacy ?⁴—As it was, and these holy warnings being neglected, other and human checks to the mere grosser excesses of the incoming superstition were vain. Nay, even the graver check of the canon of the Council of Laodicea, which forbad *the worship of angels*,⁵ was altogether ineffectual :—those the people invoked as

So too in a very illustrative passage in the Acts of Polycarp's martyrdom, ch. 18 ; 'Ἡμεῖς τε ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμωτέρα λίθων πολυτελεῶν, καὶ δοκιμωτέρα ὑπερ χρυσίων οὐτὰ αὐτὰ ἀπέθεμεθα ὅπως ἀκολουθῶν ἡν' εὐθα, ὡς δυνατόν, ἡμῖν συναγομένοις' ἐν ἀγαλλίᾳ καὶ χαρᾷ παραίξῃ ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τε μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖρας γενεθλίων, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν ἡθληκῶν μνημῆν, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκήσῃ τε καὶ στοιμασίαν. In ch. 17 the Narrative speaks of holding fellowship with his holy flesh, κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκί. Yet not in the way of worship, it is said, but commemoration. Τότεν μὲν (Χριστὸν) προσκυνῶμεν, τὰς δὲ μαρτυράς ἀγαπῶμεν.

¹ So Cyprian Ep. xxxix ; "Palmas Domini et coronas illustri passione meruerunt. Sacrificium pro eis semper offerimus, quoties martyrum passionem et dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus." Also Ep. xii.

² So Gregory Nazianzen, on Basil's death A.D. 378 : "Nunc ille quidem in cœlis est : illic, ut opinor, sacrificia pro nobis offert, ac pro populo preces fundit : neque enim ita nos relinquerit ut prorsus reliquerit." I quote from Baronius iv. 387.

³ It was not the *gospel-doctrine* and *church* that was to be a thing of development, so as some would now have it in Rome and at Oxford ; but *the apostacy*.

⁴ Apoc. ix. 20 ; "They repented not of *worshipping dæmons* :"—in which clause the word *dæmons* will be amply discussed, and the sense here given justified, when we come to the passage. See the Paper I in the Appendix to my Vol. II.

⁵ Canon 35 : οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ σγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπειναί, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομαζέειν, καὶ συναγεῖς ποιεῖν. This Council was held A.D. 372.

intercessors, being *departed saints*, not *angels*. And herein indeed appeared the master-hand of *Him* that was from the first ever directing the course of man's corruption, though under a Christian profession, into the great Apostacy. The *angels*, having nothing material about them, could not be so well visibly connected with certain particular ecclesiastical localities,¹ as the *dead saints*, whose bodies must needs have each their own place of sepulture; nor consequently so associated with the *priestly functionaries* of the *martyrium*, or church built over it. On the other hand, in the latter case, and supposing the *saint* to be the effectual intercessor with God, who so effectual a helper to the saint's favour as the *priest* that watched the saint's relics? Hence a *copartnership* in the anti-christianism of the apostacy, as now unfolded at the closing in of the fourth century; a copartnership between the visible world and the invisible, the earthly priest, and the heavenly martyr. So that indeed the priests came even thus early, as well as the departed saints, to be viewed as and entitled *mediators*.² And hence too, more and more, a superstitious awe among the people of the clerical body; and a regard to them and to the monks, not only as the specially holy and elect,³ but as those who had the dispensing of the favor and the wrath of heaven.⁴ Not to add, what could not but follow also, an awful increase of pride and vanity among the clerics;⁵

¹ It will be observed in regard of the angel-worship forbidden in the Laodicean Council, that Christians *left the churches* for it.

² *mediator*; a term used not infrequently by the Greek fathers of the latter half of the fourth century.

³ So Paulinus called his monastic associates "*fraternitatem electorum Dei*:" and Jerome, comparing his own monastics at Bethlehem, and their poverty, *fasts*, and self-mortifying austerities, intimates even to Paulinus that these only, and such as these, were the *elect*; saying, "Many are called, but few chosen." Gilly, 175, 248.

Compare God's definition of the *elect*, as the *chosen*, *quickened*, *illuminated* by divine grace. See pp. 244, 278. Also observe how at the end of the fourth century these very doctors,—however otherwise erring,—did thus confess that the evidence of being made *holy*, *elect*, and *faithful* simply through the baptismal rite, was insufficient and untrue.

⁴ The Emperor Theodosius II, when excommunicated by a monk, for refusing him a favour, dared not taste a morsel till the excommunication was removed. Milner, Cent. v. Ch. xii.

⁵ Gilly (p. 23), in his sketch of Martin of Tours, mentions how in presence of

of pride altogether the most contrary to their Master's spirit, and their Master's charge.

So had the *Apostacy* advanced, just as pre-intimated in the vision before us, yet another and a mighty step in its *anti-christian* course. And here let the reader again¹ stop and think whether he can imagine to himself an emblematic vision that could more exactly suggest by *allusive contrast* the characteristic error of the time, as well as more truly the contrasted faith of the saints, than this in the Apocalypse. Point by point the parallelism might be drawn out by us, just as before.² But indeed Gibbon has saved us the task. It needs but to put his picture of the *professing world's* worship at this epoch, and the Apocalyptic of the *saint's* worship, side by side, to be struck with the perfectness of the contrast.—So the error was now established: and, like the former, it was *abiding*.³—Well then might the prophecy speak henceforward of the mass of the inhabitants of Roman professing Christendom under the same title as of its heathen population previously; "The *inhabitants of the earth*." For Heathenism had indeed now joined with Judaism, by its *idolatry*, as before by its *philosophy*,⁴ in corrupting the Christianity that had overthrown it. Alike the infidel Gibbon and the Christian Bishop Van Mildert speak of heathenism as revived in the empire. To use the words of Coleridge; "The pastors of the church had gradually changed the life and light of the gospel into the very superstitions they were commissioned to disperse; and thus *paganized Christianity* in order to *christen Paganism*."⁵

But *all* had not thus become blinded to, and forsaken, their only true and divine High Priest and Intercessor. Far from it. "There was given to the Angel much

the Emperor Maximus, he passed his drinking cup to a Presbyter before handing it to the Emperor: so marking that church officers ought to take precedence of all secular dignitaries. So the Romish Editor of Sulpicius' *Life of the Saint*; *Dignitas sacerdotalis regia dignior*."—See too in Sulpicius' Dialogue i. 14, a lively sketch in detail of the foolish vanity and pride of the Gallic clergy generally:—a sketch that might perhaps apply to other and later ages also.

¹ pp. 258, 287. ² See p. 243 and seq. ³ See p. 258. ⁴ See p. 267 *supra*.

⁵ Quoted by Gilly, p. 269.

incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of *all the* saints upon the golden altar before the throne." So the prefiguration. And does not history verify this its direct picture, as well as its allusion? "Whom shall I look to as my Mediator," said *Augustine*, A.D. 400, just when all this forsaking of Christ was manifested at Rome and Nola, at Primuliac and Bethlehem; "Whom shall I look to as my Mediator? Shall I go to Angels? Many have tried this, and deserved to be the sport of the illusions that they loved. A mediator between God and man must have the nature of both. The true Mediator, *whom in thy secret mercy thou hast shewn to the humble*,¹ the man Christ Jesus, hath appeared a Mediator between mortal sinners and the immortal Holy One; that by his divine righteousness he might justify the ungodly. He was shown to ancient saints that they might be saved by faith in his future sufferings, and we by faith in the same sufferings already past.² How hast thou loved us, O Father, delivering up thy Son for us: for whom he, our priest and sacrifice, was subjected to death. Well may my hope be strong in such an Intercessor."³

Yes! it is no doubt true that Augustine was not altogether uninfected with the prevalent superstitions about departed saints: for he credulously believed in miracles wrought by their relics;⁴ and even joined in the established commemorative services, in which mention was made of their praying for the living.⁵ Alike his humility and his charity made him credulous. The living authority of the Church, the opinions and practices of friends, and ritualistic tradition handed down even from men like Cyprian,⁶ so far swayed him. But what he did was with such views, and such explanations to his people and the pub-

¹ The vision of Christ as High Priest appeared to St. John still in his *representative* character; representing in the present case the faithful ones of the Augustinian æra.

² Observe Augustine's view of the intent of the Levitical altar, sacrifices, priest, and ritual;—the precise symbols in the Apocalyptic vision.

³ Confessions, B. x.

⁴ C.D. xxii. 8.

⁵ Cyril gives us the prayer then offered after consecration of the holy communion: "We offer these sacrifices in memory of them that have fallen asleep, that God by their prayers and intercessions may receive our supplications."

⁶ See Cyprian, quoted before, Note ¹ p. 314. Also p. 318. Note ².

lic, as showed his regard to Christ, as the Christian's only and all perfect mediator, to be just as clear, direct, and influential as our own. When consulted by Paulinus on the state of the departed saints, their knowledge, and the functions they might exercise in behalf of those they had left behind, he stated explicitly that he did not believe they were present at their shrines, or knew what passed on earth at the time; excepting only what they might hear from other souls more recently departed from earth, or by communication from God: moreover, as to miracles said to be done by them, that these might probably be by angelic ministration, even though under the martyr's semblance.¹ Between which confessedly doubtful and restricted views, as to the saints knowing, hearing, and acting, and the views of Paulinus and Jerome, what a contrast! and how comparatively innocuous in such case the belief that whilst in the separate state departed saints pray for men; I mean innocuous as to diverting the eye from Christ! And thus when any question arose about the mediator and High Priest that was to make man's offerings acceptable to God, we have seen how clear he was, and how strong. In his sermons on the saints' commemorations he still as expressly stated the same opinion.² In his answer to Faustus the Manichæan, (while allowing much evil in the matter that the Church unwillingly tolerated)³ he added with

¹ See his Treatise *De Cura Gerenda pro Mortuis*: from which Dr. Gilly has briefly abstracted, p. 87—90.

² Tom. viii. 1625; "Non martyribus sacerdotes offerunt. Absit. Deo offeruntur." Again 1685; "Pro martyribus non oratur: tam enim perfecti exierunt ut non sint suscepti nostri, sed advocati: neque hoc in se, sed in illo cui capiti perfecta membra coheserunt. Ille est enim verè advocatus unus, qui interpellat pro nobis sedens ad dextram Patris."

³ In Faustum B. xx. c. 21; "Aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus; aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et donec emendemus tolerare compellimur."

In his Epistle to Januarius he says; "I cannot approve the new practices, neither dare I censure them too freely, lest I should give offence. But it grieves me that so many salutary precepts of Scripture should be held cheap, while our religion abounds with commandments of men. Therefore as to all those customs which are not contained in Scripture, ordained by Councils, or sanctioned by the tradition of the church, they ought to be laid aside. They burden religion with servile usages which God intended to be free. However, the church, surrounded as she is with chaff and tares, may endure many things; though not what is contrary to Christian faith and practice."—He adds that the votaries of super-

regard to the *honour* paid by him to departed saints, that it was but of the same nature as was paid to them *when alive*, though warmer in degree;¹ and that the saints themselves would repudiate any higher worship, as more hateful to them than even drunkenness itself at their feasts.²—So that in this, as in every other point, the holy Augustine was as eminently and essentially *christian*,—as eminently with the eye and heart directed to Christ, as the alone Mediator, propitiatory sacrifice, and High Priest,—as the prevailing system was eminently and essentially *anti-christian*. It was a subject indeed he delighted to dwell on.³ And he declared that whosoever directed men to another mediator would be *Antichrist*.⁴

Nor was Augustine as yet so singular in his views and feelings. "There was *much* incense given to the Angel." Multitudes doubtless under his influence, as well as others elsewhere under other teaching, united in offering the incense of their prayer and praise simply through the mediation and propitiatory atonement of Jesus. May we not trust that the promoters of the Laodicean Council, however timid and partial, in their restriction of the crying evil, were yet influenced by sincere regard to Christ? Again of *Jovinian* may we not hope the same?⁵ Aye, and even of not a few clouded on this point, and superstitious? Most of all we must note "the Protestant

stition silenced and neutralized the efforts of true reformers. And in his *De Mor. Cath. Eccl.* i. 34; "Follow not the crowds of the unwary; who in their very religion are superstitious, so as to forget what they have promised to God. For I know that there are many adorers (adoratores) of sepulchres and pictures of saints," &c.

¹ "Colimus martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis quo et in hac vitâ coluntur sancti homines Dei; sed illos tanto devotius, quanto securius post certamina superata." *Contra Faustum* xx. 21.

² *Ib.* just as in a passage quoted in p. 318. Note ².

³ So again C.D. viii. "Ad consequendam vitam beatam non tali mediatore indigere hominem qualis est dæmon (sc. bonus), sed tali qualis est unus Christus." And so again in the viith and ixth Books of the C.D. copiously; and again, very strikingly and beautifully, in the C.D. x. 22, 24.

⁴ So Tom. xii. p. 93, (on 1 John ii. 1, "We have an advocate with the Father, &c.") he says; "If John had said, 'If any man sin I will pray for him' (as Parmenianus in one place makes the Bishop the mediator between the people and God) who would tolerate it of faithful Christians? Who not view him rather as *Antichrist* than an apostle?" "Quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut antichristum intueretur?" ⁵ Milner, *Cent. v. ch. x.*

of his age" *Vigilantius*:¹ one that was more prominent than Augustine himself in the direct act of protesting against the prevalent superstitions; and whom we may well believe with Dr. Gilly to have done this, not in the mere way of protesting against false mediators, but as himself seeing, and worshipping through, the true one.²

And what the result of their so offering? It was indicated in the vision. The Covenant-Angel received their offering: "and the smoke of the incense, which came

¹ Gibbon v. 126.

² *Vigilantius* was so remarkably the *Protestant* of the times when he wrote, that it would be wrong not to quote what is recorded by a bitter enemy concerning his protestation.

In his Letter then to Riparius, Jerome says that *Vigilantius* called those who received the martyrs' relics *cinder-gatherers* and *idolaters* (*cinerarios et idolatras*): also that *Vigilantius* abominated the *rigils*, or *night-watchings*, kept by pilgrims at the shrines of the saints on their festivals.

In his Book against *Vigilantius*, written after receiving copies of his writings, he again states him to have denied that the sepulchres of the martyrs were to be venerated, and to have condemned the *vigila*. Also he quotes him as having written thus: "What need is there for you with so much respect not only to honour, but even to adore, and in your adoration to kiss, dust folded up in a linen cloth? Under the pretext of religion we see a custom introduced into the churches which approximates to the rites of the Gentiles, viz. the lighting of multitudes of tapers even when the sun is yet shining. And every where men kiss in their adoration a small quantity of dust folded up in a little cloth, and deposited in a little vessel. Men of this stamp give great honour forsooth to the most blessed martyrs; thinking with a few insignificant wax-tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, enlightens with all the brightness of his majesty."

Again; "The souls of the apostles and martyrs have settled themselves either in Abraham's bosom, or in a place of refreshment, or under the altar of God; and they cannot escape from their tombs, and present themselves where they please." And; "So long as we are alive we can mutually pray for each other; but after we are dead the prayer of none for another can be heard; especially since the martyrs pray ineffectually to obtain vengeance for the shedding of their blood." Again; "Do the souls of martyrs love their ashes, and hover round them, and be always present, lest if any suppliant should perchance happen to draw near, they could not hear him in consequence of their absence?" Finally, it was his saying, "that the miracles said to be done in the churches of the martyrs were profitable for the *misbelievers*, not for the *faithful*."*

Besides which *Vigilantius* protested against the system of *celibacy* and *monachism*; against the *former* by asserting that it led to incontinence; against the *latter* by saying, "If all should shut themselves up, and live in solitude, who will serve the churches? Who will win the men of the world? Who will exhort sinners to virtue?" Further, he deprecated sending money to the monks at Jerusalem, &c; deeming it better to attend to the poor of his own neighbourhood.

* Dr. Gilly thinks *Vigilantius'* meaning in this to be, that when true faith was in the heart, the internal evidences of the truth were sufficiently convincing, and there was no need of a show of miracles (p. 443). But might he not rather mean that it furnished occasion to the heathens against Christianity, seeing that they could not but see the falsehood? Just such was the case of *Eusepius*, the Pagan sophist quoted, p. 311 *supra*.

with the prayers of the saints, ascended up (accepted) before God out of the Angel's hand." Yes! they might, some at least, like Vigilantius,¹ be cast out and reviled as *heretics*² by their fellow men: but they were accepted before God.—But on the rest, on the *earthly* ones, the neglectors of Christ the Saviour, judgment must follow. "The Angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it (the fire) upon the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.—And (then) the seven angels that had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound."

III. Reserving my explanation of the historical fulfilment of the earthquake thunderings and lightnings, here spoken of, to the next chapter, let me, in what remains of the present, add a few observations on the probably intended significancy of the *trumpet-soundings* now preparing; trumpet-soundings under which, in sevenfold succession, the judgments fore-doomed were about to be represented to the Evangelist. For, since we are told² that it was by God's own appointment that trumpets were made and used in the ancient Israel, as also that their uses were all expressly defined by Him, and these uses of them to be made in the Jewish temple, by priests that "stood before God,"³—and since in the apocalyptic visions the temple was similarly the locality of the trumpet-blasts, and the trumpet-angels similarly designated as those that stood before God,—therefore we seem warranted in supposing an analogy between the two cases; and that a significancy attached to the trumpets in the latter case not dissimilar from what attached to them in the former.

Now under the Levitical law the uses of the priestly trumpet were of a twofold character. 1st, and as regarded the *Israelites*, its use was to proclaim to them the epochs of advancing time,—the sabbaths, the new moons, the new years, and annual or other festivals; on these summon-

¹ Vigilantius is still in the Roman list of heretics.

² Numb. x. 1—10.

³ Deut. x. 8.

ing the congregations for praise and prayer: besides which it served also, whilst they sojourned in the wilderness, to proclaim each forward movement of the camp, and thus to note their advancing steps towards the end of their pilgrimage.¹—2ndly, during *war-time*, and as regarded *their enemies*, its use was to proclaim war against those enemies, as from God Himself: the trumpets blown by his priests against them being a declaration that the LORD had taken up Israel's cause as his own cause, and that He would fight for Israel.²

And it seems to me that of these two kinds of uses, we may apply not the *one* only, but *both*, to the emblematic trumpet-soundings in the Apocalypse. To his own Israel, to the 144,000,—emerged indeed out of the Egypt of Pagan oppression, but having still the tribulation and long pilgrimage of the wilderness to pass through,—each trumpet-angel's sounding, like the hour-strikings on a chronometer, might be regarded as a chronological epoch in the prophecy, a note of advance towards the consummation. Such, for instance, is the chronometrical use made of them in the vision of chapter x: in which the light-bearing Angel, that descended and stood with his feet on land and sea, when he would distinguish the true time of the consummation from the wrong, thus expressed his meaning; "He sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that,"—not in the days of the *sixth* Trumpet-angel, under which his descent took place,—but "in the days of the *seventh*, the mystery of God should be finished." This, I say, was *one* thing signified to St. John by the successive trumpet-soundings. And just as to him by the *figurative* trumpet-clangs, so to the saints from time to time living,—in so far as understanding might be given them,—by the voices of the *actual* events prefigured, as one and then another, they pealed upon a startled world.³—Fur-

¹ See besides Numb. x. 1—10, already referred to, Levit. xxv. 9; Ps. lxxxi. 3; &c. Also 1 Cor. xiv. 7, 8.

² Jer. li. 27; Zeph. i. 16, &c.

³ Isa. xviii. 3; "When He bloweth a trumpet, hear ye."—So Vitringa; "Clangores tubæ, qui præcedunt Dei judicia in Romanum imperium, significant illa

ther, since during all this time there was a state and a people in open opposition to the truth and the true Israel, therefore the successive trumpet-soundings might be considered, also, as the repeated proclamations of war from the Lord Himself against them. Indeed this is the meaning most prominently marked in the trumpet-soundings of the Apocalypse; as it is the use most frequent of the figure in other scriptures.—Let me just add that, supposing the trumpets to have been blown in the temple of vision, like those in the ancient temple of Jerusalem, “over the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings” on the great altar,¹ then it must have looked like an intimation that the cause, thus espoused by God, was espoused as the cause of those who had made a covenant with Him by sacrifice; and as against them specially that had forsaken that holy covenant.

There were to be *seven* Trumpets sounded, and under the seventh Trumpet *seven Vials* poured out. The numeral resemblance of these to the seven Trumpet-blasts sounded on seven successive days against the ancient *Jericho*, and which were followed on the seventh day by seven compassings of its wall, till on the last the wall fell down, and entrance was given to Israel into that first city of the promised Canaan,²—this interesting resemblance, I say, has been noted by Ambrose Ansbert in old times, and in modern times by Vitringa, and other apocalyptic commentators after him. It almost seemed as if some power were marked out hereby as the New Testament Jericho; whose domination opposed, and whose overthrow would introduce, the saints’ enjoy-

Dei judicia fore notabilia, magnum in mundo editura esse sonum, omnium suscitatura attentionem, et per universum mundum per famam vulganda, &c.”

It is remarkable that Ammianus Marcellinus, the most eminent historian of the times we speak of, adopts, as Mede has appositely remarked, the very same figure of *trumpet-soundings* to mark the threatenings of war (which however did not then fulfil themselves) in an earlier period of the reigns of Valentinian and Valens. “Hoc tempore, *velut* per universum orbem Romanum *bellicum canentibus buccinis*, excitæ gentes sævissimæ limites sibi proximos persultabant.” Lib. xxxvi. 4. This was with reference to the invasions of the empire by the Northern barbarians, 364, A.D. But it was not yet God’s time for *his* trumpet’s sounding. The invasions were all repulsed. See p. 228 *suprà*.

¹ Numb. x. 10.

² Joshua vi. 3—16.

ment of the heavenly Canaan. And if so, what power but that of the now nearly dominant antichristian apostasy?—It is observable, and perhaps confirmatory of this view, that in the ancient Jewish *Feast of Tabernacles*, there was kept up a constant commemoration of the above-noted manner of the fall of the ancient Jericho; and this with a certain reference to the *future*, in the ritual, as well as to the *past*. On seven successive days, (according to the divine ordinance) a palm-bearing procession, with trumpets blowing, were then wont to visit the Temple; and, on the last of the seven, seven times to compass the altar, still sounding the trumpets, and chanting *Hosanna!*¹ Now as the cry of Hosanna was, as I have elsewhere observed, *supplicatory*, signifying *Save Lord*, it seemed to refer to some enemy *yet to be conquered* by Messiah for his people, some Jericho yet to be overthrown.—Many a time must St. John himself have taken part in this ceremonial. And thus when he saw prefigured an earthly antichristian power to which the duration meted out was that of the seven trumpet-soundings, and under the seventh trumpet the seven vials out-pouring, the remembrance of it, and the application, could scarce fail to strike him.—Of the fall of the first or Canaanitish Jericho, the commemoration was in that Jewish Feast of Tabernacles of which I was just speaking. Of the fall of the second, the celebration was to be in the antitypical heavenly Feast of Tabernacles, yet future: that same that St. John had a little while before seen anticipatively in vision; and to which the eyes of the saints have ever since been directed, as the scene of blessed consummation to all the evils of the wilderness, and to the persecutions and opposition of every enemy.

¹ See Goodwin's *Moses and Aaron*, and Horne's *Introduction*, on this Festival.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUR FIRST TRUMPETS.

“And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake. And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound.

“The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth; and the third part of the trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.—And the second angel sounded: and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed. And the third angel sounded: and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of water; and the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter. And the fourth angel sounded: and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.”—Apoc. viii. 5—12.

The four first Trumpet-visions, like those of the four first Seals, are connected together by certain strongly marked features of resemblance; and which are here of such a nature as to make it desirable to consider the four visions together. They depict the destructive action of a series of tempests, successively affecting the third part of the Roman earth, third part of the sea, third

part of the rivers, and third part of the firmamental luminaries. By English Protestant interpreters they have been generally explained, and I doubt not truly, of those successive invasions and ravages of the GOTHs, chiefly in the fifth century, which ended in the subversion of the Western Empire. At the same time there has been as to the *details*, and the apportionment of its part in the Gothic ravages to each one of the four Trumpet-visions distinctively, such a remarkable difference of opinion,—scarcely two commentators, I believe, explaining them alike,—as to have thrown discredit, in the opinion of not a few, on the Gothic application altogether; and to have shown that the principles on which we are to form a distinctive and particular application of the several figurations, need still to be established.—To this point, then, let us first direct our attention.

§ 1.—ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION APPLICABLE TO THE FOUR FIRST TRUMPET-VISIONS.

Now on the preliminary question whether these four Trumpet-visions were intended, or not, to prefigure the Gothic irruptions, the reader who has thus far followed and agreed with me, will soon see reason not to hesitate. Considering that we were brought by the visions of the six first Seals to that period of the Roman history when Paganism fell, and Christianity was established under Constantine and his successors,—and that the connected visions of the threatening tempest-angels, the sealing, and the palm-bearers next ensuing, (the latter figuring at once the then first marked unfolding of the apostacy, and the cotemporary Augustinian counteractive revelation) advanced our position to the Gothic insurrection under Valens, and its wonderful restraining by Theodosius,—a restraint of which the instant ending at Theodosius' death might seem to mark a new and fateful epoch, just such as to answer to the seventh Seal's opening,—considering, I say, that in comparing the parallel course of the prophecy and the history, we were thus brought by the apocalyptic

visions to the precise epoch of the commencement of the great Gothic irruptions into the Roman empire, and that then (just after a preliminary figuration strikingly though allusively indicative of that æra's crowning sin of saint and martyr-worship,) the symbols in vision next following were such as well to suit those Gothic devastations,—being the symbols of trumpet-sounding from on high, and an earthquake with thundering and lightning; then of tempests, volcanoes, and meteors, successively cast upon the Roman earth,—it seems almost impossible to doubt but that the latter were intended as a prefiguration of the former. There are two further coincidences that must not be omitted, as furnishing corroborative evidence of the truth of this conclusion. The *one* is, that as the Gothic ravages terminated in the extinction of the Western emperors and empire, so the fourth Trumpet-vision, the last of the series, depicted the partial darkening of what were the well-known symbols of rulers,¹—the sun and the heavenly luminaries. The *other*, that as the Gothic desolations were succeeded, after a half-century's interval, or rather more, by the Saracen invasions, so the fourth Trumpet-vision was succeeded, after a forewarning notice which might well correspond with that interval, by the fifth Trumpet-vision;—a vision demonstrably prefigurative, as I doubt not to prove, of that very Saracenic woe.

The which preliminary point being settled to our satisfaction, we come next to the question of the right *particular* application of each one of the four visions to the one particular irruption of the Goths really corresponding. For that some such particular application is intended, and that distinctive marks are given in the visions to fix it, we cannot doubt. The divine selection of the symbols, being the best possible, must needs, as we might feel assured *à priori*, be precise and distinct: and their precision and appropriateness in every one of the apocalyptic visions that we have hitherto considered, has very strikingly illustrated and confirmed the fact.

¹ See my observations on these symbols, under the sixth Seal, p. 221, *suprà*.

The only doubtful question is as to the distinctive mark intended.—The question is narrowed by the important fact, to which notice has been called already, of the fourth vision of the series almost obviously prefiguring (if the *general* reference be admitted) the extinction of the Western Cæsars. So that it is only in the cases of the former three, that we have need to seek out the distinctive characteristics.

And now then, as with this view the reader considers the three Trumpet-visions in question, this will, I think, very soon strike him ;—that though there may be, and probably is, something *partially* characteristic of each particular invasion in those of the symbols, respectively, that prefigure *the powers invading*, I mean the hailstorm, the volcano, and the blazing meteor,—yet that the measure of similarity of character between them, as being all alike figures of hostile and desolating armies, is such as to preclude *them* from furnishing any *decisive* distinction.¹ And thus he finds himself forced to look to other stated particulars in the several visions, for the marks he is in search of ; specially to their designations of the *locality* or *geographical division* in each case *invaded* :—the which indeed, from the singular and marked character of the phraseology that defines them, appear expressly intended to fix the attention of the reader ; “ *the third part of the trees, and of the land,*”² “ *the third part of the sea,*” “ *the third part of the rivers.*”³

¹ Thus Vitringa observes in his Preface, that “ *the burning mountain cast into the sea* might, of itself, indicate either the evils which the Jews suffered from the Romans,—those which the Western Romans suffered from the Goths,—or the Eastern Romans from the Turks.”

² So Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles ; το τρίτον της γης being added to the το τρίτον των δένδρων.

³ Mr. Faber suggests a geographical distinction of a different kind ; viz. with reference to the quarters (not on which the tempests were to fall, but) *from* which they were to blow. This is founded on the hypothesis of each one of the four *tempest-angels* corresponding with one of the four *trumpet-angels* ; and of their blowing one by one singly, in the first four trumpet-visions, then ceasing :—a supposition that takes for granted what should be proved, as to the separate action of each of the four tempest-angels ; not to add that it is inconsistent with the much longer commission which it seems probable (as I have hinted p. 272, in my chapter on the sealing vision) attached to them.—And even waiving those objections, how indistinct would be the distinction proposed ; because there

But behold Commentators of high name interpose; and tell us that there is nothing of local or geographical meaning in these expressions;—that they are all mere figures. “The Roman universe,” says Mede, (and he is followed in the spirit of his exposition by *many*, perhaps by *most* subsequent expositors of note,)¹ “is compared to the mundane system, which consists of earth, sea, rivers, heaven, stars; the system or constitution of the empire having as its *earth* that which is the base and foundation, as it were, of the whole polity; as its *sea*, that amplitude of rule which circumscribes its earth, as the natural land is circumscribed by the natural sea; its political *rivers* also which flow from and into the sea, viz. the provincial magistrates,” &c. And then, as to the *third part*, whether of land, sea, or rivers, he expounds it to mean the *whole Roman earth*; as constituting, he says, about one-third of the known world, at the time of the Evangelist.² Who can wonder that by interpreters who have adopted any such principle of interpretation, the visions of the three first Trumpets should be applied with equal facility and plausibility to *one* as to *another* of the Gothic invasions? For the very distinctiveness of these symbols in the sacred text is annihilated by their interpretation: and a meaning so nearly common attached to them, that, whosoever or whensoever the invader, in so far as any one of the three designated

is nothing to fix the *order* in which, in such case, the winds should blow. Mr. Faber’s order of North, South, West, and East, is altogether arbitrary; as indeed would be any other.

¹ So Mr. Cuninghame says (p. 49); “All interpreters of note agree that this universe is to be considered symbolical.”—There is, however, a variety, as might be expected, in the application. *Vitringa* says; “By the *earth* is meant the Roman empire; by the *sea*, the barbarous nations separated from them.” *Daubuz* says; “The *sea* means the multitude of the population; the *rivers* the small remaining part.” *Faber* thinks that by the *sea* is to be understood “the people of the Roman empire, distracted by former wars;” although in another place, (*Sacred Calendar* iii. 260,) he interprets it as “the largest nation of the Roman empire.” “The rivers and fountains,” he explains to be the numerous Gothic kingdoms of the Roman world when divided.—This may suffice.

² So also *Daubuz*, *Bp. Newton*, &c.—*Lowman* interprets it as to mean a *great part*. Mr. Cuninghame, after a lengthened discussion on the subject, confesses, (p. 62) that if the question were put to him, why the proportion of *one third* of the symbolical universe should be the limit affixed to the effects of the four Trumpets, he cannot answer. (My references are to the last editions of Cuninghame and Faber.)

objects might be disturbed by the invasion,—whether the figurative earth, figurative sea, or figurative rivers,—it must needs be that the two others would be thereby disturbed also.

Of the meaning of *the third part* I shall speak presently. But let me first ask, what can be the reason for thus setting aside the natural and geographical sense of these expressions, *land, sea, rivers*? It has arisen, I believe, from an opinion that whenever any one prominent part of a prophecy is clearly symbolic in its language, the rest ought to be interpreted in a symbolical or figurative sense also; at any rate in such an example as that now before us. So that in this present case the *land, sea, and rivers* mentioned ought to be construed symbolically, because the *burning mountain, tempest, and meteor* are so. This opinion, which seems to have prevailed widely among commentators, is evidently of too great importance, and, if true, of too extensive application, not to demand an immediate inquiry into its correctness.¹

I have put the question *restrictedly*, viz. as applicable to an example involving local terms, like that before us, because really as regards the *general* question, the mixture of the *literal* and the *symbolic* is so palpable and so frequent in prophetic scripture, that it seems quite needless to detain the reader by citations to prove it. He can scarce open a page in either this or other sacred prophecies, without seeing examples. Nor will he find any Commentator, whatever his predilections in favour of taking all literally or all symbolically, that has been able fully to carry out his rule into practice.² It is in-

¹ Thus Archdeacon Woodhouse, when objecting to the usual interpretations of the fifth Trumpet, as having reference to the Saracens, says; "To make out the interpretation, Commentators are obliged to apply the prophetic characters sometimes in a *borrowed*, sometimes in a *literal* sense; which I suppose is *unwarranted*. They ought all to be applied in the same sense." So too, in a measure, the Reviewer of Keith's *Signs of the Times*, in the *Investigator*, iii. 271.

² Woodhouse is probably one of the most consistent advocates of the *wholly Figurative* principle, *Burgh* of the *literal*. Yet the *former* often and confessedly deviates into *literal* interpretation; the *latter* sometimes into *figurative*; e. g., in his explanation of the *horses* and the *Euphrates* of the sixth Trumpet.—There is a similar inconsistency in *Dr Park*.

deed almost, I believe, an impossibility. Thus it is the *limited* question of the admissibility of literal *localities*, and a literal *geography*, into prophecies generally symbolical, that seems alone to need illustration. Nor will it detain us long to furnish it.

The best proof seems to be that of examples from other prophecies where the mixture spoken of is unequivocal. I will therefore cite two. The first is from Ezek. xxvii. 26 ; "The east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas." In this passage, Tyre is symbolized as a ship, and Nebuchadnezzar as the destroying wind that shipwrecked it :—yet, symbolical as is the general phraseology, the chorographic phrase, "in the midst of the seas," designates the literal locality of the situation of Tyre, and "the East" that of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar with respect to it. I rather select this example, because it illustrates the manner in which the locality *from whence* a threatened evil is to issue, is often, by the peculiar appropriateness of the emblem, intimated in scripture metaphors ; as well as that *on which* the evil is to fall. That the meaning I have attached to the emblem, as thus significant, is not undesigned or fortuitous, will appear from its frequent and distinctive use elsewhere to the same effect.¹—The second example that

¹ For instance in Ezek. xix. 12 ; "Thy mother (Judah) is like a vine, &c. But she was plucked up in fury ; she was cast down to the ground : the *east wind* dried up her fruit." And again in xvii. 10, a passage very similar. So also in Jer. xviii. 17, and Hosea xiii. 15. In all these cases the emblem that I speak of, the *east wind*, is appropriate both *figuratively*, (with reference to the general picture,) and *geographically*, with reference to the situation of Babylonia and Assyria as lying east of Judæa. So in Isaiah xli. 2, Abraham's coming out from *Mesopotamia* or *Babylonia* to Canaan is spoken of as his coming from the *east* ; and in Matt. ii. 1, the wise men from *Babylonia* are called the wise men *from the east*.

It is to be observed that the Babylonians *entered Palestine* from Damascus and the *north* ;—they are sometimes spoken of as coming from the north. So Jer. i. 13, 14 ; "I said, I see a seething-pot, and its face is toward the *north*. Then the Lord said unto me, Out of the *north* shall an evil break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land." But no-where is such a figure as a whirlwind from *south* to *west* applied to Nebuchadnezzar or the Assyrians ; though winds quite as suitable to cause shipwreck as the east wind. Compare Isa. xxi. 1, and Zech. ix. 14 ; in both which the whirlwind from the *south* is the figure : and it is used in the one case of Persia attacking Babylon, a city north of it ; in the other of Judah attacking the Greeks, whose Asiatic cities (as Antioch &c.) were situated north of them.

I shall cite is from chap. xxxii of the same prophecy. Here Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and his people and power, are figured under the symbol of a crocodile. After which comes the clause following: "I will water with thy blood the *land* wherein thou swimmest, even to the *mountains*, and the *rivers* shall be full of thee." Of which, the meaning is plain. The waters of the Nile being wont to overflow from mountain-chain to mountain, which form the Egyptian valley, and, except at flood-time, to separate at the Delta into many different streams,—the prediction made was that these literal rivers, this literal land, should be tinged with the blood of Pharaoh and his people.—And here too I have had a reason for the selection; viz. from the additional parallelism that the example offers to that before us:—in that, though the land previously spoken of means the *literal* land of Egypt, and the rivers its *literal* rivers, yet the *sun*, *moon* and *stars* are in the very next verse used *figuratively* of its governing authorities; just as is the case in the symbols of the fourth trumpet, as compared with those of the three former. For these are the words of verse 7; "And when I shall have put thee out," (i. e. out of the water,) "I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; and I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord."

Thus much on the admixture of the geographically or locally literal with the figurative, in the phraseology of *other* Scripture prophecies. To which let me add, that in the *Apocalyptic* prophecy itself there are localities specified, as we shall see, both *general* and *particular*, which must necessarily be interpreted literally as localities. So, for example, in passages like that in chap. xii. 12, where it is said, "Woe to the inhabitants of the *earth* and of the *sea*!" For unless the land were the literal land, and the sea the literal island-studded sea, how could they have inhabitants? And again in ch. ix. 14, where the *Euphrates* spoken of must needs mean

the literal Assyrian river ; supposing that proof can be given satisfactory, (of which I do not doubt,) that the judgments figured under the sixth trumpet were those of the *Turkish* woe.

It remains that we investigate the meaning of "*the third part*;" a question certainly more difficult. It has been mentioned that many commentators interpret the phrase as one designative of the whole Roman world, or perhaps of some large but indefinite portion of it. The unsatisfactoriness, however, of all such indefinite explanation is evident. To say nothing of other inconsistencies in it, it makes one of the most strongly-marked phrases of designation in the whole apocalyptic prophecy,—one used seven times here and twice elsewhere,—it makes this, I say, altogether unmeaning. No wonder therefore that they who thus interpret should be themselves dissatisfied with their interpretation ; and shew, like Mr. Cuninghame, that they have only given it, because of not perceiving any threefold division of the Roman world, such as in their opinion to answer to the conditions of the prophetic clauses. That the *earth* or *world* spoken of in the Apocalypse means the *Roman earth*, or *world*, cannot, I think, be doubted ; being a use of the term frequent in other scriptures,¹ (not to say in the best profane writers also,²) and already satisfactorily exemplified in earlier parts of this prophecy.³ And that some actual threefold division of the empire is intended by the phrase, may be regarded, I conceive, as indubitable. The only question is, what?—And though it be a question confessedly difficult, yet, let it be remembered, that it is

¹ E. g. Luke ii. 1 ; "A decree from Cæsar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed."

² E. g. Dionysius Hal. Lib. i. ad init. 'Η δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις πάσης μὲν ἀρχαίης, ὅση μὴ ἀνεμβάτος ἐστὶ, πάσης δὲ κρατεὶ θαλάσσης, &c. And Ovid Fasti ii. 683 ;
Gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo,
Romane spatium est urbis et orbis idem.

It would have been needless to quote authorities on a thing so notorious, except for Mede's suggestion.

³ As under the fifth Seal ; "How long dost not thou avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."

one on which we do not enter without a hint to aid us. For from the fourth trumpet-vision's exhibiting *the third of the sun* as eclipsed, in symbolization of an event which we saw reason anticipatively to regard as the extinction of the *Western emperors*, the inference follows that whatever *the other two* of the apocalyptic thirds, *the Western empire* must needs have been *one*,—indeed *the* one intended all through the present vision.

And this seems of itself sufficient reason why the *natural* tripartite division of the Roman world into *European, African, and Asiatic*,—the same that has been suggested as an alternative by Vitringa,¹ and subsequently adopted by Mr. Faber and others,—should be set aside. For, at the time we speak of, the Western empire,—that over which the Gothic and Vandal invaders extinguished the Roman Government,—instead of embracing the whole of the European provinces, agreeably with this natural division, and no more, comprehended in itself only four European provinces, I mean Britain, Gaul, Spain, Italy, (the addition of Noricum

¹ "Nihil probabilius quàm per tertiam terræ partem vel esse intelligendam unam ex tribus majoribus terræ partibus, Asiâ, Africâ, vel Europâ, in quas olim non terram tantùm à geographis, sed Romanum quoque imperium, sub titulo orbis terrarum, divisum fuisse ex numis constat ;—vel majorem aliquam Romani Imperii partem ; &c." Which *latter* alternative is that which he actually adopts.—Mr. Cuninghame objects against Mr. Faber as inconsistent with himself in carrying out his theory of the natural trisection.—Dr. Keith's interpretation of this point I am quite unable to comprehend. He no-where states clearly what threefold division he intends : and when he does make a statement, seems soon after to contradict it. Thus at the commencement of his exposition of the fourth Trumpet, he speaks of *one third part* as "the transalpine provinces," i. e. Britain, Gaul, Spain ; of *another third* as the maritime province of Africa ; and then of Italy as a *third third*. Afterwards, in the same chapter, p. 285, he seems to speak of the Constantinopolitan empire as yet another third, or two-thirds. Then in capitals he thus marks an historical extract respecting the proceedings of Odoacer and the Heruli, after that the Western empire had been extinguished by them ; "ONE-THIRD of those ample estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed, was extorted for the use of the conquerors."—The confusion in his exposition on this important point is the more to be regretted, because from his interpreting the great localities of land, sea, and rivers literally, for the most part, he has advanced the nearest, as it seems to me, of former interpreters to the true interpretation of the four first Trumpets.* I say *for the most part* : for I must allow that the words in Italics and Capitals, introduced somewhat profusely by him, cause here, too, confusion : and give some ground for the objections of his Reviewer in the Investigator, Vol. iii. p. 271.

* I see, since the above was written, that Dr. Keith has in this followed Bicheno ; who himself very much followed Whiston.

and Pannonia being, as I shall presently observe, doubtful,) and at the same time comprehended the province of Africa.—The same objection seems decisive against that *political* trisection of the empire which was made, on the death of Constantine, between his three sons Constans, Constantine, and Constantius; and which other expositors, as Messrs. Frere and Irving, have imagined to be here referred to.¹ For the western third then included the provinces of Britain, Gaul, and Spain only; both Italy and the African province being detached from it. Supposing my presumption respecting the fourth trumpet-vision's meaning to be correct, it must be regarded as the first essential characteristic of the true trisection intended, that its Western third, like the Western empire overwhelmed by the Goths, should comprehend at once the African province, and the four provinces also that have been specified in Europe.

And thus we find ourselves forced on that earlier and *only other legitimate trisection*² of the Roman world,

¹ And so too Cressener more early, and Bicheno.

² It may be satisfactory to the reader to see a statement of all the successive legitimate divisions of the Roman imperial world. I therefore subjoin it, arranged chronologically. It will be seen from it, that there were no *tripartitions* except those specified in the text. Other divisions were into *four*, *two*, and once *six*. A.D.

290 Division into four Præfectures by Diocletian: the 1st. Italy and Africa; 2nd. Asia and Thrace; 3rd. the Rhine frontier, and three Western Provinces; 4th. the Danube frontier and Illyricum.

This quadripartition continued till the death of Constantius A.D. 306: when Constantine having succeeded him in the West, Maxentius being emperor at Rome, Maximian, (who had resigned) resuming the purple, and two subordinate emperors, instead of *one*, being made by the Eastern Augustus Galerius, (viz. Licinius for the government of Illyricum, and Maximin for the government of Syria),—for the first and last time,

308 The Roman world was divided between *six* emperors. This continued
311 till the death of Galerius.—That same year war arising, the result was the *first tripartition* of the empire,—that between Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin, spoken of above.

313 On Maximin's defeat and death the Roman world was bipartitioned between Constantine and Licinius. Licinius had the East and Illyricum.

314 On Licinius' first defeat, Illyricum was transferred to Constantine.

324 On Licinius' death, the empire was reunited under Constantine.

337 On Constantine's death there was a *tripartition* again; that between his three sons, Constantine, Constans, Constantius.

350 After civil wars, and the death of the two other brothers, Constantius again reunited the Roman world. The monarchy continued after his death under Julian, and then Jovian.—On whose death,

364 The celebrated *bipartition* was made into Eastern and Western, by Va-

which occurred early in the reign of Constantine, and just before the establishment of Christianity. It was at that memorable crisis when, Galerius having died and Maxentius perished in the battle of the Tiber, the Roman world found itself under the dominion of the three emperors Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin. And what then the partitionment of the provinces, as they at that time fell to them respectively? To *Constantine*, we read, there attached Gaul, Spain, Britain, Italy, Africa;—to *Licinius* the vast Illyrian Præfecture, which coincided with, and embraced, the rest of Roman Europe; to *Maximin* the Asiatic provinces and Egypt. So that as regards its Western third, at least, this trisection precisely answers to that of the Apocalypse; and the presumption seems reasonable that it may answer otherwise, and be indeed the very trisection here intended.—The presumption is strengthened from the fact just before alluded to, of its being (excepting on the temporary arrangement with the usurper Maximus) the *only other* political trisection of the Roman empire on record. Because, if it be not this trisection, we seem to have absolutely none to which to refer the Apocalyptic expression. And it is yet further strengthened by the circumstance of there being a direct and striking reference to it at its first forming, (as I

A.D.

- lentinian and Valens. The Western empire included the whole of *Illyricum*; the Eastern *Thrace* and *Masia*. (See Gibbon iv. 242.)
- 379 On Gratian's appointing Theodosius Eastern Emperor, after the death of Valens, as the Gothic war was to be Theodosius' care, the Illyrian Prefecture was dismembered, and the Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia added to Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, as Theodosius' portion.
- 385 On Maximus' defeat and murder of Gratian, Theodosius arranged temporarily with the usurper Maximus that he should confine himself to the countries beyond the Alps, leaving to Gratian's brother Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum. Gib. v. 13.
- 394 For a year or two Theodosius (Valens' successor) reunited the Empire.
- 396 Then on his death it was at length finally partitioned into Eastern and Western, under his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*: the Illyrian Prefecture being divided between them, nearly as now between the Turks and Germans. Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia belonged to the West; Dacia, Macedonia, (the other half of the Illyrian Prefecture,) to the East. Gib. v. 138.
- The result was very speedily a total separation of the two empires. Gibbon observes that about 410 A.D. such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would rather have obeyed the orders of the Persian than of the Latin Court. v. 161.

must beg permission anticipatively to take for granted,) in a vision chronologically anterior to the four Trumpets, though in the Apocalyptic arrangement placed after them; —I mean that of the travelling woman and the dragon in the xiith chapter. In truth, it was in the course of researches into the meaning of what is there said of the dragon, or Roman Pagan power, "drawing with its tail *the third part* of the stars of heaven," that I was first led to notice the division that we speak of. Now where-soever, in reference to the earlier history of an empire, any territorial or political division has been fixed on for pointed notice and figuration by the prophetic spirit, it is his habit, as Sir I. Newton has I think observed, still to refer to it; until some new and fundamental changes may have been arrived at in the prophecy, such as to make it necessary, for distinctness' sake, or other reasons, to mark the new division.

But here arises an objection. Passing over the mere temporary changes of division which occurred in the Roman empire between Constantine's time and that of the Gothic invasions, there occurred one, it may be said, just before the irruption of the Goths, so memorable on many accounts in history, and so permanent, as to have constituted precisely such a new and fundamental change, as, according to Sir Isaac's rule, might be expected to obliterate the old division, and to be the one thenceforward noted in the prophecy. I mean, of course, the division into Eastern and Western, which was first made under Valentinian and Valens, then finally and for ever under Theodosius' sons, Arcadius, and Honorius;—a division not into *three* parts, but *two*.—And at first the difficulty seems a formidable one. Indeed for a time it seemed to myself so serious, as to make me pause and hesitate on the whole subject. On more careful consideration, however, not only did light dawn on the difficulty, but reasons appeared *strong* and most *satisfactory*, why, notwithstanding the new bipartite division of the empire into east and west, the old tripartite divi-

sion should be still adhered to ; and this even throughout the range of all the six first Trumpets.

For, first, I perceived, as to the *de jure* bipartition of the two empires, that it was not by any unshifting, or nearly unshifting, line of demarcation ; so as that the *Western* empire might be spoken of throughout as one and the same half, and the *Eastern* empire again as the other half, always the same. So far as the territory of the original *Illyrian third* was concerned, essential changes took place in the line of separation, subsequently to the division under Arcadius and Honorius ; just as had been the case indeed in the bipartite divisions before. I say it was thus variable *before*. For when the Roman world was first bipartitioned between Constantine and Licinius, the Illyrian Præfecture was attached to the *Eastern* empire ; but, after the first war between them, it was taken from the *East*, and added to the *West*. When a bipartition was next arranged between Valentinian and Valens, it was all again attached in the same manner to the *Western* empire.¹ But on Valens' death and Theodosius' accession, the Præfecture was dismembered, and its Eastern half, including Dacia and Macedonia, added by Gratian to the *East*.²—It was this last that was the line of separation settled on in the bipartition between Arcadius and Honorius, to which our difficulty chiefly refers. Yet we find that, some ten years after, the *Western* emperor claimed jurisdiction over the *whole* of Illyricum, “ according to its true and ancient limits : ”³—and about 20 years still later, a new arrangement was made between the two emperors, by which the whole of the Western Illyricum was ceded to the *Eastern* empire. This took place A.D. 425.⁴ It was the final line of

¹ See the tabular view p. 335.

² Gibbon iv. 422.

³ Ib. v. 234.

⁴ Ib. vi. 7. This partition was made between Theodosius 2nd, and Valentinian the 3rd. “ The emperor of the East acquired the rich Province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum ; which had been filled and ravaged for about twenty years, by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Bavarians.”—He refers to Count Buat, a laborious investigator of the antiquities of those times, as his authority for this Treaty ; and which he considers quite satisfactory.—Yet it would seem that still the Western emperor revived his claim to one of its provinces. For in an embassy to Attila he sent

dispartition, and one to which I shall again have to call the reader's special attention.—Thus the *staple*, if I may so say, the permanently legitimate territory appertaining to each respectively, was still *Constantine's original third* for the *Western* empire, and *Maximin's original third* for the *Eastern* empire.—In every case, I should observe, the latter included *Thrace*.

Secondly, I could not but perceive also, while tracing the *de facto* histories of these three respective divisions of the Roman empire, that the fortunes of the *intermediate* or *Illyrian third* could not be considered as involved in those either of the Western or Eastern empire; but, for distinctness' sake, needed (I may say absolutely needed) to be considered separately. Already this was in part the scene of the earlier occupation and devastations of the Goths after the battle of Adrianople. Nor did the peace that they made five years after with Theodosius cause any effectual alteration in their *occupancy* of it. "The vast regions they had ravaged," says Sismondi, "were abandoned to them, if not in absolute sovereignty, yet in terms little at variance with their independence." Thus they had already stood up, like a living wall of separation, between the two divisions of the empire which were most properly Roman in their population: a view which both Ambrose and Jerome well illustrate.¹ Yet more was this the case after Ala-

the civil and military governors of *Noricum* as his envoys. Gibbon vi. 92. So also Sismondi, *Roman History*, i. 160: who says indeed that the complaint of Attila had reference to things embezzled in a church at *Sirmium*; a town situated a little south of the modern Belgrade.—In A. D. 453, again, the emperor Marcian granted all Pannonia, as far as Vindobona (Vienna), to the Ostrogoths.

The *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction of the Eastern Illyricum was a point similarly disputed between the Roman Byzantine Sees. Thus in the year 451, the Council of Chalcedon adjudged that the Patriarchate of the Constantinopolitan Bishop extended over Eastern Illyricum: yet in 490, we find that Pope Felix 2 (or 3,) had his vicar in the Eastern Illyricum, resident at Thessalonica. See Mosheim, *Centuries V. VI.* also the letters of the Illyrian Bishops address to the Popes, as to the vicars of Peter and Christ, A.D. 531; given in Hard. ii. 1117 &c.

¹ Ambrose on Luke, Lib. x. 10, writing A. D. 386, nine years before Theodosius' death, says: "Nos quoque in *Illyrico* exules patriæ Gothorum exilia fecerunt:" with reference to the Gothic hordes driven through terror of the Huns across the Danube; and which, after conquering Valens, occupied, though as subjects to Theodosius, much of Illyricum.—Jerome, Ep. 91 ad Ageruch. written A. D. 409, says that for thirty years the Goths had been occupying and desolating Pannonia.

ric's and the Goths' first revolt on Theodosius' death, and overrunning of the southern part of this same Præfecture; Alaric being thereupon constituted, (as I shall afterwards again have to mention,) *Master-General* (in fact *independent Prince*) of *Illyricum*. And it was precisely at this epoch, as I conceive, not before, that the first Trumpet sounded.

Nor was it at this time only that the *Illyrian*, or *intermediate third*, was thus separated in its history and fortunes from the other two-thirds. The same continued the case afterwards. In the 6th and 7th centuries the Bulgarian power was formed; and the result was that "Mæsia, during the middle ages, was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria."¹—In the 9th century, Macedonia and the eastern Illyricum were inundated by Slavonic hordes, by whom the whole region is said to have been Slavonized;² and which were thus not in language only, but also in government, very much separated from the Greek Empire.—Finally, and much later, the Franks in their crusading expeditions severed the southernmost of the Illyrian provinces from the Greeks, and long occupied them.—I the rather mention this last act, in tracing the distinct and separate history of the Illyrian Præfecture, because it carries us down to the times of the *Turks*: and shows that the tripartite division of which we have spoken, was most fitly used even under the 6th Trumpet in the prophecy: seeing that it was but the "third of men,"³—the *eastern* third,—against whom the commission of the Euphratean horsemen could be properly said to be given.

Thus the result of our investigation has been to show that on *general grounds*, and with reference to *the general tenor* of Roman history, at and subsequent to the time of the Gothic invasions, instead of the tripartite division that I speak of, being a division inappropriate

¹ Gibbon, i. 37.

² ἐσλαβωθη πασα ἡ χώρα. Constantine Porph. Them. ii. 6

³ Apoc. ix. 15.

to make use of in the prophetic prefiguration of those events and times, because of the notable bipartition of the empire into Eastern and Western that had taken place a little previously, it was precisely the most appropriate that could be chosen. It only remains to see whether it will suit the *details* of the three first trumpet-visions, as we have already seen it does those of the fourth. And when we shall have completed the comparison of these details with the details of the history corresponding, I trust that on this point also the reader will find himself equally satisfied.

§ 2.—HISTORICAL EXPOSITION OF THE FOUR FIRST TRUMPET-VISIONS.

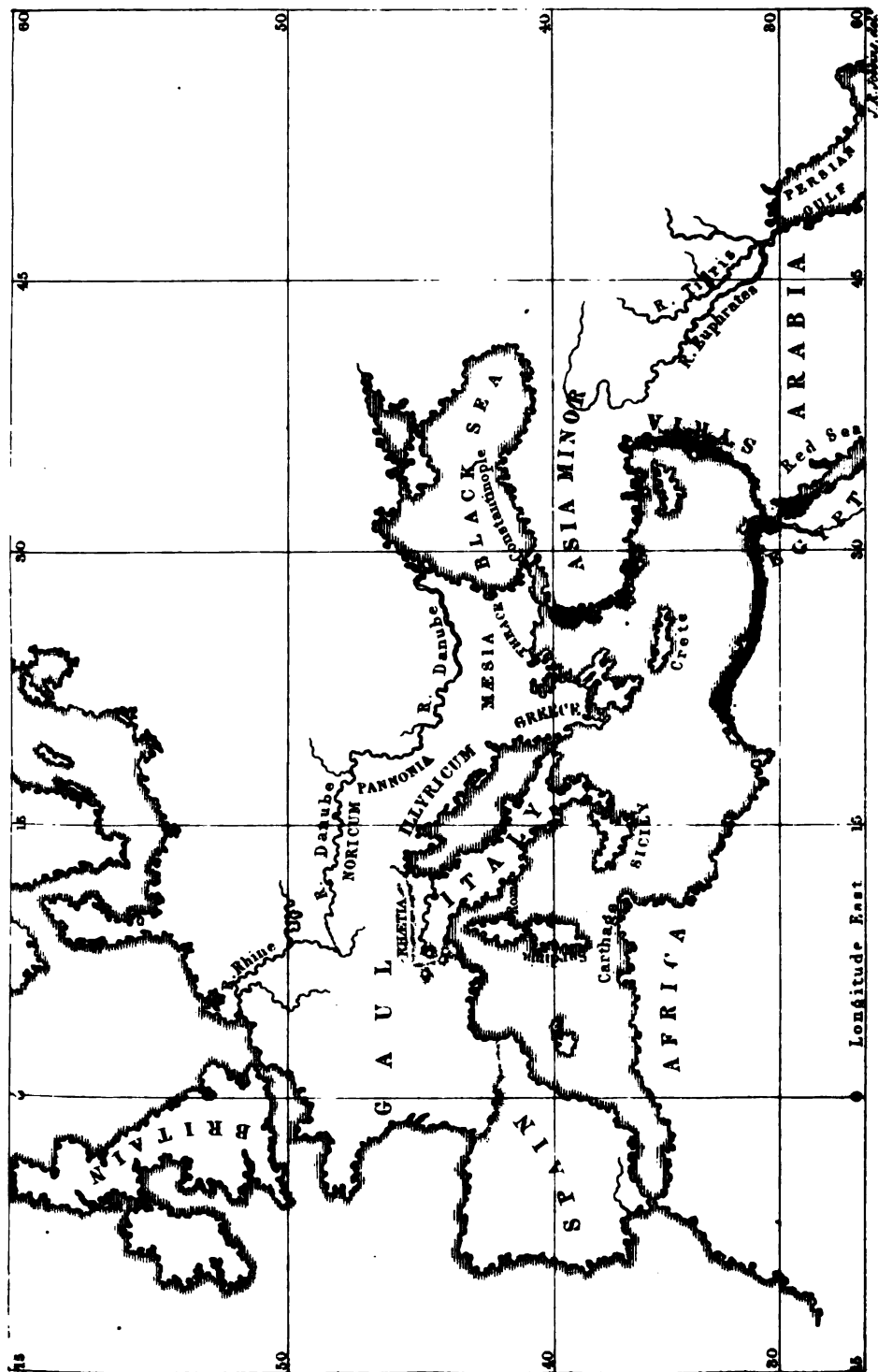
In order to enter in this part on our comparison of the prophecy and the history to the best advantage, it will be peculiarly desirable that we should endeavour to place ourselves, as it were, in the situation of the Evangelist, and see the varied imagery of the successive visions as far as possible so as he saw them:—more particularly, I mean, as each locally affecting, and locally associated with, its assigned portion of the Roman world; that same Roman world that seems to have been extended in living though miniature landscape, beneath and around him, with its triple divisions of territory marked therein, and their respective boundary lines, whether of river, sea, mountain, or desert. All this,—though the unassisted human eye could not comprehend it,—the prophetic eye might, as usual with the prophets, or indeed the natural eye, as with Christ in his temptation,¹ be strengthened to discern. And need I suggest what an advantage it must have afforded to St. John all through, towards the right understanding of the visions?

¹ Matt. iv. 8; "The Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world," &c. On which Milton says in his *Paradise Regained*, iv. 40;

By what strange parallax, or optic skill
Of vision multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to enquire.

Much of that to which a laborious train of reasoning has *already* thus far conducted us, would have been manifest to him, as I conceive, at a glance. And as in regard to what has *preceded*, so in regard to what is *to follow* also : above all in figurations such as we are now entering on ; where distinctive symbolic details are comparatively scanty, and the most distinctive part of the symbol is its geographical origin or progression. Hence the importance to those who have not had it given them to be eye-witnesses, of calling the imagination in aid, in the manner I suggested. To facilitate this a Map has been appended ; with the *three* great divisions, which we have seen reason to suppose alluded to, distinguished upon it by different colours : and in regard to which several territorial divisions it may be well to remind the reader, that each one included its *third* of the Mediterranean or Roman *sea*,¹ as well as its third of the *land* : and each one also its own characteristic stream of the *three* great frontier *rivers*, the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.—In order yet more to aid the imagination, I shall make the attempt, before entering on historical events and fulfilment, to describe the imagery of the successive visions, so as I conceive it to have passed over the landscape of the Roman world before the eye of the Evangelist :—always taking care that there shall be in this no unlicensed play of the fancy ; and nothing inconsistent with that faithful adherence to the written descriptions which is due to every word of God's Holy Book.—I have already hinted that it is to *one and the same Western third* of the Empire that I apply alike all the four first Trumpet-visions ;—its *land* territory, its *maritime* dependencies, its frontier *river*-valley and fountains, its *sun* and *stars*. This the unity of these four visions seems to me to require.

¹ The Mediterranean was often spoken of by the Romans as *their sea*, "*mare nostrum*." Hence when the word *sea* was used by itself, this would be the meaning attached to the word by them.



I. THE IMAGERY OF THE PRELIMINARY ALTAR-SCENE IN THE APOCALYPTIC TEMPLE, AND OF THE FOUR FIRST TRUMPET VISIONS CONSEQUENT.

Behold, then, the Angel-priest has come forth from offering the incense of his faithful ones in the inner temple ; his censer in hand, but emptied of the sacred embers and fire with which that incense had been kindled by him before the Holy One :—and see ! he moves straight back again to the great altar in the altar-court, and takes again of the same burning embers, and fills the same censer with them ;—only now not to bless, but to destroy. For having filled it, he scatters the fiery ashes from the temple-height, that they may fall on the despisers of his proffered mediation and atonement in the world below ;—the world *professing* but *apostate*. Not an instant passes without signs of recognition in heaven and on earth, alike by the animate and the inanimate creation, of this devoting of the land to a curse. Forthwith from the cloud of glory there issue thunderings and lightnings :—and see, they are responded to by the bursting of tempests (the four angel-forms darkly seen careering in them) over the central provinces of Illyricum, Greece, and Epirus ; the first that same district which they had sometime before overhung, murky and threatening. The Roman earth quakes simultaneously through its vast extent ; and the faces of men gather blackness : some from present suffering, all from forebodings of greater evil to come.

But look to the temple again. See ! the trumpet-angels are preparing themselves to sound ; and therewith the more definite evolution of the divine judgments to be defined, and to proceed. Which is the first grand destined scene of suffering ?

1st Trumpet.¹—The first Angel sounds his trumpet : and lo the same tremendous tempest as before, black with other clouds from the cold hail-generating countries

¹ Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγελὸς ἐσάλπισε· καὶ ἐγένετο χαλαῖα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἅματι, καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατέκαυ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατέκαυ, καὶ πᾶς χορτὸς χλωρὸς κατέκαυ

beyond the Danube,¹ and charged with lightning and hail, appears driving westward. “*The third of the land,*” or *continental* provinces of the *Western* division of the Roman empire, is declared the fated scene of ravage. The Asiatic continent and maritime province of Africa are to remain unharmed by the storm : and the European provinces, too, of the *Eastern* Empire mostly to escape. The skirts of the storm discharge themselves, as it passes forward, on the Rhætian hill-country. Then quickly its course is towards Italy. As it sweeps across the Italian frontier, other terrific thunder-clouds from the distant north-west quarter of the heaven succeed and intermingle with the first. Once and again the almost united tempests spread in devastating fury over Italy, beyond the Alps and the Appennines. Then dividing, a part impelled yet further south, bursts with terrific lightnings directly over the seven-hilled imperial city, and passes thence to the southernmost coast of Bruttium beyond. A part, driven backward, takes a westerly course over the Rhine into Gaul, and far and wide devastates it ; then, crossing over the Pyrenæan chain, pours its fury on the Spanish provinces : nor spends itself till it has reached the far shores, west and south, of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.—Thus has the entire continental division of the western empire been involved in its ravages. Throughout the whole the lightning-fire runs along the ground, even as in the plagues of ancient Egypt ; burning in wide-spreading conflagration country and town, trees, and pasture. And there are signs too, not to be mistaken, of the destruction of life, as well as of vegetation : for blood appears mixed with the fire and hail. Slowly at length the storm subsides ; destroying, however, even in its subsidence. The desolation that it leaves is frightful. The land was as the garden of Eden before it. It remains a wasted wilderness.

2nd Trumpet.²—A pause ensues. Then presently

¹ On the cold of ancient Germany, see Gibbon i. 346.

² Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἀγγελὸς ἐσαλπύσας· καὶ ὡς ὅρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης ἕμμα· καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον

there is heard another trumpet-blast of judgment.—Now is the visitation of the *Western third of the Mediterranean sea*, and the *islands and trans-marine province* included in it; ¹ a part hitherto unscathed and safe. Behold yon giant mountain-rock, blazing with volcanic fires, that upheaved from the southernmost point of Spain near the straits of Gades, and cast into the sea, looks like Etna in its raging! Mark how the waters of the midland sea are agitated by it! The lava pours down the mountain-sides. The igneous stones and ashes of the volcano are scattered for hundreds of miles all round, on sea and mainland, coasts and islands; ² first on the coast of Africa, then on that of the opposite continent, from the Atlantic straits, all along up to the head of the Adriatic. Ships appear set on fire by them, at sea and in the harbours, and light the water with their conflagrations. Blood marks the loss of life accompanying; the same as in the former vision. Over the whole maritime scene of its devastations whatever is habitable appears desolated; whatever had life, destroyed. “The third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of living creatures ³ in the sea” (i. e. those that were

τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρη.

¹ The sea was a word used by the Romans to include the islands and maritime coasts. So Facciolati; “*Mare* interdum est regio maritima et insulæ maris;” quoting Nepos in Cor. 4; “Ad mare missus est, ut Cypris et Phœnicibus naves longas imperet;” and Tacitus Hist. i. 2; “Plenum exiliis mare.”—So in Scripture “the sea,” is used for “the strength of the sea,” i. e. Tyre, Isaiah xxiii. 4.

² This is no exaggeration of the extent of volcanic action, seen in nature. Dion Cassius (L. lxvi) relates that in the eruption of Vœuvius in which Pliny lost his life, the ashes reached Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and filled the air above Rome.—Cassiodorus, describing an eruption of the same volcanic mountain in the time of Theodoric, says; “Per totam Italiam cognoscitur quando illa indignatio commovetur. Volat per mare magnum cinis decoctus, et terrenis nubibus excitatis transmarinas quoque provincias pulvereis guttis compluit.” B. P. M. xi. 1157.—In more modern times during one eruption of Etna, an area 150 miles in circumference is said to have been covered with a stratum of volcanic sand and ashes twelve feet deep. In the year 1783 a current of lava sixty miles long, and twelve broad, was formed by a volcano in Iceland. And in 1815 Mr. Bakewell states that in the eruption of the volcano of Sumbawa the clouds of smoke and ashes darkened the sky for 300 miles round; and that the sound of the explosions was heard in Sumatra, 970 miles distant. See *Memoire sur les îles Ponces*; and Bakewell's Introduction to Geology. p. 342.

³ κτίσμα. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 4; παν κτίσμα καλόν and James i. 18; ὡς ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κτισμάτων. Also, Rev. v. 13; παν κτίσμα ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θρῶνῃ, καὶ ἐν

in the third part of the sea) “died; and the third part of ships was destroyed.”

3rd Trumpet.³—The volcano has not yet fully spent itself, when another of the angels sounds his trumpet-clang. Which the new scene of judgment? “The (Western) third of the rivers,” it is said, “and the fountains of waters.”—It begins where yon mighty river to the North forms the ancient limit between barbarian Germany, and the *Illyrian* or *middle* Præfecture of the Roman empire. Mark the portentous meteor that glares over it; like a blazing torch trailing its red line of light² behind it in the Northern sky! And see! where the Teiss, pouring itself into the Danube, marks the central point of the base of the great Illyrian Præfecture, there suddenly it descends, and blazes, and taints with its sulphureous exhalations the downward course of that ancient river.—But it was the same *Western third* of the Empire, as before, that was in this case too to taste specially of the bitterness of the woe. And mark how, in fulfilment of its mission, the meteor tracks the course of the *upper* Danube, and then reaches and moves along the *Rhenish frontier-river* of the Western Empire; blazing over and poisoning its waters down even to the Belgic lowlands. Thence again unquenched it rises; shoots in rapid course westward; is repelled, as if by some counter electric force, and as from a region on which it behoved not that it should permanently shed its malignant influences; then in southerly direction falls on the *fountains* of the European waters, there where the Alpine snows are dissolving from their eternal

τη γῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἃ ἐστὶ, ἡμᾶς λεγόντας, &c. In St. James the word is evidently used of intelligent creatures.

¹ Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἀγγέλους ἐσάλπισε· καὶ ἐπέσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μέγας καιόμενος ὡς λαμπρᾶς· καὶ ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὕδατων· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἀψύθος· καὶ γινέται τὸ τρίτον εἰς ἀψύθον· καὶ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὅτι ἐπικραυθήσαν.—It is to be observed that the limiting epithet, *a third part*, applies to the *rivers only*, not to the *fountains of waters*.

² “A great star blazing like a torch.” This designates a *meteor*, as distinguished from one of the starry luminaries. So Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 694,

de cœlo lapsa per umbras

Stella facem ducens multâ cum luce cucurrit.

glaciers.—Wheresoever it has fallen, the rivers and their tributaries have been poisoned by it; and the dead and dying of those that drink them appear lying on the banks. “For the name of that star is Wormwood; ¹ and many died of the waters because they were made bitter.”—So having done its part, it shoots back towards the Danube; there blazes for a moment longer, and is extinct.

4th Trumpet.²—The vision has past; the *fourth* angel sounds. Hitherto, though its land, its sea, and its frontier river and fountains of waters have been desolated, yet the *sun* has still continued shining on the Western empire, as before. But now at length this too is affected. To the extent of a third part of its orb, it suffers eclipse. The shadow falls over the Western empire. Then the night supervenes.—And see the eclipsing influences act on the luminaries of the night also. Presently the Western third of the moon becomes eclipsed; and of the stars scattered over the symbolic firmament, all that are in that third of the Roman sky, are darkened also.

So closes this fourth vision. And then another angel, diverse from the seven trumpet-angels, breaks upon the continuity of their succession. By his solemn and loud cry in mid-heaven of, “Woe, Woe, Woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, from the voices of the trumpet-angels that have yet to sound,” he occupies the seer’s attention for a while, with a warning voice of judgments yet to come; and seems to intimate also a certain break, and perhaps change of character, between the judgments gone before, and those that were to follow.

Such, I conceive, may have been the manner in which

¹ Compare Jer. xxiii. 15; “I will feed them with wormwood, and make them drink the waters of gall;” i. e. in the afflictions of the Babylonish captivity. The metaphor is not uncommon. In *Antar*, the Arabic Romance, we find it applied, as here, to death. “Death served them with a cup of *absinthe* by my sword.” Hamilton’s Trans. iii. 129.

² Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἀγγέλους ἐσάλπισε· καὶ ἐπλήσθη τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἡλίου, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων· ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάωρ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡ νύξ ὁμοίως.

the phænomena of the successive visions passed before the Evangelist : there being added nothing but what is consistent with, and,—if we suppose the same to have been geographically represented before him,—in no little measure implied in, the brief descriptions of the visions in the text. And what, let me ask, would be the natural, the almost necessary interpretation he would attach to them? Surely, considering the character of the symbolic figures, both in themselves, and as illustrated by their use in other prophetic Scriptures,¹ he would construe them as prefiguring the ravages of some terrible invaders from Northern Germany :—invaders who would desolate first the European continental provinces of the Western empire ; then its maritime provinces, islands, and fleets in the Mediterranean :—a fresh and dreadful scourge being super-added, commencing on the Illyrian Præfecture, but soon to ravage the Western provinces watered by the Rhine also, and the Alpine regions, the local source of the European waters ;—followed, finally, by the extinction of the imperial dynasty of the West, and soon after of its subordinate rulers also.—Such, I conceive, must have been his interpretation. It remains to see how the figurations were fulfilled in the progress of the Gothic, Vandal, Hunnish, and Ostrogothic desolations. This was to be my *second* Head.

¹ 1st. The *tempest*.—So Is. xxviii. 2; "The Lord hath a mighty and strong one : which, as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty waters overflowing, shall cast down to the earth with the hand." This was said of *Shalmanezzer* and the *Assyrian* invasion.—And again of *Gog*; Ezek. xxxviii. 9; "Thou shalt ascend, and come like a storm : thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land : thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee."

2. The *volcano* or *burning mountain*.—So Jeremiah li. 25; "Behold I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth. And I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain."—This was said of *Babylon*. It is compared, says Dr. A. Clarke, "to a burning mountain ; which, by vomiting continual streams of burning lava, inundates and destroys all towns, villages, fields &c. in its vicinity . . . So had the Babylonish government set the nations on fire, deluging and destroying them by his troops : till at last exhausted &c. it is extinguished ;"—becomes an extinct volcano.

3. The *meteor*, or *star blazing as a lamp or torch*.—With this we may compare what is said of the invading kings of Syria and Israel in Is. vii. 4; "Fear not, neither be faint-hearted, for the two tails of these smoking fire-brands ; for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah."

II. THE HISTORICAL FULFILMENT.

And, in demonstrating this, need I detail at any length the history of the five great destroyers of the Western empire,—the two first associated nearly as one in the time and scene of their devastations under the first Trumpet:—I mean of ALARIC and RHADAGAIUS, in the first instance ; then of GENSERIC, ATILA, ODOACER ? The tale has been often repeated by expositors, as well as historians. A brief sketch will suffice.—We have first to trace in their history what may answer to the *introductory* earthquake thunderings and lightnings, that followed on the malediction signified by the *altar-fire cast on the Roman world* ;—then the fulfilment of the *four Trumpet-visions* themselves.

1. *The introductory thunderings, lightnings, and earthquake.*—The epoch of the seventh Seal's opening answered (in my view), as before said, to that of the *death of Theodosius*. And how long did the *silence in the firmamental heaven*, the stillness from the long-threatened tempests, last after it ? He died Jan, 17. A. D. 395 ; and *before the winter had ended*, says Gibbon, the Gothic nation was in arms. So that it was an interval rather of days than weeks. For it needed but the circulation of the news to rouse the Goths among the farms occupied by them in the Illyrian and Mælian Provinces. Then, said the prophecy, “to the seven (war-denouncing) angels, there were given seven trumpets :” and the history, that the Goths armed forthwith, with threat of war against the Roman empire.—But not before there had been enacted in the empire, alike what might answer to the *saints’* incense-offering figured in the Apocalyptic temple, and the implied Christ-renouncing counter-worship of *the men of the apostacy*. For then was precisely the æra to which our ecclesiastical sketch of the preceding chapter relates, the æra of 395, 396 : when *Augustine*, just entered on the Episcopate, was in doctrine and life setting forth Jesus as the propitiation and mediator, as well as life and light, of sinful men ; and *Vigilantius* too (not to speak of other faithful ones) was pre-

paring for his protestant stand against the intruding superstitions and apostacy:—while *Sulpitius*, *Paulinus*, *Jerome*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Martin of Tours*, and other such, were too prominently countenancing and helping forward those superstitions, to the neglect and forsaking of Jesus.

And so then in 396 the first fearful tempest burst (a tempest characteristic as well as introductory of all that followed) on the central and hitherto unravaged provinces of Thessaly, Greece, Epirus, and the Peloponnese, under the devastation of Alaric and the Goths. The land trembled before them in terror. "The deep and bloody traces of their march could be traced," we are told, "by the traveller many years afterwards."—Well had the pious emperor Theodosius been taken, like another Josiah, from the evil to come. And well had there been strange convulsions of nature, and earthquakes, and elemental storms, and tempests, just before his death, (portents renewed this very year,) such as to cause general forebodings of evil being at hand. For so Ambrose¹ and Jerome² tell us; and the Chronicles of the time confirm their statements.³ It was like nature's own alarum, with men's *voices* of alarm responding; as well as the furnishing by nature of the very portents used symbolically of the events and epoch, in the Apocalyptic vision.

2. Then was a pause. The *Trumpets* were to be sounded specially against not the already detached Illyrian Præfecture, but against the Western Empire, against Italy,

¹ "Hoc nobis motus terrarum graves, hoc juges pluvie minabantur, et ultra solitum caligo tenebrosior denuntiabat, quoddam clementissimus Imperator Theodosius excessurus esset à terris. Ipsa igitur excessum ejus elementa mærebant." De Obitu Theodosii. ad init.

² This was when Vigilantius was with him, in 396. There was then an eclipse as well as earthquake: and Jerom says, "Obcurato sole omnis mundus jam jamque venturum judicem formidaret." Gilly's Vigilantius, 304, 307.

³ The Benedictine Editor of Ambrose notes on the former extract; "Marcellinus in Chronico suo auctor est profligato Eugenio terram continuis motibus, à mense Septembri ad Novembrem usque, in quibusdam Europæ regionibus quassatam fuisse anno (A.D. 394) qui Theodosii mortem antecessit."

Marcellinus also notes in his Chronicle the earthquake and portents of 396; "Terræ motus per dies plurimos fuit, cælumque ardere visum est:" i.e. in the year next after Theodosius' death.

and Rome. It was a pause in which Alaric had to prepare himself for the mighty task. "The trumpet-angels *prepared* themselves to sound." And see the wonderful manner in which this was facilitated. By the infatuation of the emperor Arcadius, he was made Master-General of the Eastern Illyricum;¹ and so furnished with arms for their destruction from the Romans' own armouries. Thus he occupied himself four years in preparation for his great enterprise. Seated in authority in the centre of that vast Præfecture, which since the days of Valens had been very much occupied by the Goths and other barbaric tribes, —there, on the verge, as it were, of the two empires; he had but to meditate, like an eagle of prey, on which of the separated halves he should fall of the devoted carcase; then to seize, and to devour. The Gothic chieftains elevated him on a shield and solemnly proclaimed him *King of the Visi-Goths*.² On their part, as well as otherwise, his preparation was complete.

And then the *first* Trumpet sounded. His course was to Italy. As he told an Italian monk afterwards,³ "he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even impelled his march to the gates of Rome."—As his trumpet sounded, and his march advanced, terrible omens and prognostications, we read, preceded him. "The Christians," says Gibbon,⁴ "derived comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs." So he notes again *the very cause, prefigured in the Apocalypse*, of the coming judgments. Thrice, in fulfilment of his destiny, he descended from the Alps on the Italian plains; marking his course each step, as the awe-struck historians of the times tell us, in country and in town, with ravage, conflagration, and blood; till the gates of Rome itself were opened to the conqueror, and the Gothic fires blazed around the capitol.⁵—In the mean time other destroyers,

¹ So Claudian, Eutrop. ii. 213;

Vastator Achivæ
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyrico.

² Gibbon v. 189.

³ Ib. 254.

⁴ Ib. 193.

⁵ "At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they fired the adjacent houses

of a kindred race and origin, had extended their ravages to the trans-rhenane provinces. Between Alaric's first and second invasions of Italy, RHADAGAIUS, from the far north of Germany, with a host of Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians, burst, "like a dark thundercloud from the Baltic," as Gibbon graphically describes it,¹ on the Rhætian and Italian vallies. With slaughter and difficulty they were repulsed by the Roman general from near Florence. But it was only to bend the course of the vast remnant westward; and overwhelm the provinces, till then flourishing and fertile, of Gaul and Spain. Blood and conflagration here marked each step of their track; just as that of Alaric in Greece and Italy. The burning of trees and herbage, as well as of cities, is pathetically particularized by the chronicles of the times. "The consuming flames of war," says Gibbon,² "spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. The scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man." A similar description is given of the desolation of Spain.³—And the desolators entered, never to retire. "This passage of the Rhine," he adds, "by the Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as *the fall of the Roman empire* in the countries beyond the Alps. The barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of

to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens. The flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings: and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained in the age of Justinian, a stately monument of the *Gothic conflagration*." Gibbon v. 317.

¹ v. 214.—The chronological intermingling of the invasions of Italy by Alaric and Rhadagaisus will appear from the following tabular sketch.

A. D.

396 Alaric's invasion of Greece.

400—403 His first invasion of Italy. (Gibbon v. 190.)

406 Rhadagaisus with 300,000 Vandals from the Baltic, marching by way of the upper Danube, invades Italy.—Defeated and killed under the walls of Florence, the remains of his army retire from Italy, and cross the Rhine into France.

408 Alaric's first siege of Rome.

409 Second siege.

410 Third siege and capture.—In the same year followed Alaric's death.

² Ib. 225.

³ Ib. 352.

the earth were, from that fatal moment, levelled with the ground.”¹

The era of Alaric and Rhadagaisus,—that is, of the first Trumpet,—is to be considered as *chiefly* embracing some ten or twelve years, from A.D. 400 to about A.D. 410; though, as the ravages of the provinces were not then discontinued, we may perhaps consider the vision before us to embrace a period somewhat longer. In that latter year the *Vandals* had extended their conquests to the straits of Gades:² and *Alaric*, having accomplished his destiny, and reached in his desolating course the southernmost coast of Italy,—while meditating still further conquests,³ which were intended however for another hand and another Trumpet,—was arrested suddenly by the hand of death. His royal sepulchre, we are told, adorned with the spoils and trophies of Rome, was built in the midst of the bed of the river Consentia in Bruttium; and the secret for ever concealed by the massacre of the prisoners employed in constructing it:—the last Italian blood that mingled with the fire and the hail, under the judgments of the *first* Trumpet.

To the Vandal *GENSERIC* was allotted the conquest of the *maritime provinces* of Africa, and the *islands*: all in short that belonged to the western empire in the Mediterranean; and which Alaric (as just alluded to) was prevented attempting by death. It belonged, I say, to *Genseric*; “a name,” observes Gibbon, “which, in the destruction of the Roman Empire, has deserved an equal rank with the names of *Alaric* and *Attila*.” It was in the year 429 that he entered on it. In the course of the 18 years preceding, no new invasion had broken on the Western empire. The desolation of Gaul and Spain

¹ Ib. v. 224.—Daubuz notices Claudian's comparison of Alaric and his Goths to a *hail-storm*, (De Bell. Get. v. 173,) as in the Apocalypse:

Grandinis aut morbi [nimbi?] ritu, per devia rerum

Præcípites, per clausa ruunt.

“To defend himself from the Goths, the son of Theodosius knew no other expedient than to let loose on Italy the barbarians, and to point the *storm of invasion* towards that quarter.” So Schlegel: Philos. of Hist. ii. 54: using the same Apocalyptic figure.

² Gibbon, v. 352.

³ Gibbon, v. 329.

and other districts, was, as just observed before, not indeed discontinued: but it was rather by the wars of Goths against Goths, than of Goths against Romans. Italy, meanwhile, having been evacuated soon after Alaric's death by the Goths under Astolphus, had partially recovered from its ravages: and Africa, the granary of Rome and Italy, had continued to flourish intact, as before. But now its time was come. Invited, under the influence of temporary infatuation, by Count Boniface, governor of the province, Genseric, in the year above-mentioned, transported thither his Vandals from Spain across the Afric sea:—a force ready, like that burning volcano which, ere his course was run, convulsed Auvergne,¹ for the work of destruction.—Then, as under the former Trumpet, fire did indeed mingle with blood in the desolation of the unhappy province of Africa²—In the second year of the invasion, A. D. 430, the siege of Hippo was formed: and while it was advancing, (how can I omit noticing the event?) *Augustine*, its sainted Bishop, was gently released by death, and joined to the white-robed company before the throne. This was on the 28th of August, A. D. 430. Then was Hippo taken, and *burnt*; and then in 439 Carthage. With the capture of which,

¹ The terrible eruption of these volcanoes, which in their extinct state have become so celebrated among modern geologists, took place A.D. 458—460. Both Auvergne and Dauphiné were convulsed by the accompanying earthquakes, and the face of nature changed in their immediate neighbourhood. The *Rogation days* after Ascension Day, which still remain in our church ritual, were then instituted by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, with a view to deprecate God's wrath.

The account is given in a letter of a cotemporary, Sidonius Apollinaris, and a Rogation Homily of Alcinus Avitus, the next Bishop of Vienne, still extant: B. P. M. vi. 1008, ix. 591. It has been lately noticed in the *Quarterly Review*. And let me add to what is there stated, that the kind of deprecatory rogation that was in use, appears sufficiently from the conclusion of Sidonius' letter; in which he speaks of one martyr's body fortunately found whole by Mamertus, and the head of another martyr, and both transported to Vienne; and begs, in consideration of this last being of Auvergne, that he and his neighbours of that district might share *the saint's patronage*. "Pro compensatione deposcimus ut nobis inde veniat pars patrocinii, quia vobis hinc rediit pars patroni." I observe, that the celebration of the Rogation days was in the year 511, enjoined in the Council of Orleans. Canons 27, 28. See Hard. ii. 1012.

² So Muller, *General History*, i. 401; "Genseric wasted it all with fire and the sword." And Gibbon vi. 181; Genseric determined to "reduce Mauritania to a desert. He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs."

resistance ended. The whole province was subjected to the Vandals, and finally severed from the Western empire.—Thus a part of the prefigurations of the second Trumpet had been fulfilled.—But its ships, and the insular provinces of Sicily and Sardinia, still remained to the Western empire; of the destruction of which the prophecy seemed to speak also. For it said, “The third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of ships was destroyed.” Was this too fulfilled by Genseric? Mark what followed after the capture of Carthage. Finding himself shut in to the south by the desert, Genseric, we are told, cast his eyes to the *sea*, and determined to create a *naval power*. And then “the fleets (the Vandal fleets) that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean.” Sicily was conquered by them, and Sardinia, and the other Western isles;¹ all that was in the third part of the sea:—a division of it comprehending both that vast basin of the western Mediterranean included between the straits of Gibraltar and Sicily, and the part which, expanding beyond, sweeps round the south-west of Italy to form the deep gulf of the Adriatic;—the *sea-third* answering to the land-third of the Western empire.—The coasts, moreover, of Spain, and Gaul, and Italy, the latter as far up as the head of the Adriatic, were mercilessly ravaged by him. When asked by his pilot what course to steer, “Leave the determination to the winds,” was his reply: “they will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice.” Twice, on occasions alike memorable, the Roman *navies*, with vast preparations, were collected to destroy the Vandal power. But suddenly and most disastrously, in the harbours of Carthage and Bona, when the eyes of the Romans were fixed on them with hopes raised to the highest, they were utterly destroyed;—in the latter case by fire-ships driven among them in the obscurity of night. So that the

¹ Victor Vitensis expressly says that Genseric had *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca*; B. P. M. viii. 676. See too Gibbon vi. 146; and Sismondi. Roman History, i. 172.

remainder of the prediction was fulfilled also. The fire of the Vandal volcano might not spend itself, until not only what was habitable in the Western sea was destroyed, but "the third part of the ships" also;—those that navigated the sea-third of the Western empire.

In the mean time, and long ere the extinction of the volcano, and death of the tyrant of the sea, Genserich, (which was not indeed till the year 477,) yet another plague was commissioned against the devoted empire; I mean "the scourge of God," the king of the Huns, **ATTILA**. Alone of conquerors, ancient or modern, he united at this time under his sway, the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia. For the Huns had advanced their course and their conquests, since the time when the Goths fled before them in the days of Valens, to the furthest limits, West and North, of Germany. The kings of the Ostrogoths and Gepidæ were among Attila's subject-princes; and a crowd of vulgar kings watched his nod.¹ Superstitious awe concerning him added to his power. He was deemed something greater than human. "The barbaric princes could not presume to gaze with steady eye on what they deemed his *divine majesty*." How much less his enemies! He was in their eyes like the baleful meteor that even then blazed in the heavens, boding ruin and war.² For the first eight years from his accession (which was in A. D. 433) he had been occupied with other wars in Germany, Persia, Scythia. Then, descending on the Danube, he fixed the royal village near where it takes its great bend to the southward, not far from the modern Buda:³ crossed

¹ Gibbon, vi. 46.

² "Stella quæ crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus ardens apparuit. Bleda et Attila fratres, multarumque gentium reges, Illyricum Thraciamque depopulant." So Marcellinus' Chronicon on A. D. 444, and Attila's first mention.

Idatius in his Chronicle adds a notice of other meteoric portents; especially of *fiery northern lights, like flashing spears*, in the year of Attila's invading Gaul: "signi ostensio quæ mox ingenti exitu perdocetur." B. P. M. vii. 1235.

³ The village of Attila is still visited by visitors from Buda. See Travels by Rev. C. B. Elliott, Vol. i. p. 61, "About four miles hence, on some high ground, is Alt Buda, or old Buda, known to the ancients under the name of Aquineum, where Attila held his court. Few or no vestiges are now to be seen of that savage conqueror's abode."

it to attack the Eastern empire; and, tracing its course downwards in blood, as far as Marcianopolis, retired not until the Eastern empire (A.D. 446) had acknowledged him lord of the lower Danube. "*The Huns*," says Gibbon,¹ "*were masters of the great river*."—But it is specially the river-frontier of the same *Western third* of the empire to which the other Trumpets refer, that I suppose chiefly intended in the present. Accordingly, about A. D. 450, in fulfilment of a treaty with Genseric, he moved against the *Western* provinces along the *upper Danube*: reached and crossed the *Rhine* at Basle, and thence tracing the same great frontier stream of the West down to Belgium, made its valley one scene of desolation and woe; burning the cities, (of which *Strasbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, *Treves*, *Tongres*, *Maestricht* are specially particularized,) massacring the inhabitants, and laying the country waste:—until, at length, having left that valley, which had been marked out as *one* destined scene of his ravaging, and advanced farther into the interior, his course was arrested, and he was repulsed in the tremendous battle of Chalons.—And whither then, when thus forced to retrace his steps, did he direct them? Whither but to fall on another destined scene of ravage, "*the European fountains of waters*," in the Alpine heights and Alpine vallies of Italy. Then *Aquileia*, *Pavia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Milan*, *Turin*, felt his vengeance. "*From the Alps to the Apennines*," says Sigonius, "*all was flight, depopulation, slaughter, slavery, and despair*." Many fled to the low and marshy islands at the mouth of the Adige, Po, and Brenta, as their only safe refuge. And he who has seen the fair *Venice*, may do well to remember that he has seen in it the memorial of the terrors and ravages of that scourge of God, the Hun *Attila*.²—But what further of his course of devastation? Surely, with Italy all defenceless before him, one might have expected that, like his predecessor Alaric, it would

¹ Gibbon, vi. 69.

² For authorities see the Univ. Hist. xvii. 152—155, and Müller's Hist. i. 403. Gibbon is not so particular and detailed in this part of the history as usual.

have continued on to Rome and the far coast of Bruttium. Instead of this, behold an embassy from the Western emperor Valentinian, accompanied by the venerable Romish bishop Leo the First, was successful at this point in deprecating his wrath : and having granted them peace, and leaving bands only of Heruli and Ostrogoths in the Tyrolese country intermediate, he repassed the Alps, and retired.—Wherefore a result, humanly speaking, so unlikely ? Methinks we may see the reason. The prediction had expressly marked the term of Attila's desolating progress ;—"the third of the rivers, and the fountains of waters." Already Attila had made bitter, besides the surplusage of more Eastern scenes, the river-line of the upper Danube and Rhine, and the Alpine fountains of waters. Many had died, and still continued to die, that drank of the waters, through famine, disease, and pestilence. This being done, his course was to end. "Thus far thou shalt go, and no further." Returned from Italy, he recrossed the Danube ; reached the royal village between it and the Teiss ; and there, the very next year, was suddenly cut off by apoplexy. This occurred A.D. 453. So the meteor was extinct ; the empire and power of the Huns broken. The woe of the third Trumpet had passed away.¹

4. Thus was the final catastrophe preparing, by which the western emperors and empire were to become extinct. The glory of Rome had long departed ; its provinces one after another been rent from it ; the territory still attached to it had become like a desert ; and its maritime possessions, and its fleets and commerce been annihilated. Little remained to it but the vain titles and insignia of sovereignty. And now the time was come when these too should be withdrawn. Some twenty years or more from the death of Attila, and much less

¹ The solution of this Trumpet is mainly the same as that first given, I believe, by Whiston, then adopted, in whole or in part, by the commentator Dr. Gill, (see the notice of his prophetic sermons, in the *Investigator*, Vol. iii. 272,) and subsequently by Mr. Bicheno and Dr. Keith.

from that of Genseric, (who, ere his death, had indeed visited and ravaged the eternal city, in one of his maritime marauding expeditions, and thus yet more prepared the coming consummation,) about this time, I say, ODOACER, chief of the Heruli,—a barbarian remnant of the host of Attila, left on the Alpine frontiers of Italy,—interposed with his command that the *name* and the *office of Roman Emperor of the West* should be abolished. The authorities bowed in submission to him. The last phantom of an Emperor, whose name *Romulus Augustus* was singularly calculated to bring in contrast before the reflective mind the past glories of Rome and its present degradation, abdicated: and the Senate sent away the imperial insignia to Constantinople; professing to the Emperor of the East that one Emperor was sufficient for the whole of the empire.—Thus of the Roman imperial sun¹ that third which appertained to the western empire was eclipsed, and shone no more. I say that *third* of its orb which appertained to the western empire: for the apocalyptic fraction is literally accurate. In the last arrangement between the two courts, the whole of the Illyrian third had been made over to the *eastern* division.²—Thus in the west “the extinction of the empire” had taken place;³ the night had fallen.—Notwithstanding this, however, it must be borne in mind that the authority of the Roman name had not yet entirely ceased. The Senate of Rome continued to assemble, as usual.⁴ The Consuls were appointed yearly, one by the eastern Emperor, one by Italy and Rome. Odoacer himself governed Italy under a title, (that of *Patrician*) conferred on him by the eastern Emperor. And, as regarded the more distant western provinces, or at least

¹ It should be remembered by the reader that, “on the division of the empire into East and West, an ideal unity was scrupulously preserved.” Gib. x. 152. The imperial sun was *one*.—The same is indeed implied in the Senate’s address.

² See above, p. 338.

³ The expression of Gibbon, vi. 226.

⁴ For example we find it assembling in 500 A.D. to welcome Theodoric; in 536 sending deputies, in conjunction with those of the Pope, clergy and people, to invite Belisarius to the deliverance of the city; in 546 temporarily broken up by Totilas’ banishment of its members on his capture of Rome; then restored, and at length in 552 finally abolished, as a body exercising political functions, by Narses. Gibbon, vii. 30, 223, 368, 370, 377, 389.

considerable districts in them, the tie which had united them to the Roman empire was not altogether severed.¹ There was still a certain, though often faint, recognition of the supreme imperial authority. The moon and the stars might seem still to shine on the west, with a dim reflected light. In the course of the events, however, which rapidly followed one on the other in the next half century, these too were extinguished.² Theodoric the Ostrogoth, on destroying the Heruli and their kingdom at Rome and Ravenna, ruled in Italy from A.D. 493 to 526, as an independent sovereign: and on Belisarius' and Narses' conquest of Italy from the Ostrogoths, (a conquest preceded by wars and desolations in which Italy, and above all its seven-hilled city, were for a time almost made desert,³) the Roman senate was dissolved, the consulship abrogated. Moreover, as regards the Barbaric princes of the western provinces, their independence of the Roman imperial power became now more distinctly averred and understood. After above a century and half of calamities unexampled almost, as Dr. Robertson most truly represents it,⁴ in the history of nations, the statement of Jerome,—a statement couched under the

¹ E. g. the Emperor of the East conferred on *Clovis* the title of Consul and Patrician.

² See Gibbon viii. 126, on the sequel.—The Lombard invasion of Italy followed after Belisarius' and Narses' conquests, A.D. 568.

³ See Gibbon, vii. 370, &c. Marcellinus (referred to by Gibbon) states in his Chronicon that after Totilas had taken, partly demolished, and then evacuated Rome, carrying off the senators with him, the city remained for forty days desolate; "quadraginta aut amplius dies Roma fuit desolata, ut nemo ibi hominum nisi bestię morarentur."—Then occurred Belisarius' visit from Ostia; he having cut his way with 1000 horse through an interposing division of the Gothic army, "to visit with pity and reverence (as Gibbon says) the vacant space of the Eternal City:" that same visit of which Mr. Miley, the Roman Catholic Priest, in his "*Rome Pagan and Papal*," (ii. 196,) has given so striking a description.

Of the manner in which Mr. M. attempts to construe this as the fulfilment of the apocalyptic prophecy of Babylon's final destruction, which Babylon he would have to mean *Rome Pagan*, a fuller notice will be taken hereafter. (See my examination of Boesuet's Apocalyptic Scheme in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.) For the present let me suggest that though many *covert* Pagans still remained in Rome, during this century and a half of Gothic desolations, yet the mass of its inhabitants were professed Christians; *their* service the only religious service publicly celebrated; and their prayers addressed not to the deified dead men of Paganism, but to saints, or deified dead men of an antichristian Apostasy.

⁴ Charles V, pp. 11, 12: "If we were called on to fix a period most calamitous, it would be that from the death of Theodosius to the establishment of the Lombards."

very apocalyptic figure of the text, but prematurely pronounced on the first taking of Rome by Alaric,—might be considered as at length accomplished; “*Clarissimum terrarum lumen extinctum est*;”¹ “The world’s glorious *sun* has been extinguished:” or, as the modern Poet has exprest it, still under the same Apocalyptic imagery,

She saw her glories star by star expire;²

till not even one star remained, to glimmer on the vacant and dark night.

So ended the history of the Gothic period. So did every point in the first four Trumpet-visions appear fulfilled in it.³ And with it ends this division of our subject.—For a while the prophetic scene shifts: and we shall be called presently to look *Eastward*, to see the judgments of God *there* fulfilling. On returning *West* again afterwards, it will be to contemplate the Roman empire revived in its old capital under a new aspect, and as it were a new head. And then a history and a fate will be found attaching to it, according to the sure word of prophecy, (in part fulfilled, in part still unfulfilled,) the one more remarkable, the other more awful, than even that which we have just been tracing of the ancient Goth-subverted Rome.

¹ Quoted Note ¹; p. 369.

² Childe Harold, Canto iv.

³ Let me observe, in concluding, that the exposition of the four trumpet-visions here given generally resembles Dr. Keith’s: there being excepted the interpretation of the *third part*, of which mention has been made before; and the connection of Attila with the river *Rhine*, a point altogether omitted in his exposition.

CHAPTER III.

FOREWARNINGS OF COMING WOE.

“ And I beheld, and heard an angel¹ flying through the midst of heaven ; and saying with a loud voice, Woe, Woe, Woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpets of the three angels which are yet to sound ! ” Apoc. viii. 13.

This vision, occurring as it does between the fourth Trumpet-vision and the fifth, corresponds with that period of time which intervened between the extinction of the last rays of the old government at Rome, and the rise of Mahomet and the Saracens :—an interval of some 40 or 45 years, which we may date from Justinian's death, or the Lombards' establishment in Italy, A. D. 565 and 570 ; and which was chiefly memorable in Rome and Roman Christendom from the Pontificate which closed it, of Pope Gregory the Great.² It is a period of transition from what we may designate as the ancient, to the more modern division of Roman history ; and this both as regards the West and the East. As such it is notable, and indeed noted by historians.³

With regard to the vision before us, it is to be ob-

¹ Griesbach reads *aers* instead of *αγγελος*, an *eagle* instead of an *angel*. And the external evidence of Manuscripts is *decidedly* in favour of his reading. On the other hand the *internal* evidence of Scriptural analogy, with which Griesbach did not concern himself, is as decidedly,—indeed, as it seems to me, even more so,—against it. For no where in the Apocalypse is the *proclaiming* function assigned to a *bird*, or indeed to any being but an *angel* or the *divine Spirit*. We may compare chap. xix. 17, and xiv. 6, 8, 9. In the *first* of these passages a proclamation is made not *by*, but *to*, the fowls that fly in mid-heaven : and for what ? to fulfil their proper functions of *devouring flesh*. In the *second* the proclaiming agents in mid-heaven are thus described : “ I saw an *angel* flying in mid-heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach, and crying,” &c. : “ And another *angel* followed, saying : ” &c.—I therefore do not hesitate to retain our translator's reading *αγγελος*.

² Pope from A. D. 590 to 604.

³ So Hallam, with reference to the *Eastern* empire. “ The appearance of Mahomet, and conquests of his disciples, present an epoch in the history of Asia even more important and definite than the subversion of the Roman empire in Europe. Hence the boundary line between the ancient and modern divisions of Byzantine history will intersect the reign of Heraclius.” Middle Ages, i. 162.

served, that the warning-cry of the coming woe was made not by an angel in the inner temple,—the council-chamber of the Eternal One,—but by an angel flying through the midst of heaven. Hence we may infer, I conceive, agreeably with the analogy of other such Apocalyptic visions, that it was not a mere private intimation to the evangelist of what yet remained to be foreshown respecting the coming future, but signified that which would have its fulfilment in some forewarning signs in real life, publicly observed by men at the time prefigured :—just, for example, as the very parallel proclaiming cry of the angel that appeared afterwards flying in mid-heaven,¹ may be shown to have had facts clearly answering to it in the correspondent historic æra.—So that we must not be satisfied to pass onward, without looking into the history of the times here referred to, and seeing whether there was in them any thing, and what, that might be regarded as a warning-voice of calamities impending :—a warning-voice audible, and fit to strike upon the minds of men, throughout the length and breath of that which, from the professed christianization of the Romano-Gothic kingdoms, might in regard of the West, as well as East, be still called Roman Christendom.

Nor, as it seems to me, does it need more, in order to our perceiving the thing we seek for, than that we should throw ourselves, as it were, into the times spoken of; and identify our thoughts and our sympathies, for the moment, with those of the age.—I purpose, in what follows, to speak of the signs of the times, 1st, as they might strike foreboding and fear into the minds of reflective men generally: 2ndly, as they might affect the minds more particularly of the discerning among God's true servants; men such as St. John himself specially represented, that had the seal of God on their foreheads, and whose judgments of things were formed by the rule of God's written word.

I. And let me begin with observing on the solemnity

¹ Apoc. xiv. 7.

of the æra, and the solemn prognostications connected with it, from its following immediately on the close of that mighty revolution, *the fall of Rome's ancient empire*.—Escaped from so terrible a wreck, it might have been natural perhaps for the survivors, independent of any *peculiar* causes of apprehension, to look with awe into a dark and uncertain future.¹ But to regard *it* in this point of view merely, will be altogether to underrate the awfulness of the crisis. The reader has already seen how, on the sure warrant of Scripture, the destruction of the Roman empire had been all along looked forward to by the early church as an event fraught with consequences most peculiar and most awful. He will not have forgotten the predictions of *Antichrist* as to come;—how his manifestation was understood to be connected with the dissolution of the Roman empire, its dissolution into ten kingdoms; and that persecutions, calamities, and judgments very fearful were to follow, and after them the *end of the world*. He will remember how the fathers of the second, and then those of the third century, construed the *κατεχον* of St. Paul,—the *let* and *hindrance* to Antichrist's manifestation,—as the then existing empire of Rome;² and the intense interest, consequently, with which its continuance was regarded by them, the alarm with which its apprehended fall. "We pray for the emperors and the empire of Rome," said *Tertullian*, in a passage already in part quoted; "for we know that convulsions and calamities threatening the whole world, and the end of the world itself, are kept back by the intervention of the Roman empire."³ And so again, just after the termination of the third century, *Lactantius*: "The fact itself plainly assures us that things will ere long totter and fall. Only while the city of Rome is safe, there seems reason not to appre-

¹ So Dupin, v. 123, in speaking of the apprehensions of some at the time referred to says; "Whenever there have been great revolutions, Christians have easily persuaded themselves that the end of the world was approaching."

² See pp. 204, 205; where Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus are quoted to this effect.

³ Apol. c. 32; quoted p. 205 Note ¹, *suprà*.

hend it. For that is the state which as yet props up all things."¹—The same conviction continued afterwards through the fourth century, as we learn from the consenting statements of the Latin fathers and the Greek, —of *Cyril* and *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*² and *Jerome* :³

¹ Div. Inst. vii. 25 ; quoted more fully p. 209 Note ¹, *suprà*.

² That is, if we may reckon on the Comment on the Epistles given under Ambrose's name, but which is rather the comment (in part at least) of a contemporary of Ambrose, perhaps Hilary of Rome, (see the Benedictine notice) as fairly representing his opinions. See the next Note.

³ It will be useful on more than one account, as well as interesting to the reader, to subjoin a somewhat copious abstract of the opinions of these eminent fathers of the fourth century on the great cognate prophecies respecting the Antichrist, of Daniel, St. Paul and the Apocalypse, involving the point alluded to. It will be a sequel to that given at pp. 204, 205 of the sentiments of the earlier fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Cyprian.

1. *Cyril* ; ordained Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, died 386.

He, like the Fathers before him, explained the four wild Beasts of Dan. vii to be the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires, and identified the fourth Beast's little horn with St. Paul's *Man of Sin*, and St. John's *Antichrist* :—further he judged that the time of his coming was to be when the times of the then Roman empire were fulfilled, (*ὅταν πληρωθῶσι οἱ καιροὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας*), and it was dissolved into ten kingdoms, kingdoms rising up contemporaneously, but in different places ; that then Antichrist ("some great man raised up by the devil") falsely calling himself the Christ, and so seducing the Jews, would by magical arts and false miracles seize on and usurp the power of the Roman empire, eradicate three of the ten kings, and subjugate the other seven :—that at first mild in semblance, and prudent, and the abolisher of idols, (all with a view to self-exaltation) he would afterwards show himself as God, sitting in the Jewish temple, ("for God forbid it should be *that in which we are* ;") and for three years and a half persecute the Church :—finally that the *apostacy* St. Paul spoke of as Antichrist's precursor, meant a religious apostacy, "from the right faith, from truth, and from good works." (So Catech. xv.)

2. *Ambrose* ; ordained Bishop of Milan A.D. 374, died 398.

The only prophetic notices on the point proposed in the *genuine* writings of this father, are those in his Comment on Luke xxi. 20 ; Book x, § 15—18. He there (like Cyril) explains the *apostacy* of St. Paul to mean an *apostacy from true religion* : (*à verâ religione plerique lapsi errore desciscunt* :)—that it would be the Jewish *inner* or *mental* temple in which Antichrist would sit ; and that then, seizing on the kingdom, (I presume the *Roman* kingdom or supremacy,) he would claim for himself a throne of divine authority : "*sibi divinæ vindictæ solium potestatis*."

In the Comment on 2 Thess. ii. of the *Pseudo-Ambrose*, the *hindrance* to Antichrist's manifestation is explained to be the Roman empire ; its defection (*αἰσχρονομία*) or abolition, being the occasion of his appearance ; and that he would then *restore freedom to the Romans*, "*sub suo nomine* :"—that the *mystery of iniquity* spoken of by St. Paul was Nero's persecuting spirit against Christians, which still afterwards had continued to actuate succeeding Pagan emperors down to Diocletian and Julian ; finally that he would "*in domo Domini in sede sedeat Christi, et ipsum Deum se asserat*."

3. *Chrysostom* ; ordained A.D. 380, made Bishop of Constantinople 398, died 407.

He too (on Daniel) expounded Nebuchadnezzar's quadripartite Image, and Daniel's four Beasts, as the other fathers. "The days of those kings," said of the time of the stone being cut out, he explains as the days of the *Romans* : and that

and solemn thoughts as to the coming future crossed the minds even of the earlier of those fathers, as they

in smiting and destroying the Roman kingdom it would destroy the others too, as included. He says; "As Rome succeeded Greece, so Antichrist is to succeed Rome, and Christ our Saviour Antichrist."—Also in his Hom. iv on 2 Thess. ii, he made the Roman Empire to be the *let* or *hindrance* to Antichrist's manifestation meant by St. Paul; (*τὸ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ 'Ρωμαίων' ὅταν ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσων τότε ἐκείνους ἡσέει*.) and explained the *temple* in which he would sit, to be rather the Christian churches every where, than the Jewish temple—The *mystery of iniquity* he thought might be the persecuting spirit already working in Nero in St. Paul's time.

4. Jerome; ordained A.D. 378, died 420.

On Dan. ii. he expounds the gold, silver, brass, and iron of the symbolic Image to be the same four kingdoms as the other fathers: the stone cut out of the mountain without hands being Christ born of a virgin; whose kingdom, upon the destruction of all the other kingdoms, was finally to fill the whole earth. The breaking of the iron legs into ten toes,—part iron, part clay,—he explained of the weakness of the Roman empire at the time he wrote,—about A.D., 407, according to the Benedictines; "Ut in principio nihil durius, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius; quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio."—On Dan. vii he explains the four Beasts of the same four empires; the four heads of the third or Macedonian Beast indicating its subdivisions, on Alexander's death, into the kingdoms of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, Antigonus. On the divisions of the fourth or Roman he writes; "Ergo dicemus, quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt, in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanum, decem futuros reges qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant; et undecimum surrecturum regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit: quibus interfectis etiam septem alii reges victori colla submittent:"—adding that this eleventh king is to be a *man*, with Satan's spirit indwelling, the same as St. Paul's *man of sin*: also that the Roman empire is to be finally destroyed on account of this Antichrist's blasphemies, and with it all earthly kingdoms. "Idcirco Romanum delebitur imperium quia cornu illud loquebatur grandia. In uno Romano Imperio, propter Antichristum blasphemantem, omnia simul regna delenda sunt; et nequaquam terrenum imperium erit, sed sanctorum conversatio, et adventus Filii Dei triumphantis."—This was written between 407 and 410 A.D.

Further, on Jer. xxv (written A.D. 416) he explains the *let* or *hindrance* in the way of Antichrist's manifestation (2 Thess. ii) to be the then existing Roman empire: "Eum qui tenet Romanum Imperium ostendit: nisi enim hoc destructum fuerit sublatumque de medio, juxta prophetiam Danielis, Antichristus ante non veniet:" adding that St. Paul did not mention this, for fear of stirring up persecution against the then infant Christian church.—In the *Questio xi ad Algasiam*, he says very similarly as to the *let*; "Nisi prius Romanum deleatur imperium . . . nisi fuerit desolatum," that Antichrist would not come: he also explains the *mystery of iniquity*, even then working when St. Paul wrote, to be the evils and sins with which Nero then oppressed the Church, and prepared for Antichrist: the *apostasias*, or *apostacy*, to be a *political* apostacy or defection of the nations from the Roman empire, "ut omnes gentes quæ Romano Imperio subjacent recedant ab iis;"—that Antichrist's self-exaltation over all that was called god, &c, meant, "ut cunctarum gentium deos, sive probatam omnem et veram religionem, suo calcet pede:" and that the temple he would sit in would not be the temple at Jerusalem, but the church: "in *ecclesiâ* ut verius arbitramur."—It should be observed in the above that he makes a two-fold destruction of the Roman empire: the one its *desolation* and *dissolution* by a breaking up into ten kingdoms, introductory to Antichrist's manifestation; the other its total and final destruction, to take place on account of Antichrist's blasphemies at Christ's coming.

watched the premonitory signs of the times.¹ Much more when, as the fifth century opened, the Gothic inundation swept over the Western empire, and soon temporarily overwhelmed Rome itself, as well as the provinces, it could not be but that an unusual awe and apprehension should fill the minds of reflective men. "Judge

Finally, on Dan. xi. he explains that Antichrist is to rise from the small nation of the Jews; at first to be low and despised, and not have royal honour: then through fraud, falsely pretending to be the chief of God's law and covenant, and falsely pretending to chastity also, to obtain the supremacy, break and subdue the Roman people opposing him, and gain (what no Jew ever gained before) the empire of the world: "Faciet quia simulabit se duces ease fœderis, hoc est legis et testamenti Dei:" and that he will then fight against the holy covenant.

5. *Augustine*, C.D. xx. 19, 23, notices and agrees in Jerome's view of the four Beasts, and as to the identity of the fourth Beast's little horn with St. Paul's man of sin and St. John's *Antichrist*. He explains the apostacy in 2 Thes. ii. of a religious apostacy; indeed, (expounding the abstract of the concrete) as the apostate Antichrist himself; "Nisi venerit *refuga* primum, utique a Domino Deo:"—also as to the temple he would sit in, that it seemed to him dubious whether it meant Solomon's temple, or the Christian Church: that at any rate it could not be an idol's or *dæmon's* temple; because that would not be called God's temple:—further that the *let* or *hindrance* in Antichrist's way, might not absurdly be taken to mean the Roman empire, though he professed his own ignorance in the matter:—that as to the *ten kings* the number might be perhaps indefinitely meant, ten for the whole number:—that the *mystery of iniquity* might be said of Nero's spirit and actions; although the idea of his personal resurrection was absurd; or, as others thought, that it might signify the *unsound and bad in the professing church*, ("ficti et mali in ecclesiâ"), until grown to a number sufficient to make up a great people for Antichrist:—finally that it seemed to him doubtful whether Antichrist's miracles would be pretended only, or real.

¹ *Cyril* (ubi supra) spoke of the wars without, and the religious schisms, divisions, and mutual hatred of Christians within, (which last seemed to him to be the working of the *mystery of iniquity*,) as signs that Antichrist's manifestation was near at hand. He noted too the fact, (or supposed fact) of the gospel having been then nearly preached over the whole world, as a further corroborative proof. This was about A.D. 350 or 360.

Ambrose too (writing about A.D. 386, so the Benedictines date it,) on Luke xxi. 9, referred to the then recent wars, especially those of the Goths against the Romans (in which Valens perished) and which had resulted in their occupation of Illyricum, as well as the rumours of wars, pestilences, &c. as evidence that the world was near its end. "Verborum autem cœlestium (sc. 'When ye hear of wars and rumours of wars,' &c.) nulli magis quam nos testes sumus, quos mundi finis incensit. Quanta enim prœlia, et quas opiniones accepimus prœliorum! Chunnî in Alanos, Alani in Gothos, Gothi in Talyalas et Sarmatas insurrexerunt. Nos quoque in Illyrico exsules patriæ Gothorum exilia fecerunt; et nondum est finis. Quæ omnium fames, lues pariter boum atque hominum, &c! Ergo quia in occasu sæculi sumus, præcedunt quædam ægritudines mundi. Ægritudo mundi est fames, ægritudo mundi est pestilentia, ægritudo mundi est persecutio." Lib. x § 10.—Again § 14, he refers to the then recent christianization of the Goths and Armenians as proofs of the Gospel having been preached over the world. "Prædicetur evangelium ut sæculum destruetur: sicut præcessit in orbe terræ Evangelii prædicatio, cui jam Gothi et Armenii crediderunt; et ideo mundi finem videmus."

ye," said *Sulpitius Severus*, from his retirement at the foot of the Gallic Pyrenees, "of the precipice that is before us!" This was said near about the time of the Vandal irruption into Italy and Gaul; (an irruption which must still further have evidenced to him the truth of his previously-expressed conviction that the breaking up of the iron legs of the Roman empire into its ten toes of iron and clay had then begun;¹) and in connexion with his record of the solemn declaration of Martin of Tours, made some eight years before, that Antichrist was even then born, and in his nonage.² And when Alaric threatened, then attacked, and at length took Rome, the graver voice of *Jerome* cried once, and again, and again, from

¹ This occurs in the second Book of his Sacred History, written, as he tells us afterwards, fifteen years after Priscillian's execution, (an event of the year 385,) and consequently A.D. 400, or 401. The passage is a remarkable one. Speaking of the iron legs of Nebuchadnezzar's symbolic image, he says; "*Crura ferrea imperium quartum idque Romanum intelligitur, omnibus ante regnis validissimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fictiles, dividendum esse Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam inter se coeat, præfigurant.—Quod sequè completum est. Liquidum jam non ab uno imperatore, sed etiam à pluribus, semperque inter se armis aut studiis dissentientibus, res Romana administratur. Denique commiseri testum atque ferrum, nunquam inter se coeuntem materiam, commistiones humani generis futuræ à se invicem dissidentes significantur. Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum, aut deditibus semper pacis specie traditum constat; * exercitibusque nostris, urbibus, atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes, et præcipuè Judæos inter nos degere, nec tamen in mores nostros transire, videamus. Atque hæc esse postrema tempora Prophetæ annuntiant.*"

² "Quodd autem hæc ab illo audivimus," says *Sulpitius*, i. e. that Antichrist was even then born, and in his boyhood, "annus octavus est. Vos autem æstimate quo in præcipitio consistunt quæ futura sunt." *Dialog. ii. 16.*—Moreri gives the different opinions of learned men as to the time of Martin's death, with dates varying from 396 to 403; and concludes himself on Nov. 400 as the true date. Baronius' date is 402. So that reckoning the time of Martin's expressing his opinion to have been near his death, the time of Sulpitius recording it would be about A.D. 409. With which date well agrees Jerome's mention of the work in his commentary on Ezekiel ch. xxxvi, as then recently published; "*Nuper Severus noster in Dialogo cui Gallo nomen imposuit:—* this commentary being written about A.D. 410.—Sulpitius Severus, who was Martin's disciple and panegyrist, lived retired after his death, as before, in Narbonensian Gaul. See the notice of him p. 309 *suprà*, and in Gilly's *Vigilantius*, ch. 3.

* The allusion is evidently to the occupation of the Illyrian provinces by the Goths, begun under Valens, some by forcible seizure, some by surrender on the part of the Roman emperors: the same that Ambrose alludes to in the extract given in the Note preceding, and Jerome also some years later; see Note ¹, p. 339.—This being the commencement of that overflowing of the Roman empire by the Goths, whence the Gothico-Romano kingdoms afterwards rose, Bishop Newton was hardly, I think, so incorrect in quoting him, by way of illustration to his exposition, as Mr. Maitland would make him.

his monastery at Bethlehem ; "The Roman world rushes to destruction, and we bend not our neck in humiliation:—The hindrance in Antichrist's way is removing, and we heed it not :"—"In that one city the whole world hath fallen." ¹—But the impression at this time proved to be premature. As the inundation retired from central Italy, both Rome and the Roman empire, though mutilated and broken, remained still standing: nor, moreover, amidst the flux and reflux of its agitated waters over the Western provinces, could the forms of the expected ten kingdoms be as yet seen clearly emergent.—Still events seemed hastening to the crisis. The Bishop of Salona, *Hesychius*, during the interval between the judgments of the first and second Trumpet, asserted his deliberate conviction that the end of the world was near at hand; specially with reference to Daniel's prophecy about the destruction of the fourth or Roman beast, and the commotions and distress of nations then apparent; ² nor did the objections of Augustine weigh with him, more than with Ambrose and Jerome

¹ First, A.D. 396, on Alaric and the Goths' revolting on Theodosius' death, and invading Greece, in his Epist. 35 ad Heliodor. "Ubique luctus, ubique gemitus. Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedæmonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Græciam, quibus imperant barbari. *Romanus orbis ruit; et tamen cervix nostra non flectitur.*"

Secondly, A.D. 409, after the great Vandal irruption into Gaul, in his Epist. 91 ad Ageruch. "Verùm quid ago? Fractâ navi de mercibus disputo. Qui tenebat de medio fit; et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare, quem Dominus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui." Then, after describing the barbarians' overrunning and desolation of all between the Alps and Pyrenees, Rhine, and Ocean, ("Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmates, Halani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, et hostes Pannonii,") and the statement of Pannonia having been ravaged for thirty years, the anticipatory warning cry follows, "Quid salvam erit si Roma perit?" (Mark the number *ten* in Jerome's Gothic list.)

Lastly, A.D. 411, in his Prolog. to Ezekiel; "Romanæ urbis obsidio nunciata est. Atque ita consternatus obstupui ut nihil aliud nisi de salute omnium cogitare. Postquam vero clarissimum terrarum omnium lumen extinctum est, imo Romani imperii truncatum caput, et, ut verius dicam, in *unâ urbe totus orbis interiit*, obmutui et humiliatus sum."

Let me observe that he had as early as A.D. 398, (in his exposition of Matt. xxiv, "The gospel must first be preached &c,") intimated that he thought that nearly fulfilled. "Signum Domini adventus est evangelium in toto orbe prædicare, ut nullus sit excusabilis: quod aut jam completum, aut in brevi cernimus complendum. Non enim puto aliquem remansisse gentem quæ Christi nomen ignorat."

² See his epistle to Augustine (of the date 419 A.D.) numbered 198 in the Benedictine Edition. On "the signs in the sun and moon, and distress," &c, he

before, against it.¹ Scarce later *Evagrius* from his monastic retirement in Gaul urged the signs of the times; "The Roman emperors are driven from their kingdoms: wars rage: all is commotion: Antichrist must be at hand."² While *Theodoret*, from his more distant bishopric in Syria, calmly re-asserted, that it needed but the resolution of the Roman empire into ten kingdoms,—and then Antichrist would be revealed, and the fearful consequences apprehended follow.³—So when, at length, in the quick succession of events, and under the judgments of the fourth Trumpet, first the office and name of Roman emperor in the West had been extinguished by Odoacer, and then, about A.D. 550, those of Consul and Senate by the generals of Justinian,—when in this manner each final vestige of Rome's ancient imperial ruling power had been swept away, and moreover barbaric kingdoms had risen up out of its ruins in the provinces, perhaps to the very predicted number,—there seemed scarce room for doubting that the crisis had arrived, and that the awful events and judgments so long

says: "Ea quæ patimur confiteri et pœna compellit, si forte non curet voluntas; nam in uno tempore et signa in cœlo, et pressuram gentium in terris, ab hominibus videri et sustineri manifestum est. Nullam patriam, nullum locum nostris temporibus non affligi aut humiliari certum est; sicut dictum est, Præ timore et expectatione quæ superveniant universo orbi," &c.

¹ Augustine's Letters are numbered 197, 199.—Augustine's chief objection, (besides that it was not for men to know the times and seasons) was that the gospel was not yet preached to all nations; which Christ said must first be, and that then the end should come. To which Hesychius answered what St. Paul had said of the Gospel having been preached, even in *his* time, to every creature under heaven.

² The Author, as would appear, of the *Consultatio Zachæi et Apollonii*; a treatise of about the date 420. "Ardet bellandi furor: regna regnis configunt: insuppicabiles sceptris justarum sedium *Augustos* depellunt. Adde prodigiorum ineffabiles minas, &c. &c. *Estima utrum hoc ferre diu sæculum possit*. . . Adesse confestim suprema (et Antichristum) dignoscimus." Dacherii Spicileg. i. 39.

On the author and the date see the Monitum prefixed to the Treatise, with its Postscript by D'Achery's later Editor: also the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Tom. ii. 252, referred to by Mosheim v. 2. 3. 7.

³ In Daniel ii and vii, *Theodoret* explains the *four kingdoms* and the *little horn*, as the preceding fathers. In St. Paul he expounds the *apostasy* as *Antichrist*, he being the great apostatizer from the truth; the *let* as the *Pagan idolatry*, that was to be removed to make way for his worship; the *mystery of iniquity* as the *heresies* of apostolic times, preparing for him; the *temple* as *Christian Churches*, in which he would usurp the *πρωτοπρεσία*, as if God.—*Theodoret* wrote after 431 A.D. See Dupin, iv. 94.

anticipated were indeed at hand.¹ From Rome prostrate and ruined, a voice seemed to issue unspeakably solemn, and which called on the whole world to hear it; "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the calamities and judgments even now impending!"

There was a chronological characteristic of the æra, that tended not a little, with some, to confirm these awful forebodings respecting the coming future. It was now between 500 and 600 years from the time of Christ's birth: and, according to the chronology of the Septuagint, then generally received in Roman Christendom, either somewhat more, if the standard of the Alexandrian copy were taken,—or somewhat less, if that of certain other copies,²—than 6000 years had elapsed from the Creation. Now, not among the Jews only, but among the christian Fathers also, the idea had been entertained, from Barnabas and Irenæus downwards,³ that the seventh millenary was to be the millennium of the triumph of the church:—a consummation great and glorious; but to be preceded immediately by the last grand outbreak of evil under Antichrist, and the destruction of the world. It was under this conviction, and in reliance on the accuracy of the Septuagint chronology, as I have indeed already before intimated,⁴ that *Hippolytus*, bishop and martyr in the reign of Alexander Severus, had gone so far as to predict the year of the

¹ In the Oxford Tracts on Antichrist, (No. 83 of the Series, p. 24), the following statement is made. "Another expectation of the early Church was that the Roman monster, *after remaining torpid for centuries*, would wake up at the end of the world and be restored, &c." I presume the writer refers to the wild idea mooted by some that *Nero* would rise again, to act the part of Antichrist. (See p. 70 Note ⁴ *suprà*.) But instead of "*the early church*" embracing the idea, it was but a few individuals, and none of great eminence: the view of Chrysostom, and men like him, only referring to *Nero's spirit*, not person. (See the abstract pp. 365—367 *suprà*.) Moreover even the Sybil's wilder notion had to do with the Beast's *head*, an individual; not the beast or *empire* collectively, so as the Oxford writer, in order to suit his argument, would represent it. The idea of *its* "lying torpid for many centuries," was an idea the most alien, if I mistake not, from patristic expectations.

² See Hales' Chronology, i. 212: also Gibbon ii. 302.

³ Barnabas, Ep. xv. Irenæus, v. 28, &c. For a full list of patristic authorities on this point see Mr. Greswell's work on the Parables, Vol. 1. p. 340.

⁴ So Photius informs us. See the Note ¹ p. 206 *suprà*.

world's ending, and fix it at A.D. 500. In precise accordance with whom the learned *Lactantius* at the commencement of the fourth century, gave his opinion that the coming of Antichrist, and commencement of the millennium, would not be delayed much more than 200 years.¹ And *Eustathius* of Antioch, exiled soon after under Constantius, in writing on the *Hexaemeron* of the Creation, asserted, "There wanted but 469 years at the time of Christ's resurrection to the end of the 6000 years, and commencement of the Sabbath;"² so fixing its commencing epoch still about A.D. 500. Once more *Hilarion* in the year 402 thus wrote: "It now wants 101 years to the end of the sixth chiliad; about the closing of which the ten kings must arise, Babylon now reigning fall, Antichrist arise and be destroyed by Christ's coming, and so the saints' sabbath millenary begin."³—The opinion was recognized and sanctioned by *Jerome*, about the opening of the same century; and indeed as evidenced in part by yet another kind of proof. For He connected that saying of St. John, "It is the last hour," with our Lord's parable of the labourers in the vineyard, hired each one, successively, at each of the twelve hours in the day: he inferred that the whole allotted period of man's probation, from the creation to the world's end, might be resembled to the day's twelve hours; that, this period being otherwise known to be 6000 years, each mystic hour of the twelve must answer to 500 years; and consequently that St. John's *last* hour, including of course the whole time of the gospel-preaching to the Gentiles, from Christ's birth or ministry to the consummation, would extend to 500 years only.⁴—But behold, as events progressed, that epoch of 500 A. D.

¹ Div. Inst. vii. 25.

² B. P. M. xxvii. 34.

³ De Mundi Duratione, B. P. M. vi. 376; "A passione Domini Christi anni compleantur necesse est 470, ut concludatur summa VI mille annorum. De quibus transierunt 369. Restant itaque anni 101, ut consummentur anni VI (sc. mille;) qui anni non ante complentur nisi prius, propè ultimum, reges decem exierint in mundum, et filiam Babylonis quæ nunc obtinet de medio tulerint &c." The Tract is curious; but has hitherto been overlooked by prophetic writers.

⁴ "Siquidem in consummatione sæculorum, in reprobationem peccatorum, per hostiam suam Salvator noster apparuit, et undecimâ horâ ad conducendos operarios venit,—completâ ejus passione Johannes loquitur; *Novissima hora est.*

passed, and the consummation came not. It might be that there was some small error in their calculation. It might be that the 500 years were to be measured from the first gospel-preaching to the Gentiles, not from the incarnation. It might be that the true date of Christ's birth was earlier than the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint made it,—perhaps, as Sulpitius Severus, A.M. 5419 :¹ in which case 581 A.D. would end the age and world : or, as Augustine calculated it, A.M. 5350 ; in which case it would be A.D. 650 before the sixth millenary would have its completion.² If so, there was still reason, on this account, as the sixth century was advancing to its close, to look with awful expectations to the future.—Even Augustine's theory respecting the Apocalyptic millennium, as commencing from Christ's first advent and Satan's partial binding by the gospel,³ did not do away with the impression. For, both by himself and his followers, this millennium of time was supposed to mean only *what remained* at Christ's birth *of the sixth chiliad, or the world's duration*.⁴ Thus the chronology of the times was still that which might naturally add strength to the forebodings of coming evil.

The outward state and aspect of things was not of a nature to dissipate the gloom of such prognostics. In

In sex millibus enim annis, si quingenti anni per horas diei singulas dividantur, novissima hora consequenter dicatur tempus fidei gentium." On Micah iv.

Augustine notices the same argument. Alluding to the words, "It is the last hour," he says ; "Quod nonnulli sic accipiunt, ut sex annorum millia constituent velut unum diem, eumque in partes, velut horas, duodecim partiantur ; ut sic quingentos annos postremos hora videatur habere postrema. In quibus annis jam Johannes, inquit, loquebatur, quando novissimam horam esse dicebat." De Fine Sæculi, Ep. 199. 17.

¹ Sulpitius Severus dates the consulship of Stilicho (which was A. D. 400) at A. M. 5819 ; so making A. D. 581 to be the time of the end of sixth chiliad. B. P. M. vi. 371.

² See Hales i. 212.—Eusebius' *Chronicon* dates Christ's birth still earlier, viz. A. M. 5200 ; so making the sixth chiliad to end A. D. 800.

³ De Civit. Dei, xx. 6, 7. Augustin ended his work A. D. 426. His millenary view will be given more fully at the end of this Work.

⁴ C. D. xx. 7. 2.—So too in Tichonius' Apocalyptic Commentary, written probably about A. D. 400, and Andreas' and Primasius' Commentaries, written about 550 A. D. The *first* (Hom. xvii.) says, "Mille annos dixit, partem pro toto. Hic reliquias mille annorum sexti diei, in quo natus est Dominus et passus, intelligi voluit." The *last* speaks of the "posteriora tempora," of the sixth chiliad as then evolving. B. P. M. x. 331. For Andreas' views see B. P. M. v. 626.

the *West*, the wars and agitation of the new-formed Gothic kingdoms had by no means subsided. The Lombards, a fresh and barbarous Gothic horde, had but recently come down from the Danube; (it was in the year A.D. 570;) and, with the somewhat remarkable exception of Rome and a connected district, had seized upon, and established their kingdom in Italy. In the *East* the Avar Tartars,—having, in their flight from the Turks of Mount Altai, tracked the course of the Huns from the Caspian to the western Euxine and Danube, subjected and made tributary the Slavonic Bulgarians, their immediate predecessors in the work of devastation, destroyed, (conjointly with the Lombards) the Gepidæ of Hungary and Pannonia, and settled down into a kingdom in those provinces in their place,—there hung now like a dark thundercloud; prepared to burst at any moment, so far as human foresight could discern, on the eastern empire, and (with the Persians, perhaps, from the Euphrates co-operating) to sweep it away, as the western empire had been swept already, from the face of the earth. The eye of the Roman contemplatist could find no light there.—Yet more, there was that which might alarm it in turning from the inflictions of man to those of God. The historian commemorates “the comets, earthquakes, and plagues, which astonished and afflicted the age of Justinian.”¹ More recent researches have only aggravated this view of the portents then manifested in the natural world.² And as to the miseries experienced, they were almost unexampled. The plague especially is described as having for 52 years, from 542 to 594, infected the greater part of the empire. Many cities of the empire were depopulated and made desert. In various country-districts the harvest and vintage withered on the ground. At Constantinople 6000, and at length 10,000, died daily. At Rome, in a solemn procession for imploring the mercy of heaven, 80 persons dropt down dead within an hour, from the

¹ Gibbon, viii. 142.

² See a notice on this point in an Article in the Quarterly Review for Oct. 1844, already referred to p. 354.

infection of the pestilence.¹ Procopius relates that by the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, 100 millions of the human race were exterminated in the reign of Justinian.—Were not the visitations very much what Hippolytus the martyr had noted as to precede the world's ending?² Under judgments somewhat similar, during the mortality of the fourth Seal, the venerable Cyprian thought that he discerned the signs of decaying nature, and of a world near its dissolution.³ Were the signs less portentous or significant now?⁴

There was one who was emphatically the man of the age,—the most sagacious, the most observed, the most influential:—I mean the bishop of Rome, Pope *Gregory the Great*. We know what, on a general contemplation of the state of things around him, *he* thought. His forebodings are on record. "Believing," says Dupin, "that the Roman empire was within a finger's breadth of its ruin, and participating in the idea that it was only to end with the world's end, he came to the conviction that *the last judgment* was at hand; and in many of his letters expressed this his conviction." The impressiveness and weight of such declarations from such a man, and at such a time, need scarcely to be suggested to the reader. We must remember, too, that of all modes of publication at that time, in regard specially of things religious, that by the Pope's letters missive was the most diffusive,⁵ as well as the most in-

¹ Gibb. viii. 159. This was from a local pestilence. Dr. Baron, in his *Life of Jenner*, i, 193, expresses the opinion that this plague was the *small-pox*; which unquestionably about the same time attacked the Abyssinian army besieging Mecca, A. D. 568.—In the next sentence I quote Procopius as corrected by Gibbon, vii. 424. ² See the quotation from him p. 206 supra.

³ De Mortalitate. See p. 206 supra. He concludes; "Cernimus coeppisse gravia; scimus imminere graviora."

⁴ In an Epistle of Queen Radegunda to the Bishops of the district, written A. D. 567, on the formation of her monastery, the phrase used by her, "*Mundo in Anem currente*," indicates the vulgar belief. Harduin iii. 369.

⁵ Thus of one of Gregory's successors in the papacy a few years afterwards,—I mean Pope Martin, enthroned A. D. 649,—we read how, after holding a Lateran Council against the Bishop of Constantinople, he sent its canons, "per omnes tractus orientis et occidentis, et per manus orthodoxorum fidelium disseminavit." Summa Concil, p. 293.

fluential. Thus throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, from England in the far north-west, to Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria in the east and south, his warning voice was directed, charged with pre-sage of the dreaded evil. Was it not like the angel¹ flying in mid-heaven; that cried, "Woe, Woe, Woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the judgments about to come?" We may take his warning-cry to king Ethelbert² as a specimen. "We know from the word of Almighty God that the end of the world is at hand, and the reign of the saints which shall have no end. In the approach of which consummation, all nature must be expected to be disordered; seasons deranged, wars raging, and famines, and earthquakes, and pestilences. If not in our days," he concludes, "we must expect it in those following."

Nor in his warning-cry of the judgments precursive of the world's ending being at hand, did he omit the warning of *Antichrist* being at hand also. He connected the one awful apprehension³ with the other in his forebodings, just as had been done by most of the

¹ I have preferred the reading *angel* to *eagle* for the reasons stated at the beginning of this chapter. But let me observe in passing, should any one get over the difficulty of supposing a work of proclamation consigned to such an agency, and, on account of its superior external evidence, wish to adopt the reading *eagle*, that the eagle still continued to Papal, as to Pagan Rome, a characteristic ensign.

² This Letter to King Ethelbert is given by Bede, p. 84. (Ed. 1838.) "Præterea scire vestram gloriam volumus quia, sicut ex verbis Domini Omnipotentis agnoscimus, præsentis mundi jam terminus juxta est, et sanctorum regnum venturum est, quod nullo unquam poterit fine terminari. Appropinquante autem eodem mundi termino multa imminet quæ antea non fuerant; videlicet immutationes aeries, terroresque de cælo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentia, terræ motus per loca. Quæ tamen non omnia nostris diebus ventura sunt, sed post nostros dies subsequuntur."

Dupin particularizes other passages in Gregory's Letters to the same effect; viz. Lib. ii. Ind. 2, Ep. 62; Lib. iii. Ep. 24; Lib. vii. Ind. 2, Ep. 128, &c.

Fleury thus states Gregory's strong persuasion on this subject; Vol. viii. 102, on A. D. 495. "Il étoit effectivement persuadé que la fin du monde étoit proche; et en regardoit comme les préliminaires tant d'incursions de barbares, tant de guerres et de calamités publiques, dont son siècle étoit affligé. Il en parle en toute occasion; et ne repète rien plus souvent, dans tous ses discours et toutes ses lettres, que la venue du juge terrible, et la rigueur de son jugement."

In regard to Rome itself, he repeated the prediction of St. Benedict; a prediction interesting, as shewing that the expectation of the earlier fathers as to the peculiar fate of Rome, and which was derived from Scripture, was still kept up: "Roma à Gentilibus non exterminabitur; sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus, ac terræ motu, in semet ipsa marcescet." Dialog. ii. 15.—Compare Lactantius, vii. 15, &c. on the fate of Rome.

Fathers of the church before him.—A notable occasion had arisen to call forth the public declaration of his sentiments and his fears on this subject. The Patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, had just then assumed the title to himself,—though not, we may be assured, in the full meaning of the words,—of *Universal Bishop*.¹ Against this, Gregory,—as indeed Pope Pelagius just before him,—raised his most solemn protestations. In letters written and published at different times, from 590 (or rather, including that written in Pelagius' pontificate,² from 580) to nearly the end of the century, and addressed to the Greek Emperor, the Empress, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, the Bishop of Thessalonica, and many others,³ he declared before Christendom, that whosoever in his elation of spirit, called himself or sought to be called, *universal bishop*, or *universal priest*, that man was the likeness, the precursor, and the preparer for Antichrist:⁴—that he bore the same characteristic of boundless pride and self-exaltation: that the tendency of his assumption, if consented to, was that which was the grand object of Antichrist, viz. to *withdraw all members of the church from its only true head, CHRIST JESUS*, and to attach and connect them in the stead with *himself*; ⁵

¹ Mosheim vi. 2. 2. 1.—The title had been, it seems, in the century preceding addressed to Pope Leo by certain oriental correspondents, but not adopted subsequently thus far by his successors.—In disputing this title with Gregory, John the Faster is assimilated by Baronius to the apostate Angel rising against the most High God;—a comparison, says Dean Waddington, p. 154, not far removed from blasphemy.

² Gregory, then a deacon, was Pelagius' delegate on this occasion to Constantinople: and from the similarity of the Papal protestation, then given in by him, to those that he wrote and published afterwards, it has been conjectured that Gregory was probably himself the composer of it.

³ The reader will find copious extracts from these letters of Gregory in *Daubuz*, ad loc. p. 393, &c. He was indeed so struck with Gregory's protestations and warnings on Antichrist's near approach, as to have explained the woe-denouncing in the vision altogether of them. In the which notice he was preceded by *Parvus*.

⁴ "Ego fidenter dico quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit." Ep. to the emperor Maurice; Lib. vi. Ep. 30.

⁵ "Frater et co-episcopus noster Johannes, mandata dominica, &c. despiciens, eum per elationem præcurrere conatur in nomine:—ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti coherent, videlicet Christo, per elati-

—moreover that in so far as the priesthood might have acquiesced in it, there had been prepared an army not of *soldiers* indeed, but of *priests*, to assist him in carrying out that design into effect.¹ It was stated or implied in his letters that he regarded the *title* spoken of as the *name of blasphemy* connected with the ten-horned beast in the Apocalypse; ² the *self-exaltation* manifested above all his fellow-men, as that predicted of the *man of sin* in St. Paul's epistle to the Thessalonians; ³ and the consenting thereto as that *departure from the faith*, and that *apostacy* which was predicted also in the same epistle, and in that to Timothy.⁴ As to the Greek Patriarch's having so acted, he said that it surprised him not: that he only saw in the fact prophecy fulfilling; and recognized in it a sign of Antichrist being close at hand.⁵ Under which persuasion he could not but the rather raise his protesting voice; and that not as in a personal cause; but in that of God and of the whole church: earnestly hoping that, when revealed, Antichrist might not find that which was his own in the principles, or even in the titles, of the priesthood.⁶

onem pompatici sermonis, ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare." Lib. iv. Ep. 36.

¹ "Omnia enim quæ predicta sunt fiunt. Rex superbix prope est; et (quod dici nefas est) sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus."

I read *exercitus* for *eritus*, with Pareus and Daubuz. Pareus (p. 306, Engl. Ed.) says; "Most copies have, *Exitus* sacerdotum est præparatus. But the words that follow in Gregory show that it cannot be so: viz. 'Because the clergy war and strive for mastery and advancement, who were appointed to this end, to go before others in humility.'"

² "Absit à cordibus christianorum nomen istud blasphemie." Lib. iv. Ep. 32. Compare Apoc. xiii. 5; "There was given to him a mouth speaking blasphemies."

³ The "in elatione sua," and "per elationem," are in evident allusion, as Daubuz observes from Du Pleassis Mornay, to the "exalting himself," *ὁπερ αὐπερμενον ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεον ἢ σεβασμα*, of 2 Thess. ii. 4:—a clause, let me observe, which has been sometimes construed as alluding simply to God; but of which the meaning,—as inferred from the expression *λεγόμενον θεον*, and the added word *σεβασμα*, or Augustus,—seems rather to be the high secular authorities of this world. Compare John x. 35: and see also Stephens' Thesaurus on *σεβασμα*.—The whole prophecy will be discussed in a latter part of this Work.

⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 1; "In the last times some shall apostatize from the faith," *ἀποστήσονται τῆς πίστεως*: where the *verb* is one cognate with the *noun* in 2 Thess. ii. 3; "Except there come the apostacy." Gregory had said, Lib. iv. Ep. 39; "In isto scelesto vocabulo consentire nihil est aliud quàm fidem perdere."

⁵ "Propinqua jam esse Antichristi tempora designatur." Lib. iv. Ep. 34. "Antichristus juxta est." Lib. vi. Ep. 28. &c.

⁶ "Studiosè cupio ne proprium quid inveniat, non solum in moribus, sed etiam nec in vocabulo, sacerdotum." vi. 28.

Oh ! sagacious and most true observer ! sagacious in perceiving that the effect of any such allowed and recognized pretensions to a universal episcopate would, as regards *men*, involve the prostration beneath it of all authority, secular as well as ecclesiastical ; as regards *Christ*, the withdrawal of the church into apostacy from *Him*, its only true Lord and head !—But what then, when, in spite of this declaration,—thus pressed as it had been on the attention of Christendom, thus dispersed, thus repeated, and even enregistered in the canon-law of the Romish Church,¹—this very title was within 10 or 15 years after, officially conferred on, and assumed by Gregory's own successor in the Roman episcopate, the Greek emperor himself conferring it :—assumed by him, not in its restricted meaning, as by the Eastern Patriarch previously ; but in its full and plain meaning of *universal episcopal supremacy* over the whole professing church on earth, and as a title thenceforth never to be abandoned !² Surely the fact was one calculated to excite both the ponderings and the misgivings of thinking men : and to awaken inquiry whether the dreaded phantasm, the very ANTICHRIST of prophecy, might not even then have been brought into existence in the world, albeit under a form in some respects little expected ; and, if so, with fearful evils, doubtless, following in his train.

II. But the idea thus suggested will be better judged of after remarking on the awful prognostics in the *religion* of the times, as viewed by men such as St. John then specially represented ; them that *kept the commandments of God*, and *judged of things by the unerring rule of his word*. In the definition of which persons I add the second characteristic to the first, because from the

¹ Pelagius' remonstrance is extant, says Daubuz, "in the Collections of the Councils, and inserted into the Collection of the Canon Law, and elsewhere." Moreover many of Gregory's Epistles—for example, those to the Bishop of Thessalonica,—were *circular*.

² It was conferred by the Emperor Phocas, A. D. 606.—the grant itself, and the epoch constituted by it, will be recurred to in another part of the work. Vid. on Apoc. xiii.

infirmity of the human mind, the speciousness sometimes of error, and the undue influence of example and authority, it is too lamentably notorious in church-history that many good men have erred in judgment on points most important, and thereby unintentionally helped forward the cause of evil and error.—As to the sentiments of these wiser few on the point we speak of, we can scarcely fail to judge correctly, if we glance with them at the then general state and aspect of religion ; including a brief retrospective view of its history and progress during the century and a half of the Gothic revolutions and settlements preceding.

In other and earlier parts of this apocalyptic comment, the instealing into the church visible of the great Apostasy has been already set before the reader, in respect of its two earliest unfolded principles and features ; both as prefigured in the prophecy, and as fulfilled in the historic times corresponding ;—those namely of the middle and the close of the fourth century.¹ It was on account thereof that God's judgments were represented in vision as commissioned against Roman Christendom : and hence accordingly that fearful burst upon it of the symbolic tempests of the four first Trumpets, of the fulfilment of which we have just traced the progress.—And what then the moral effect resulting ? Did God's judgments in the Gothic woe in any measure effect their intended end ; and lead to the energetic expurgation of those apostatizing errors from among them, by the people of Roman Christendom :—either in the Eastern Empire, which from afar, though itself not altogether unscathed, witnessed the woe, or the Western which was convulsed by it, and at length subverted ? Far from it. Throughout the century and a half, or two centuries, during which the judgments from God had gone on fulfilling their commission, the evil had also gone on advancing. New superstitions and corruptions were added to the old ; and the old became more deeply rooted in the church, and confirmed. The baptismal sacrament

¹ See Part ii. Chap. vii. § 1, and Part ii. Ch. i.

was still ministered and regarded as that which operated with the mysterious efficacy of a charm to men's salvation; and much of the same mysterious vivifying influence, *ex opere operato*, ascribed to the other and *more awful* sacrament.¹ The saints and their merits were still invoked and set forth, and this even in the authorized liturgies, as the most powerful mediators, and best plea, with God; and their relics and pictures more than ever venerated and worshipped. Alike in the *West* and in the *East* the practice had now become all but universal.² And who more influential than Gregory himself in finally fixing it? In his *Sacramentary* it is the saints' merits and the saints' intercession that are set before the worshipper as his ground of hope.³ And when the Christian Bishop, *Serenus of Marseilles*, seeing the idolatrous wor-

¹ Alike Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and other fathers of the close of the fourth century, already then used such strong language about the character and effect of these "tremendous" mysteries, as might well awe men's minds into a very superstitious view of the sacrament; and also pave the way for the *transubstantiation* of the middle age. These views and this language continued in vogue afterwards; not the simpler and more scriptural views of Augustine. The latter viewed the Lord's Supper as a *commemorative* rite, though with grace accompanying it to the faithful participant. See his *Epist.* xcvi. 9, *Contrâ Faust.* xx. 18, 21, *Contrâ Adimant.* xii. 3, *Doctr. Christ.* iii. 24, and in *Psalms* iii. 1.—I refer the reader to an elaborate review of the origin and progress of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, No. 1.

² Mr. Palmer, in his valuable work on the *Origines Liturgicæ*, i. 278, notices the freedom of the ancient *Oriental* Litanies from the invocation of saints; and that it was not admitted into the *Roman* Litany till the seventh century. But, in fact, Litanies of this character had been long before chaunted in the *East*; as on the memorable occasion of Nestorius' condemnation at Constantinople, A.D. 431. "A long order of monks and hermits, carrying burning tapers in their hands, chanted litanies to the Mother of God." *Gib.* viii. 295.—Mr. P. suggests further that where that invocation of saints was practised, it was rather "prayer made to God for the intercession of saints," than direct invocation of them. I suppose he means *through* the saints; so as in Pope Gregory's *Sacramentary*. But surely, even so, neither the guilt nor the folly of the supplicants were diminished thereby; for it was a worship that involved the supercession and neglect of Christ, (just as depicted in that most striking Apocalyptic figuration of the incense-offering-scene, *Apoc.* viii. 2—5,) alike in his character of man's *propitiatory atonement*, and man's one great and divinely-appointed *Mediator*!

Fleury ascribes Gregory's settlement of the Roman worship, to the year A. D. 599. His septiform Litany seems to have been instituted in 590. *Cave, Hist. Lit.*

³ I extract the following from the *Sacramentary*. "Memoriam venerantes imprimis gloriöse semper Virginis Mariæ.... sed et omnium sanctorum tuorum; quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio:" adding, however, the formal and now almost valueless saving clause, "per Christum Dominum nostrum."—Compare Cyril's *private* explanation to the same effect, p. 317, Note ^b.

See also Gregory's own extraordinary report about the relics of St. Paul to the Empress Constantina; in exemplification of his superstition on *that* head.

ship paid them by the people, cast out the saints' images from the churches of his diocese, Gregory took part with the people against him : and, (though not indeed without protesting against the actual worship) yet ordered that which entailed it, the retention of the images.¹

Besides all which, another error and corruption, long covertly instealing into the church, had just now by the same Pope Gregory been authoritatively established, which was likely on peculiar grounds to excite the alarm and the misgivings of each Christian contemplatist ;—I mean the error of *purgatory*. It was an error not unconnected with that of *saint-invocation* just before mentioned ; as it similarly related to the inhabitants of the invisible world, and rose indeed from the same source. For the foolish minds of men having transgressed the limits of the written word in their speculations respecting departed *saints*, what was there to prevent the extension of those speculations to the state of *other* departed ones,—of those that could not be considered *saints* at the time of dying ? The solemn church-prayers for the dead,²—though originally only applicatory to *martyrs* and others of the Christian brethren *departed in the Lord*, and in such case confined to thanksgiving for their past faith and victory, and supplication for the speedy hastening of the Lord's coming, and therewith of the perfect consummation of the saint's bliss in body and soul reunited,³—had in process of time been extended to embrace more doubtful characters,—indeed *all* departed *professedly* in the faith :⁴ and opinions had been broached by learned and eloquent fathers in the

¹ So by the Church, as once by Gnostics, Christ as *God-man* was set aside.

² See on this subject generally a brief digest of patristic testimony in *Riddle's Christian Antiquities*, pp. 377—394 : also *Mr. Hall's Book on Purgatory*.

³ Such is Dr. Burton's general view of the early church's prayers for the dead : it being understood that the Christians of the second century, and part of the third, expected that the saints' resurrection would precede that of the wicked, taking place at the Millennium ; also, according to Tertullian, that during the Millennium the order of the saints rising would be in order of merit. " Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annuâ die facimus." " Pro animâ ejus orat, et refrigerium ei postulat, et in primâ resurrectione consortium." " Modicum quoque delictum *morâ resurrectionis* luendum." So Tertullian *De Cor. Mil. 3, De Monogam. 10, De Animâ 58*.

⁴ The prayer after consecration of the sacramental elements, Cyril of Jerusa-

fourth century, though doubtfully and indeed self-contradictorily, that in cases even of men *deceased in sin* (unless aggravated cases) these prayers of the Church might perhaps avail to obtain for them mitigation, if not remission, of the judicial punishment.¹ But, if so, must there not be some *purifying fire* to burn out their sins: perhaps applied, so as heathen poets and Platonists set forth, *instantly after death*;² and which possibly a passage in St. Paul³ might have meant, though otherwise indeed explained by the fathers?⁴—So, during the century and a half or two centuries preceding, the foolish minds of men had been darkly intruding into things not seen,⁵ those secret things that belonged to the Lord God;⁶ and preparing further meanwhile, by their increased credulity in relics and miracles and visions, for any delusions on *this* point that the priesthood, itself also debased by superstition, might for gain or for ambition palm upon them. And now behold, as the sixth century closed in, Pope Gregory arose to *fix*

lem tells us, had these words: "We offer these sacrifices in memory of *all that have fallen asleep*," &c.; i. e. in the communion of the church: consequently those about whom charity might entertain hope, in all hope's various degrees.

¹ So especially *Chrysostom*. "They," the wicked, "are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers and alms. For not in vain does he who stands at the altar when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cry, We offer unto thee for all those that sleep in Christ. The common propitiation of the whole world is before us: and we may obtain a general pardon for them by our prayers and alms." Again he says, "That prayers were made for all deceased in the faith (i. e. professedly); and that none were excluded from the benefit but catechumens, dying in a voluntary neglect of baptism."

Epiphanius in one passage said that prayer should be made even for sinners; in another, that after death there can be obtained no help.—The same inconsistency attaches to *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, supposing certain passages adduced by Romanists from the latter to be genuine. But some of these we know are not genuine: (see Hall:) while many other passages in *Augustine* are express to the effect that after death there is no change. So, e. g. *Epist.* 199. 2; "Qualis quisque moritur talis in die illo judicabitur."

² See *Hall on Purgatory*, Introduction.

³ "Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it; because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. . . . If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." 1 Cor. iii. 13.

⁴ See the patristic expositions in Mr. Hall. *Origen*, *Jerom*, and *Augustine* thought that the apostle meant the fire of temporal tribulation before death; which even *Gregory I.* himself allowed *might* be the sense. *Lactantius*, *Basil*, *Ambrose* referred it to the general conflagration at the day of judgment; *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theodore*, to hell itself.—*In the judgment*, *Augustine* thought it not unlikely that sincere but inconsistent Christians might have temporal suffering to go through. ⁵ Col. ii. 18. ⁶ Deut. xxix. 29.

authoritatively the awful truth of a purgatorial fire immediately after death.¹ It was on the evidence of supernatural visions and revelations. Germanus, Bishop of Capua, had himself seen the soul of Paschasius the deacon boiling in the hot baths of St. Angelo!²—Who could calculate the depth of superstition into which the purgatorial doctrine, thus established, was likely to lead the *people*? Who the effect that it must have on the position and influence of the *priesthood*?

And indeed it seems to me that the influence and power gathered to the *priesthood*, from the accumulated superstitions of the last three centuries, was a point that could scarce fail to impress deeply the mind of the discerning Christian. Ever since the commencement of the Apostacy, each successive step of departure from gospel-truth into superstition and error, had been of a nature to give and to increase to them an illegitimate, unscriptural, and most pernicious power; in substitution for that better and hallowing influence assigned them in God's own holy word.³ The *sacramental error*, as I have before stated, tended to make them viewed by the people not only as God's honoured instruments of good, by bringing men outwardly into covenant with HIM who was the soul's life; but almost as the efficient cause of life and salvation.⁴ The *saint and relic-worship*, requiring attendance as it did at the churches enshrining those relics, which were under *their* care, suggested the necessity of securing the priest's co-operation and favour, who was the supposed saint's chief intimate, as well as chief voucher.⁵ The substitution by Pope Leo, about

¹ "De quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est." Dial. iv. 39.

² Ib. 40.

³ See Hebrews xiii. 7, 17, 1 Tim. v. 17, &c.

⁴ See p. 265 *supra*. "The Jewish priests," says Chrysostom, "had power to remove the leprosy of the body; or rather to examine only the cleansed, (απαλλαγέντας,) and not any power to cleanse; (απαλλαττεν) and you know how that office was contended for. Whereas Christian priests have received authority not to remove the bodily leprosy, but the corruption of the mind; not merely to verify the removal, but to remove it entirely:" απαλλαττειν τωτεις. De Sacerdot. ch. vi. § 190.

⁵ See p. 315.—I might say *canonizer*; only that it was not till the tenth century that the canonization of saints was actually solemnized. See Mosheim x. 2. 3. 4.

the middle of the fifth century, of *private confession* to priests, instead of *public* in the church,—and moreover the extension somewhat later of the virtue of *indulgences* granted by them, to the remission of *guilt*, as well as of *penance*,¹—these, which were further innovations brought in before the epoch of our text, had also each immensely added to their power. And the doctrine of *purgatory*, which now followed, as we have said, put a climax to it. For if the *former* had made them masters of the consciences, and almost fate, of the living,² the *latter* represented them as masters in no little measure of the fate of those dear to the living among the dead. It had given them, what Archimedes wanted, another world on which to fix their lever;³ and with it they might move this.—A power such, and so derived, was fearful to contemplate:—the rather, as the monasticism and celibacy of the clergy, detaching them from other ties, could not but have the effect of directing their ambition into the only line open to it, that of ecclesiastical power;⁴ and this when (in no little measure from the same cause) their morals and their knowledge were almost alike debased and low.⁵ As to its use it would be all necessarily

¹ Polidore Virgil, in his work *De Inventor*. viii. 1. (published A. D. 1499), refers the origin of the Romish doctrine of indulgences, as afterwards developed, i. e. as including the remission of the *guilt* of sin, as well as of its *temporal punishment*, to the time of Gregory I. For the assignment of which *late date* to it, his Book was put into the Index Expurgatorius. Bingham, vi. 595.

² On the injunction by Pope Leo, Dean Waddington, after noticing its connexion both as effect and cause with the increased immorality of the times, has the following important observations. "But another consequence which certainly flowed from this measure and which, in the eye of an ambitious churchman, might counterbalance its demoralizing effect, was the vast addition of influence it gave to the clergy. When he delivered over the consciences of the people into the hands of the priest, when he consigned the most secret acts and thoughts of individual imperfection to the torture of private inquisition and scrutiny, Leo had indeed the glory of laying the first and corner stone of the papal edifice; that on which it rose and rested, and without which the industry of his successors would have been vainly exerted." p. 126. See too Mosheim, v. 2. 4. 3.

The practice existed earlier in the Eastern church; but was, about A.D. 390, discarded in consequence of abuses resulting. Sozom. H. E. vii. 16. It was however soon restored, and has been ever since continued. See Waddington on the Greek church, p. 52.

³ *As we say* I use, I believe, Mr. Hume's striking simile.

⁴ So the Koran, ch. ix, charges it against the Christians of Mahomet's time: "They take their priests and monks for their lords, besides God." Sale ii. 8; also i. 36.

⁵ See Mosheim, vi. 2. 3. 1.

antichristian :—not to lead men to Christ ; but, by the interposition of living priests, just as of departed saints, to shut Christ more and more out of view. Insomuch that as a doctrinal system of *anti-christianism*, the Apostacy might seem to have been now almost brought by its secret deviser and guide to perfection ; and only to need the superposition of one single individual heading it, to constitute ANTICHRIST !—For which and whom, on a much larger view of the evidence than Gregory had taken, the Christian contemplatist's conclusion would be that the *priesthood* were prepared, even like *an army*, (I use Gregory's own strong language,) to abet and aid him ; i. e. supposing that, as so long expected, the *αποστασία* should be but his *πρόδρομος*,¹ and he should indeed at length appear.

Finally,—as to *Antichrist*,—it seems to me that when considered in their history, character, pretensions, local site, and relation to the too generally apostatized church and priesthood in Christendom, there was that in *the see and the bishops of Rome* which might well have appeared to the reflecting Christian, as wearing to this awful phantasm of prophecy a most suspicious likeness. Considering that, while the apostacy was progressing, these bishops had been too uniformly its promoters and inculcators, and that now, when it was all but brought to maturity, Pope Gregory had most zealously (though not altogether consistently)² identified himself and his see with its whole system, alike with its infusions of Judaism and of Heathenism, its enforced clerical celibacy³ and its monasticism, its confessional and its purgatory, its saint, relic, and image worship, its pilgrimages, and its lying miracles,⁴—considering that the seat of the episcopate thus heading the Apostacy was *Rome*, the fated seven-hilled city, the seat of the Beast in apocalyptic prophecy,

¹ Cyril, &c. See p. 365.

² I refer to the often apparent mixture of piety with his superstition.

³ Said Ignatius, in a fragment preserved by J. Damascenus, (ap. Galland. Bibl. i. 228.) Παρθενίας ὅνιον μηδὲν ἐκτιθεῖς. Said Theodoret, in his comment on 1 Tim. iv. 1. ("Forbidding to marry") It is not the approbation of celibacy, but the *legal enforcement of it*, that is to mark the *apostacy* meant.

⁴ I may refer to Dean Waddington's Church History, pp. 149—156, and 210—212, for an excellent summary of Gregory's acts, policy, and character.

and place to which all the Fathers had looked as that of Antichrist's supremacy,—Rome so singularly freed, by means of the very wrecking of its empire, from the "let" long time controlling it of the Roman neighbouring *imperial* power, and then, by Belisarius' and Narses' conquests, from the subsequent but short-lived let of Italian *Gothic* princes similarly near, and controlling,¹—considering that the *power of the keys* was now understood in the West to attach individually to but one bishop, viz. to St. Peter's episcopal successor and representative, not (as of old supposed) to the body of priests or bishops, and the fact of St. Peter's having visited, and been martyred and buried at *Rome*, to have determined that representative to be the *Roman* bishop,—considering that in consequence the bishop of the now revived Imperial city was indicating pretensions, so long as the world might continue, to a spiritual empire over Christendom different from, but far loftier than, that of Pagan Rome, and had not merely accepted and assumed the before-mentioned title of *Universal Bishop*, given by the Emperor,² but accepted and assumed the yet loftier title, distinctively ascribed to him a little earlier by the Italian bishops and priesthood in Council, of *Christ's* or *God's Vicar* on earth,³—the very characteristic predicated of the *Man of Sin* by St. Paul, and identical title, only Latinized, with St. John's term *Antichrist*,—considering that besides the priesthood thus taking part to elevate him, the

¹ i. e. of the *Herulian* and *Ostro-Gothic* dynasties, each of which embraced *Rome* in their kingdoms, and exercised royal power over it. See Mosheim vi. 2. 2. 2. The *Lombard* kingdom, which followed after Narses' final conquests, had nothing to do with Rome: which was then a dependency (though very much independent in action) of the Constantinopolitan *Exarchate* or *Vice-royalty* of *Ravenna*.—Other results of Belisarius' expedition were but transient.

The existence of such a man as Gregory at this conjuncture, to take advantage of it, was assuredly a very remarkable coincidence.

² The appellation of *Pope*, or *Papax*, hitherto the general designation of Bishops, in the West as well as the East, was now by an order of Gregory I, applied exclusively to the Bishop of Rome. Baronius Annal. ann. 1076, n. 31.

³ Ennodius in his Apolog. pro Synodo, on occasion of the contest A.D. 503 between Symmachus and Laurentius for the papacy, wrote, "*Vice Dei* judicare Pontificem;" and the Roman Council adopted it. See Mosheim vi. 2. 2. 4; Hard. ii. 983.—I say in the text *distinctively*, because the phrase ascribed to him, or something similar, had been early ascribed to bishops generally. So in unguarded phrase even Ignatius, (supposing the passage genuine,) that the bishop was *εὐ-τατος Θεος*. Also Cyprian Epist. 63.—So early was the train begun to be laid.

people also of the western branch of the apostatizing church acquiesced in it, (like the multiplied "*ficti et mali*" that Augustine had spoken of, as perhaps what was wanted in order to Antichrist's development)¹ and specially the kings of the new-formed Gothic kingdoms, thus adding power throughout the west to his name and office,—considering all these resemblances, I say, in place, time, titles, character, might not the thought have well occurred to the reflecting Christian of the day, that the bishops of Rome, regarded in their *succession and line*, might possibly be the very *Antichrist* and *Man of Sin* predicted; the man whose incoming was to be with lying miracles, who was to sum up in himself as their head, to use Irenæus' expression, all the particulars of the long progressing apostacy; and to be in short, as Justin Martyr called him, "The Man of the Apostacy?"²

No doubt there was in Gregory himself much respectability of character, and semblance of piety. But this constituted no objection. Pagan emperors and unchristian heretics had often been personally respectable: and Hippolytus, and Cyril, and other Fathers had expressed an opinion that Antichrist would at first, (under direction of the evil Master-Spirit inspiring,) in order the better to seduce men, wear that deceptive guise. No doubt again, such a view of Antichrist³ was in this point different from that of the earlier Fathers, that they had looked to see him in one single *individual*. But here they might very possibly be wrong. For the apostle St. Paul's own language, designating the *Roman imperial succession* that was to be the *let* to Antichrist's manifestation under the figure of an *individual man*, (*ὁ κατεχων*, *he who letteth*,⁴) showed that the phrase *the man of sin* might similarly be a living succession.—Once more, if the 1260 days, or three and a half years, predicted of Antichrist's continuance, would seem in such case to be too short a period, various late learned expositors, e.g. Tichonius and Pri-

¹ See p. 367 *suprà*.

² "Whose coming is after the working of Satan with lying miracles," &c. 2 Thess. ii. 9.—"In se recapitulans apostasiam." So Irenæus. "The man of the apostacy" is Justin Martyr's title to Antichrist. See p. 204 *suprà*.

³ See pp. 204, 365 *suprà*.

⁴ 2 Thess. ii. 7.

masius, had suggested what might be a solution of the difficulty, and one well accordant with Scripture usage: viz. that the *days* in prophetic formulæ might have a mystic and extended meaning; indeed, as those Expositors had in one place stated, that each *day* might probably symbolize a *year*.¹

But however this might be,—and it is a subject that *we* shall have to discuss elsewhere,—of one thing he must have felt assured, viz. that the state of the bishops and priesthood, and church generally, alike in east and west, (for even as regarded *Antichrist* the Eastern Patriarch was just as much prepared to enact the character as the Western, could he but have accomplished it) I say the ecclesiastical state alike of East and West, was such as to call for the signal judgments of God. Already,—excepting the *ποροι*, the religious *murders*,—there was not a single one of the catalogue of sins enumerated under the sixth Trumpet, as the cause of that woe and of the woe preceding,² that had not, at the close of the sixth century, become markedly characteristic of the professed christian church and clergy. There was the *worship of demons*, or saints canonized, and of *images* or *idols* of gold, silver, brass, stone and wood, which could neither see, nor hear, nor walk;³ and there were the *sorceries*, or lying charms and miracles; and there were the *fornications*, and priestly religious *thefts*.—And must not all these have seemed to an enlightened Christian to cry to heaven for vengeance? Of the causes of

¹ Comment in Apoc. xi. 3, 9. The important *year-day* question will be fully discussed elsewhere. See on Apoc. xiii; where the whole subject of the papacy being the predicted Antichrist will also come under review. See too my sketches of Tichonius and Primasius' Commentaries in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

² ix. 20, 21; "The rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons, and idols of gold, and silver, and stone, and of wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk. Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, (*φαρμακείων*) nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts."

I shall fully support the application of the word *demons*, made in the text above, when we come to the consideration of the passage here quoted.

³ In an expedition of the Romans into Persia, A.D. 589, a *miraculous* image of Christ, one said to be made by higher hands than of man, was carried before the army. Gibbon, viii. 180, observes that this was the first example of what were afterwards common, the *αχειροποίητοι* Christian images; "I had almost said," he adds, "*idols*."—In these cases the *sorceries* and the *idols* were combined in one; and the *ancytia* of Rome Pagan outdone in Rome Christian.

coming woe against Judah and Jerusalem specified by the ancient prophets, and of those afterwards specified by Christ and his apostles, how few were there but now applied to corrupted Christendom!¹ Specially it was for its rejection, its determined rejection, of his own blessed gospel dispensation long offered it, that the Lord Jesus had finally denounced woe against *Jerusalem*:—a denunciation of which that maniac prophet's cry, which Josephus describes to us, of "Woe, Woe, Woe to the city and the temple,"² was but the echo. And if woe was then boded against *Jerusalem*, how not, at this fearful crisis of its apostacy, against *Roman Christendom* also? Surely the very air must have seemed vocal to each thoughtful Christian, into which ascended the incense of its Christ-denying worship and blasphemies. And though to the *West* perhaps, if his suspicion were right respecting *Antichrist*, a temporary freedom from the woe might be allowed, in order to admit of Antichrist's development and the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy, yet sooner or later the woe must be expected to embrace it: so that the forewarning cry, not unlike that of the apocalyptic angel in mid-heaven, would seem to sound aloud in his ears, Woe, Woe, Woe, against *all* the inhabitants of the *apostate Roman earth*!³

¹ Take for example the following from the Old Testament: Isa. v. 1; "Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkness for light, and light for darkness," &c: Isa. xxx. 1; "Woe to the rebellious children that take counsel, but not of me; and cover with a covering, but not of my spirit:" Jer. xxiii. 1; "Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture:" Ezek. xiii. 3; "Woe unto the foolish prophets that follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing:" Hos. vii. 13; "Woe unto them; for they have fled from me; though I have redeemed them, yet they have spoken lies against me:" Hab. ii. 19; "Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake! to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no truth at all in the midst of it:"—And from the New Testament: Matt. xxiii. 13; "Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; ye neither go in yourselves, nor suffer them that are entering to go in: Woe unto you, hypocrites, for ye devour widows' houses," &c. Jude 11; "Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Balaam for a reward."

² Josephus, De Bell. Jud. vi. 63.

³ Jerome (Ad Dardanum) observes on this expression as one always used in a bad sense in the Apocalypse. "Ubi cumque *habitor terræ* legitur, et priora, et media, et extrema tractemus, et liquido scripturarum poterit regula comprobari, semper habitatores terræ peccatores appellari: de quibus in Apocalypsi Johannis illud exemplum est, Væ habitatoribus terræ!" So also Ambrose Ansbertus.—How this sense arises out of the figurative character of the Apocalyptic scenery, has been noticed in the Introduction; pp. 101, 102. Compare the expression, "They that dwell in heaven," used of the saints, Apoc. xiii. 6.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIFTH, OR FIRST WOE, TRUMPET.

“ And the fifth angel sounded : and I saw a star fallen from heaven unto the earth : and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. And there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace : and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth. And unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree ; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And unto them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months : and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man. And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it ; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle : and on their heads were, as it were, crowns like gold. And their faces were as the faces of men ; and they had hair as the hair of women ; and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron ; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. And they had tails like unto scorpions ; and there were stings in their tails : and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit : whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon ; but in the Greek tongue he hath his name Apollyon.”—Apoc. ix. 1—11.

THE interval of forewarning depicted in the last vision

had passed away ; and the trumpet, sounding again in the apocalyptic temple, gave sign to the apostle of judgment as afresh in action, and of the first of the three threatened woes as about to begin.—We do not find any particular division of the Roman earth and its inhabitants marked out *expressly* in this vision, either for infliction or exemption. But, from the comparison of a statement made in it with an apparently contrasted statement in the vision following,—the one in verse 5 of the chapter before us, the other in verse 15,¹—it might have been inferred, I think, that the same third that was to be destroyed under the sixth Trumpet, i. e. the *Eastern third*, was to be under this a *principal* sufferer.—Hitherto this division had nearly escaped. Under the first and third trumpet, though the European provinces of the Greek empire had suffered, yet neither by Alaric nor Attila had Constantinople been violated,² or the war carried across the Hellespont. Again, though all open and exposed by sea to Genseric, when master of the Mediterranean under the second Trumpet, yet the Eastern coasts had been never visited by him. “The fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire.”³ The same exemption continued afterwards. The extinction of the imperial sun in Italy and the West, was an event by which the tranquillity of Constantinople and the East was little affected. Through the 50 years that succeeded,—including the reigns of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin,—the silence of its annals evinces the general freedom of the Greek empire from external war and suffering. Under Justinian it even put on the aggressive ; and, both in Africa and in Italy, was crowned with success great and astonishing. It is true that the desolating irruptions made into the Illyrian provinces by the Bulgarians about the middle of the sixth

¹ Verse 5 ; “ And to them (the locusts) it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months.” Verse 15 : “ The four angels were loosed, which were prepared to kill the third part of men.”

² It will be remembered that Constantinople and the Thracian district adjoining were parts of the Eastern third. See pp. 336, 338.

³ Gibbon, vi. 189.

century, and by the Avars at its close, were ominous of the reverses that might be. But into the Asiatic third proper, comprehending Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, they reached not. The Hellespont was still to that division its guarantee Northward; and, towards the East and the Euphrates, the 100 years peace with Persia, concluded in 444 A.D. by the second Theodosius, and, after a year or two of war,¹ renewed A.D. 551 by Justinian—But now at length its hour was come to be judged. For of its time of reprieve it had made no profit. Throughout the two centuries reviewed in the last chapter, its religion had been sinking deeper and deeper into superstition. In the history of its theological controversies and synods,² which constitute perhaps the most peculiar feature in the Greek ecclesiastical annals of the period thus retrospectively glanced at, we seek in vain for the Christian spirit. Rather, even when most zealous and agitated for the letter of orthodoxy, the spirit of the apostacy may be discerned as that which most deeply moved the people.³ And therefore judgment must visit them. The first bitterness of the first woe must fall on the Eastern third of the Roman world.

But what the scourge, and whence? Was it from the Avars now established, as we have seen, on the lower Danube? Or from the Persians, ready at any time apparently to break in from the Euphrates upon the Eastern

¹ A war of longer continuance branched off into Colchis and Armenia; but with this the Greek provinces in Asia had no concern.

² The chief Councils in this period were that of *Ephesus*, A.D. 431, against Nestorius, in which it was concluded that there attached to Jesus Christ but *one person*; and that of *Chalcedon*, A.D. 451, against Eutyches, in which it was concluded that there attached to Christ *two natures*. These were the third and fourth General Councils. The decisions of these, and of the two General Councils of Nice and Constantinople preceding, respecting Christ's nature, were said to be briefly comprehended in four Greek words; viz. that Christ is God and man *αληθως, τελειως, αδιαίρετως, ασυγχυτως*.

³ It was Nestorius' assertion that the Virgin Mary ought not to be entitled *Θεοτοκος*, *Mother of God*, but rather *Χριστοκος*, *Mother of Christ*, which first inflamed the passions of the priests and populace at Constantinople, and throughout Egypt and Asia Minor:—i. e. zeal for the *Virgin*, who was already the object of their worship, not for *Christ*. Of the feeling at Ephesus, where the Council was held, Dean Waddington says; "Popular tradition had buried her at Ephesus; and its inhabitants had readily transferred to her the worship which their ancestors offered to Diana." *Ecl. Hist.* p. 182.

provinces? There was, in fact, an irruption, as the new century opened, by the Avars. And there was a succession of invasions, from 611 to 621 A.D.¹ very desolating and terrible, by the Persians under Chosroes. But the former was transient, and confined, as before, to the European limits. And on Chosroes the tide of war and victory was, after that ten years, fearfully rolled back by Heraclius: indeed, ere a very few more suns had accomplished their annual revolution, the Persian empire was swept away from the earth.² But this was by another instrumentality;—the same that was, as here predicted, to scourge the Greek empire also. And what then, I repeat, that avenging scourge? The annals of the seventh century declare it to us, in characters so glaring and terrific that he who runs may read them. And, if I mistake not, it was indicated to the Evangelist also, in a manner scarce less intelligible, by means of the symbols, *the locally characteristic symbols*, of the prefigurative vision.—But this is a species of evidence, and involves a principle of interpretation, which it may be well to set forth in a distinct preliminary Section.

§ 1.—THE LOCAL APPROPRIATENESS OF SCRIPTURE SYMBOLS.

Let me then remind the Reader,—and I think it may be well worth his while to pause for a few moments on the topic, ere proceeding to examine the imagery of the vision before us,—that the symbols and hieroglyphics of Scripture prophecy are not of that locally indefinite character, for the most part, as simply to indicate qualities,

¹ In the four or five years preceding, which included the reign of Phocas, the Persians had been engaged chiefly in reducing the Roman fortresses on the other side the Euphrates; and so, thus far, had not carried their invasions within the more proper limits of the empire.

² It was about the year 616 A.D. that Chosroes, like a second Sennacherib, when Heraclius earnestly supplicated for peace, returned the blasphemous answer: "I will never give peace to the Roman emperor, till he has abjured his crucified God, and embraced the worship of the Sun." It was in 621 that the tide of success was for ever turned against him: and in 636, after he had himself miserably perished, that the Persian monarchy was annihilated by the Saracens.

and without reference in the selection to what we may call *geographical propriety*. Many images there are indeed, and these too useful and striking to be left out of the language of symbolic prophecy, that belong alike to every country; such as (to borrow examples from Apocalyptic visions already analyzed) those of the luminaries of the heaven above, and the tempests and the convulsions of the earth beneath.¹ On the other hand, as there are many varieties,—whether we regard its plants and animals, or the dress, visible customs, or assumed insignia of the inhabitants,—by which, in the wise appointment of the world's great Creator and Governor, one country under heaven is in a measure distinguished from others, so, where these characteristic objects afford suitable emblems of the things to be signified of a people, it is the general habit of Scripture to select them for its purpose. The beauty of this local appropriateness of the Scripture imagery, wheresoever the locality may have been stated, must doubtless have often struck the literary and observant reader. Again where it is unnamed, as in the unexplained prophecies,—and it is to this point that I here wish to call the reader's attention,—the mind may reason on the imagery; and, with no slight measure of confidence often, argue from the symbol to the country symbolized. We might almost do this when glancing at the graphic comparisons, that are sometimes used by uninspired writers;—writers such as are both intimate with the countries spoken of, and select in their choice of figures.² But the habit of scripture to make use of locally appropriate imagery is much more marked than that of any uninspired writer. Moreover that which I am here proposing to argue from is in the form of sym-

¹ Yet even to them, as we have seen in the chapters on the four first Trumpets, a local appropriateness may be attached:—in the one case by the intimation of some peculiar division of the heavenly luminaries; in the other by a statement of the quarter of the compass from which in any particular case the tempest might blow. The latter either directly, as where the wind is called the East wind; or indirectly, as where the tempest is spoken of as one bringing hail, and so from the North. See pp. 331, 343, 347.

² I may first exemplify from the earliest of the classic poets, *Homer*. A student need but visit the Troad, as the author himself can testify, to be struck with delight at the perpetual realization before his eyes of one and another of Homer's

bolic impersonation, not of mere comparison. Hence the force of the inference is in its case greater in proportion.

In order to judge of the strength of the argument thence arising, it seems necessary that the reader should satisfy himself as to the strength of this Scripture habit, if I may so call it. I shall therefore beg him, in the present Section, just to cast his eye with me over some of its symbols; and to observe how strikingly, whether the figure be borrowed from the botanical world or the zoological, or from the appearance, dress, or other visible characteristic of the inhabitants of a country, the local appropriateness that I speak of still marks the selection. He will find that the symbolic pictures are indeed for the most part pictures drawn from life.

similes, on the very scene. The following may serve as specimens;—specimens alike from the natural scenery, the zoology, and the works of man.

- B. 456. *Νυτε πυρ αἰδηλον ἐπιφλέγει ἀσπετον ὅλην
Ουρεος ἐν κορυφῇ, ἔκαθεν δὲ τε φαίνεται ἀγνῇ*
E. 87. *ποταμὸν πληθοντι εἰκώς
Χειμαρρῶ, ὅσ' ὕδατα ῥέον ἐκεδάσσε γέφυρας,
ἔλθοντ' ἐξαπίνης, ὅτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὀμβρὸς*
F. 151. *τεττιγισσὶν εὐκοτεσ, αἶτε καθ' ὅλην
Δένδρεσσι φεζόμενοι ὅσα λειρῶσσαν ἰεῖσι*
E. 499. *Ὡς δ' ἀνέμος ἀχρὰς φορεῖ ἱέρακα καθ' ἁλῶνα,
Ἀνδρῶν λιμνῶντων, ὅτε τε ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ
Κρυρῇ, ἐπεγρομένων ἀνέμων, καρπὸν τε καὶ ἀχρὰς,
Αἱ δ' ὑπολευκαινόνται ἀχυρμαίαι.*

Among modern Poets, illustrations may be found innumerable. For example, when *Goldsmith* draws his comparison from

. . . those domes where Cæsars once bore away,
Defaced by time, and tottering in decay,

it is of the Italians, and especially the Romans, as we might expect, that he is speaking.—When he says,

Dull as their lakes that slumber in the storm,

it is of Holland.—I need but to name *Walter Scott's* *Lady of the Lake*, *Moore's* *Lalla Rookh*, &c. to suggest to the reader's own memory multitudinous other examples.

Among historians, Gibbon is preeminent in this, as in all that regards the graphic and picturesque. Hence when we read in his history of ambassadors gathering "as numerous, according to the Arab proverb, as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree," a reader acquainted with his manner may infer pretty surely that the scene is Arabian. And, again, when he says,—“As in his daily prayers the Mussulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, so, though the excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on Constantinople,”—an impression will be given, and he will not find himself mistaken in it, that the subject that is illustrated by such a comparison must be Mahomedism.

1st, let us notice examples of emblems from *plants*.

Is it then *Judah* that is to be symbolized? We find the *olive*, the *fig-tree*, and the *vine* selected to symbolize it: ¹—*fruit-trees*, because the point and moral of the comparison had reference to its religious culture by God, and consequently expected fruitfulness; but all fruit-trees of the country: and of these the vine most frequently, as being of all others, perhaps, the most characteristic of its mountain-produce; indeed, as such, particularized in Judah's blessing by Jacob.² And as of Israel nationally, so of particular classes in it. Of its princes and high ones, the *cedar of Lebanon*, the loftiest of the trees of Israel, is the frequent symbol; of the beauty of its holy ones, the *palm*, perhaps the fairest in the land.³—The same is the case in respect of other countries. So when *Egypt* is the subject to be illustrated, and the particular point its weak and faithless friendship to the Jews trusting in it, the *reed* is the symbol chosen; ⁴ that characteristic produce of the Nile banks. Or when a *Babylonish* dependency, then the *willow*;—that of which Zion's captives told as growing

¹ The *olive*, Jer. xi. 16; "The Lord called thy name a green olive-tree, fair, and of goodly fruit." Again Rom. xi. 17; "If some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree;" &c. Also Isa. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13. &c.—The *fig*. In Matt. xxi. 19, the fig-tree described as cursed by Christ, is allowed by all commentators, I believe, to be a symbol of the Jewish barren, and at length, accursed nation. So too Joel i. 7; "He hath barked my fig-tree:" and Hosea ix. 10; &c.—The *vine*. Psalm lxxx. 8; "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it." &c. Isaiah v. 7; "The vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant." Also Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xv. 2; Hosea x. 1; Matt. xxi. 33, &c. &c.—In Abimelech's Parable, Judges ix. 8, &c. we have the three, the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, united.

² Gen. xlix. 11; "Binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine."

³ So Ezek. xvii. 3, 22, quoted in the next paragraph; Zech. xi. 2; 2 Kings xiv. 9, &c.—In one passage, viz. Ezek. xxxi. 3, a foreign king, the Assyrian, is also likened to a cedar in Lebanon: perhaps in the enlarged use of the figure as any high cedar; perhaps from the Assyrian having, in the height of his power, possessed himself, for a while, of Lebanon. So he boasts, Isaiah xxxvii. 24.—In some examples the cedar and palm are united. So in Psalm xcii. 12; "The righteous shall flourish as a palm-tree: he shall spread abroad as a cedar of Lebanon."

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 21; Isa. xxxvi. 6; "Dost thou trust upon the staff of this bruised reed?" Also Ezek. xix. 6; "They have been a staff of reed to Israel." Compare Isa. xix. 6; Exod. ii. 3.

by the rivers of Babylon. "A great eagle came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the *cedar*. He cropped off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffic. He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field: he placed it by great waters, and set it as a *willow-tree*. And it grew, and became a spreading *vine*."¹ It was Jehoiakim, king of Judah, that was the top-most branch of the cedar. It was Nebuchadnezzar that was the eagle that cropped it, and carried it to Babylon. It was Zedekiah that was the seed of the land, and consequently a vine in the prophetic imagery: but which was planted as a willow-tree; i. e. as a prince dependent on, and to be supported by, the king of Babylon.

2. Next let us turn to emblems from *animals*.

It is less often that *Judah* is so symbolized. For its relation to *God* is that which is most constantly and prominently dwelt on in what is said of Judah: and thus the illustrative emblems required, are in character such rather as those already noticed; or perhaps that of a *city dedicated*, or a *virgin affianced* to Him;² not of a wild animal. Still there occurs at times occasion for the *animal* symbolization; and then the zoology of Judah furnishes the emblem. Thus is it Judah *conquering*? The figure is that of the *lion*, such as might rise up from the swelling of Jordan: "Judah couched as a lion: who shall rouse him up?" Or Judah foolishly snared by her foes? That of the *dove*, so common in the land; as its constant requirement in the Jewish sacrifices assures us: "Ephraim is a silly dove." Or Judah *apostatizing*? Then, it may be, the *dromedary* is the figure; impatient of the holy city, and bent on regaining the wilderness of its preference.³—Of *other* nations the animal class of symbols

¹ Ezek. xvii. 3, &c.—Compare, on the *willow*, Psalm cxxxvii. 1, 2.

² In the Apocalypse, the church too,—as we have partly seen already, and shall see more as we proceed,—is figured in both of these emblematic characters.

³ The *lion*, Gen. xlix. 9; Isa. xxix. 1, margin, &c. The *dromedary*, Jer. ii. 23. The *dove*, Hosea vii. 11: also Luke ii. 24, Matt. xxi. 12, &c.

is frequent.¹ And see the suitability. The symbol of *Edom* was that of the *eagle* that might have built his *eyrie* in the mountain-rock ;² the very image,—as he that has seen pictures of Petra or other Idumean cities must be aware,—of the high rocky excavations that they inhabited. The *wild ass* of the desert is the not less characteristic symbol of the *Arabs* ; “ Ishmael is a man, a *wild ass* : ”³ and the *crocodile*, the dragon of the Nile, that of *Egypt*.⁴—In passing to Daniel’s visions, there is in that of the four wild beasts,—the lion, bear, leopard, and monstrous compound that made the fourth,—symbols representing, according to the all-but-universal consent of commentators, ancient and modern, the four successive heathen and persecuting powers of Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome,—there is in this vision, I say, if nothing distinctive of the countries, yet nothing inconsistent with the usual Scriptural local propriety of selection. For the lion was a native of Babylonia ; the bear of the Median mountains ; and the leopard,—as we may, I think, infer from the hints in the old notices of that country,—of the forests of Pindus and Macedon.⁵ It

¹ Compare Peter’s vision, Acts x. 12 ; in which the animals in the sheet let down from heaven are expressly said to have typified heathens.

² Jer. xlix. 16 ; “ O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, that holdest the height of the hill, though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, yet I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord.”—So Numbers xxiv. 21, of the *Kenite*, and Jer. xlviii. 28, of *Moab*.—Sketches, such as I allude to, may be seen in Laborde, in Finden’s Scripture Illustrations, or Keith’s Fulfillment of Prophecy.

³ Gen. xvi. 12 ; פָּרָא אֲשֶׁר פָּרָא. The former word is the wild ass in Job xxxix. 5.

⁴ Ezek. xxix. 3 ; “ I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt ; the great dragon (crocodile) that lieth in the midst of his rivers,” &c. On which see Scheuchzer. So also Psalm lxxiv. 13, and Isaiah li. 9. Bochart asserts that *Pharaoh* means *crocodile* in Arabic, which language has many Egyptian words in it ; and he blames Josephus for saying it meant *king*.—It was inserted, I may add, on the Roman coins, on the conquest of Egypt, as its fittest symbol.

Egypt is elsewhere symbolized as a *heifer* ; Jer. xli. 20, 21 ; with reference apparently to the worship of the bull Apis. And it is observable that Diodorus Siculus notices the habit of the Egyptian kings to wear about the head, *περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ δράκοντες, σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς*. Biblioth. i. p. 39.

⁵ So Jer. i. 17, notices the *lion* as of *Babylon*. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, Bk. v. notices the *bear* as one of the wild animals of the *Median* mountains. And as Herodotus speaks of *lions* being found in his time between the Achelous and the Nessus, i. e. in the countries of Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, and Homer speaks continually of his Greek heroes as clothed in *leopard*-skins, we may with probability infer that, as the lion, so the leopard was in the earlier days of Greece in its forests and mountains.—As the *lynx* is of the *leopard* genus,

was the wide range, over *many* countries, of these and other savage animals, such as might fitly represent persecutors of God's people, that would seem to have here precluded a choice locally distinctive. On the other hand, in another vision of Daniel, that of ch. viii, the nature of the comparison allowing it, we find selected as the symbols, animals directly characteristic, though in a different way from any yet noted, of the powers symbolized; that is of Persia and Macedon, respectively. For the symbols are those adopted by the nations themselves as *their insignia*: stamped, as such, by the one and the other on their respective coinage; and in one case, at least, and perhaps in both, the origin of one of its names to both country and people:—I mean the *ram* the symbol of Persia, and the *goat* of Macedon.¹

The example last given being that of symbols not otherwise locally characteristic only, but *self-applied* as characteristic by the inhabitants of the countries

and as the names of the region *Lyncæstis*, the town *Lyncus*, and the river *Lyncæstius*, all appurtenances of Macedonia, may not improbably have been derived from some legend connected with the lynxes of the country, (See Ovid, *Metam.* v. ad fin. "Lyncum . . . lynca Ceres fecit,") may not the leopard have been chosen partly on this account as the representative of Macedon?

Dr. Keith, in his "Signa of the Times," i. 15, speaks of the "four-winged leopard as the identical emblem which was engraved on the shield of Alexander." But, in reply to my enquiries, he informs me that he has been unable to find his authority for the statement; though believing (I fear erroneously) that the authority exists. He proposed to cancel the statement in subsequent editions.

Three of these destroying beasts, and perhaps the fourth also, are particularized in Hosea xiii. 7; "I will be to thee as a *lion*: as a *leopard* by the way will I tear thee: I will meet thee as a *bear* bereaved of whelps: the *wild beast* shall tear thee."

¹ Engravings are given in a later part of this work, on Dan. viii, from Calmet; Taylor's Edition, Vol. 5. The *ram* is stated to be from the Hunter Collection. Mionnet gives a copy of the *goat*, also; which is not uncommon.—As to names, —that of the Macedonian capital, *Ægæ*, of its people *Ægeæ*, and perhaps its sea *Ægean* (or *goat-sea*) arose from Caranus, the first king of Macedon, being directed, according to an oracle, by a flock of *goats* to its site. With reference to which same circumstance Alexander's son by Roxana was called *Ægus*, son of a *goat*. Mede notices this, p. 473; and also, p. 474, the affinity between the word אֵיל a ram, and אֵילָם Persia.

It is observed by Heeren in his *Researches*, that all the great empires of Asia seem to have been founded either by mountaineers or nomad tribes, which invaded and overrun the more wealthy regions. Such, he says, was the origin, among others, of the Persian empire, the Parthian, &c. If so, the *ram* was a natural emblem of the Persians, as *nomads*.—The symbol continued in use under the Sassanides. Ammianus Marcellinus notices it as a part of the insignia of king Sapor: (xix. 1:) "Aureum capitis *arietini* figmentum interstinctum lapillis pro diademate gestans."

symbolized, I might naturally proceed, were it the occasion, to notice other self-adopted national emblems,—whether derived from animals or other objects,¹ and whether designative of the people themselves collectively, or of certain ranks or offices of note among them,—that have been likewise, with its usual beautiful appropriateness, adopted and applied by sacred Scripture. Such, for example, are those striking symbolizations (and more striking, I think, there could not be) that have occurred to our notice under the three first Seals of this Apocalyptic prophecy. And indeed I wish, by this passing retrospective notice of them, to connect the emblematic imagery of the parts already discussed of the Apocalypse, as well as that of those which remain, with this general view of the character, and the argument from it, of Scripture emblems. But my present more immediate object is to prepare the reader for a fuller appreciation of the symbols of the fifth Trumpet. And I shall therefore hasten on to suggest just one other class of symbols, locally significant, that are more directly illustrative of the vision I am referring to ; I mean the class of the *prosopopæia*.—In the which class, the symbolic figure exhibited being in the *human* form, occasion is taken to notice distinctive points,

3rdly, in the *personal appearance*,—whether in respect of *dress, armour*, or otherwise,—*of the people symbolized*.

Take, as a *first* example, that beautiful personification of Judah given in Ezek. xvi, as a woman-child saved at the birth, and brought up through childhood and youth by her God, then affianced to Him, but soon faithless and apostatizing. Here, in the dressing up of the *prosopopæia*, there are certain details of personal appearance naturally brought into the description ;—the woman-like growth of hair, the anointing with oil, the white and brodered apparel, the jewels, and other personal ornaments : and commentators, not

¹ Such as the *eagle*, the well-known Roman ensign, which is used to symbolize the Roman power, Matt. xxiv. 28, Luke xvii. 36, and Apoc. xii. 14 ;—a *ship*, the emblem that we still see on the Tyrian coins ; and which is used to symbolize Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. &c.

without reason, as it seems to me, have assigned an *emblematic* meaning to them, as significant of the spiritual privileges and graces conferred by God on Israel.¹ However this may be, and whether they were intended to be emblematic themselves, or merely appendages to the general emblematic picture, in one thing we cannot be mistaken, viz. that these characteristics of appearance and dress in the female personified, were drawn from the appearance and dress of the noble ladies of Israel:—that is, that the details of personal appearance portrayed in the hieroglyphic were those of a portraiture drawn from life.

A *second* example, and one precisely of the same character, will be found in Ezek. xxiii: but with this addition, that besides the female personifications of Judah and Israel, the neighbouring heathen with whose idolatries they associated,—both the Assyrians and others,—are here also in a manner symbolized; viz. as their lovers. The description paints them as cavaliers, all goodly young men, girded with girdles, and with turbans of dyed attire, or it might be crowns, on their heads:² a description that must be noticed afterwards, as containing in it points of resemblance very striking to certain of the details in the imagery of the fifth Trumpet.—But there is no need at present of further dwelling on this example, as it is so similar to the former. I therefore proceed to

¹ The spiritual application of such figures is beautifully intimated in Psalm xlv. 13; "The king's daughter is all glorious within." Compare also what is said in 1 Pet. iii. 3, of the spiritual adorning of the christian female; and in Rev. xix. 8, of the meaning of the white robes of the saints.—In the passage from Ezekiel, though the articles of dress and ornament may be all shewn to have been worn by Israelitish ladies, and the anointing with oil, &c. &c. to have been customs familiar to them, yet there is, in regard of much that is said, such an applicability to the Tabernacle, its priesthood, and its services, that the Targum understands the whole as having reference to them.

See verses 15, 42. In the latter verse the *Sabeans from the wilderness* are mentioned among Aholibah's lovers, "which put bracelets on their hands, and crowns on their heads." It is a question among commentators whether this was on their own heads and hands, or on those of Aholah and Aholibah. But the context seems clearly to favour the former meaning: because one only of the two women is mentioned either in this verse or the two verses preceding; and thus the plural pronouns seem scarcely explicable, but of the Sabeans. This conclusion is confirmed by the mention of the head-covering of Aholibah's lovers in verse 15.

A *third* example, different from the other, and indeed somewhat peculiar in character ; but which may yet partially, if I mistake not, be connected with the class I speak of : I mean that of the *symbolic image* of gold, silver, brass, and iron, seen in vision by Nebuchadnezzar.

In this there were figured to himself, and to the prophet Daniel, those four kingdoms that, rising round Judah as a centre, and all connected with it, were in succession, and each in *image*-form, (i. e. associated with, and upholding *idolatry*)¹ to hold the empire of the civilized world, until the establishment at the last of God's own kingdom. It has been the all but universal opinion of commentators, both ancient and modern, that the four kingdoms, thus prefigured, were the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. And with reason. For the succession of these four great empires is a plain historical fact, recognized by the most learned heathen writers, as well as christian.² And the suitableness of the component metals of the image to symbolize them, in regard at least of the golden splendour of the first and the iron strength of the last, is obvious, and partially confessed

¹ This explanation of the meaning of the *image-form* is I think the correct one ; and not, as Lowth, Newton, and others explain it, that it was a mere form of splendor ; the result, in this dream, of Nebuchadnezzar's own view of the glory of mighty empires. Thus the hieroglyphic of *this* vision will well harmonize with that of the *four wild beasts*, under which the same four empires were afterwards figured to Daniel. In the one was figured *idolatry* invested with power ; in the other its *persecuting spirit* against God's saints.—The fact that idolatry should be thus associated with, and upheld by, the whole succession of dominant powers in the world, even to the consummation, was a fact most singular to predict, but which has yet been fulfilled. In chap. xiii of the Apocalypse, the manner in which idolatry was to be associated with the *last* form of the image, I mean when in its ten toes, is expressly and wonderfully illustrated. See my Chapter on the Image of the Beast.

² Of the *heathens* I may mention, 1. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ; who expressly including the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies in the Macedonian dynasty, as mere branches of it, speaks of the *Persæ-Median* empire as followed by the *Macedonian*, the Macedonian by the *Roman* : 2. *Tacitus* ; (His. v. 8) who prefixes the Assyrian to the Persæ-Median ; "Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque et Persas, oriens fuit : " 3. *Ptolemy* ; who regulates his Canon by this same succession of the four empires.

From the *Fathers* ample quotations have been already given to the same effect ; showing especially that they regarded the Roman empire as the fourth of Daniel's prophecies. Jerome says it was the view of *all* previous ecclesiastical writers.

I believe *Porphyry* was the first to suggest the Seleucidæ as a distinct empire : his object in which was obvious, viz. to escape from the cogency of the Christian argument from prophecy. *Grotius* subsequently adopted the idea. But, with all his learning, Grotius is little to be depended on in explaining prophecy.

even by Gibbon.¹—Besides which illustration from *qualities*, it has been further and appositely observed by expositors, that there was in one case a *visible* resemblance between the nation symbolized and the symbolizing metal; inasmuch as the very appearance of the warrior Greek was characterized by his *brazen* armour.² Now the same kind of illustration, it appears to me, might be carried further. In comparison of the appearance of the Greek (or indeed of the Roman) battalia, the splendid adornment of the Persian with silver or with gold (the Babylonians having at this time been absorbed and included in the Persian empire) was very characteristic, and often observed on. It was noted on occasion of the battle of Plataea, in the grand review of Xerxes, and on the fields of Issus and Arbela;³ and was but the result and expression of that superiority in wealth which shewed itself also in their general appearance and habits of life. On the other hand in the *Roman* battle-array, *iron*, a metal of later discovered working,⁴ at least for

¹ "The arms of the Republic advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the ocean: and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the iron monarchy of Rome." vi. 407.—Similarly Schlegel, speaking of the Roman empire, Phil. of Hist. i. 337; "It was as if the iron-footed God of war, so highly revered by the Roman people, bestrode the globe." Again, Lord Byron, speaking of the Roman legions calls them, "the men of iron."

The very name Rome (*ρῶμη*, strength), seems alluded to in the prophecy; "The fourth shall be *strong* as iron." Such an allusion to name is quite according to scripture custom: and that this was the origin of the word Rome is suggested by profane authors. So *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, and *Festus* in *Romanum*; which latter observes that it was sometimes on this account called by the Latin equivalent, *Valentia*.

² So Homer speaks of the *Αχαιοί χαλκίχρτοι*, continually.—So Herodotus (ii. 152) of an oracle respecting men of brass, *χαλκεοὶ ἄνδρες*, fulfilled by the landing on the coast of brazen-armed Greeks. From the same circumstance Pausanias explains the story of *Æolus* surrounding his city with walls of brass: and Strabo (p. 723) relates a legend, that the *Chalcidean* Greeks of Eubœa were so called from having been the first to wear brazen armour.

³ So at *Plataea* in Masistius's case; Herod. ix. 12. In *Xerxes' Review* the same historian relates, vii. 83, that the Persian troops, over their other accoutrements, were splendidly adorned with gold: *χρυσὸν πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονὸν ἔχοντες ἐνπεσόντων*. At *Issus*, Alexander bade his troops behold the "*aciem hostium auro purpuræque fulgentem*." Curt. iii. 10. The same at *Arbela*; Justin. ix. 13.—I may observe that long after, and when the Sassanidan kingdom of Persia was just about to fall under the Saracens, the same national characteristic was observable. The golden armour of the Persian general was the prize of his victory to Heraclius. Gibbon, viii. 241.—After Alexander's conquest of Persia the Macedonians imitated the Persians, in this point as in others. Curt. viii. 8.

⁴ This fact seems the groundwork of Hesiod's statement in his *Erga*, 149.

military purposes, was as observable as the gold and silver in the Persico-Assyrian, or the brass in the Grecian. The Mars they worshipped as their father, was not, as with the Greeks, the brazen,¹ but the iron-armed Mars.² It was early inculcated on them by their generals, that iron armour, not gold and silver, as with more luxurious nations, was the proper guise of the Roman soldier.³ And when, in the progress of their conquests, even oriental kings had been subjected to Rome, the poet describes it as the subjection of the purple to the Latian iron.⁴—Thus we see a correspondence in the metals of the image with certain characteristics in the *visible appearance* not of *one* only but of *all*, of the respective people.—Nor was the *image-form* in which they were combined an objection to this their *national* distinctiveness: because the idolatry that these kingdoms successively exhibited and enforced was but as part and parcel of themselves. It was the golden splendor of himself and his empire, that Nebuchadnezzar would have homage done to, in that golden image that was set up in the plain of Dura.⁵ The same was the case with Darius and the Seleucidæ.⁶ Finally it was Rome's own iron will and power to which the consciences of men were required to bow down, when it allowed of no other worship but that of its idolatrous state-religion.

Τοις δ' ἦν χαλκεα μὲν τευχέα, χαλκοὶ δὲ τε οἰκοί·
χαλκῷ ἐργάζοντο· μέλας δ' ἔσκε σιδηρός.

Lucretius asserts the same fact; Lib. iv. 5.

Posterius ferri vis est ærisque reperta:

Sed prius æris erat quàm ferri cognitus usus.

So also Pausanias, Laconia, iii. 3.

¹ Homer, Il. v. 704, 859, &c. χαλκεὸς Ἀρης.

² "Mars ferratus," is in Rutil. Itin. &c. Statius figures even his palace as of iron; Theb. vii. 43.

"Ferrea compago laterum; ferro arcta teruntur

Limina; ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis."

³ "Docti a ducibus erant horridum militem esse debere; non cælatum auro et argento, sed ferro et animis fretum." Livy, ix. 40. This was on occasion of the Samnite army appearing in gold and silver armour.

⁴ Lucan, vii. 228; "Atque omnis Latio quæ servit purpura ferro."

⁵ "It was designed to represent Nebuchadnezzar himself, or the genius of his empire, according to Jerome, supported by Daniel; 'Thou art this head of gold.'" Horne's Introduction, vol. iii. Geogr. Index, p. 17.

⁶ Vid. Dan. vi, 1 Macc. i. 41, &c.

And now we shall be better prepared to go forward in our subject. The particular feature of *personal appearance*, observed on in the last example, will not be without its use in illustrating a part of the imagery of the 5th Trumpet. The two previously noted under the same head, being examples in which the figures portrayed are living existences, will yet more illustrate it. And when with these there is conjoined in the reader's remembrance the class of *animal* hieroglyphics noted under a former head, he will find himself furnished, I think, with all the parallelisms that he could desire, to help him to a right appreciation of the point and meaning of what I may call the *primâ facie nationally distinctive* symbols of the vision.

§ 2.—THE SYMBOLS OF THE FIFTH TRUMPET ANALYZED
TO SHEW THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST WOE.

We now proceed, as proposed, to the consideration of the symbols of the fifth Trumpet vision. It was a vision portending woe, as we are told, to the Roman earth and its apostatized inhabitants; and what the woe, and whence, and how originating, is thus described.

“The fifth angel sounded: and I saw a star fallen¹ from the heaven to the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. And he opened the bottomless pit: and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace. And there came out of the pit locusts unto the earth. And upon them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle. And on their heads were, as it were, crowns like gold. And their faces were as the faces of men: and they had hair as the hair of women: and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron: and

¹ ΠΕΤΗΚΟΤΑ.

the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. And they had tails like unto scorpions ; and there were stings in their tails. —And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree ; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads."

The quotation above given includes all the chief *emblems* of the vision : and in them an intimation,—both as respects the *people* commissioned, their *new and false religion*, their *commission to destroy*, and their *primary prophet and leader*.—of the *origin* of this woe to Christendom. These I propose to discuss in the *present* Section : reserving for *another* what remains of the prophecy ; and which had relation rather to the subsequent progress, and history, of the emblematic locusts.

I. And *first*, as to the *country* and *people* whence it would originate ;—a point for which the Section preceding will have prepared us. For while, by the admixture of *human* similitudes in the hieroglyphic with the *bestial*, it was shewn that *men* were the destined scourge, not literal *wild beasts*, as in some of the ancient prophecies,—there was further indicated, as I am persuaded, and in the manner illustrated by the examples in that Section, the very country and people intended.

Thus in regard of the *animal* resemblances.—As the ground-work of these, if I may so say, in the hieroglyphic, there appeared the *locust* :—with the following marked peculiarities, however, that it was in look, movement and sound like the *horse*, in teeth like a *lion*, and in the tail and poison-sting like a *scorpion*.—Now the *qualities* of the invaders thus prefigured were obvious. The *locust*-form indicated their swarming in numbers numberless ;¹ their being in their migratory progress

¹ So Nahum iii. 15 ; "Make thyself many as the locusts."—In the Arabic poem *Antar*, we find the comparison used similarly ; "I shall command these armies, numerous as the locusts ;" &c. i. 6. Also iii. 73, &c.

rapid, far-ranging, and irresistible; and moreover,—except from some special preventive check, such as in this case, the prophecy foretold, would be actually given,¹—being wide wasters of the herbage and vegetation.² The *horse-like* appearance seemed to imply that they would be hordes of cavalry; the likeness to the *lion*, that they would be savage destroyers of life; and to the *scorpion*, that of those in Christendom, whose lives they spared, they would be the tormentors, even as with a scorpion's poison-sting.³ All this, I say, seems obvious.—But, passing this for the present, let us look to see, as suggested, what the *local or national* indications in these animal symbols. On doing so we shall find, I doubt not, that they pointed the Evangelist, and that not obscurely, to *Arabia* and the *Arabs*.

First, and chiefly, the *locust*, the ground-work of the symbol, is peculiarly Arabic. So the sacred history of ancient times informs us. “It was the east wind,” it says, “which brought the locusts” on Egypt:⁴ from which the inference arises, that the country they issued from must have been that which, in all its extent, lies east of Egypt, that is Arabia. Such too, in modern times, is the testimony of Volney; “the most judicious,” as Gibbon calls him, “of Syrian travellers.” “The inhabitants of Syria,” he observes, “have remarked that locusts come constantly from the desert of Arabia.”⁵ Lebrun, from the convent at Rama, gives the same report.⁶ Besides that the very name for locust,—and similarity of names is a thing not unattended to, as we have seen, in scripture symbols,⁷—I say the very word for *locust* might almost to an Hebrew ear suggest *Arab*: the names of the one and of the other being in pronunciation and in radicals;—of the *locust*

¹ Verse 4. ² As in Exod. x. 15, Deut. xxviii. 42, &c. &c.

³ Verse 5. ⁴ Exod. x. 13. ⁵ Chap. xx. Sect. 5. ⁶ Vol. ii. 152.

⁷ For examples of the *paronomasia* in Hebrew see Stuart's Grammar, pp. 193, 194. I select one example from Jer. i. 11, 12; “What seest thou, Jeremiah? And I said, a rod of an *almond-tree*, רֹדֶן שֶׁמֶן. Then said the Lord, Thou hast well seen; for I will *hasten*, רֹדֶן שֶׁמֶן, my word, to perform it.” In the New Testament we have the notable example, Matt. xvi. 18; “Thou art *Peter*, Πετρος, and upon this *rock* πετρα,” &c.—See too the same in the words for *ram* and *Persia*, p. 400. Note 1.

אַרְבֵּה (arbeh), of an Arab אַרְבִּי (arbi). And indeed the locust-simile is one used in other and earlier scriptures, with its usual appropriateness, to designate the numbers and character of an invading Arab horde.¹—Again, as of the locust, so of the *scorpion*, the native locality was by the Jews considered the Arabian desert. Witness Moses' own words to the Israelites, on emerging from it, after forty years wandering; "that great and terrible wilderness wherein were fiery serpents and *scorpions*."²—And who knows not, if facts so notorious be worth mentioning, that it is Arabia, still Arabia, that is regarded by naturalists as the original country of the *horse*; and that its wildernesses are the haunts also of the *lion*?³—The *zoology* of the hieroglyphic is all *Arabian*.

Next as to what was *human* in the appearance of the symbolic locusts: viz. their faces as the faces of men, their hair as the hair (the *long* hair⁴) of women, with crowns as of gold on their heads, (or, it might be gold-adorned turbans,⁵) and breast-plates like iron breast-

¹ So אַרְבֵּה is a desert; and, with the definite article prefixed, the desert, i. e. the Arab desert between the Dead and the Red Seas. In this case the א is the initial letter; in the Hebrew for locust, the נ. But these two letters are frequently interchanged. See Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon on נ.

² Judges vi. 5; "They (the Midianite Arabs) came as locusts for multitude;" where the Hebrew word is the same אַרְבֵּה; incorrectly rendered grasshoppers in our translation. Mr. Forster in his Mahommedanism Unveiled, i. 217, writes: "In the Bedoween Romance of Antar the locust is introduced as the national emblem of the Ishmaelites." He adds; "And it is a remarkable coincidence with these illustrative facts, that Mahommedan tradition speaks of locusts having dropped into the hands of Mahomet, bearing on their wings this inscription, 'We are the army of the Great God.'"

³ The Hebrew for scorpion אַקְרָב (akrab), is still retained in the Arabic. "The most remarkable creature," says Mr. Buckingham, in his account of the desert East of Orfah, "was a large black scorpion, called in Arabic *akrabes*." Travels in Mesopotamia, p. 140. Its bite or sting, he adds, is generally fatal.

⁴ "Her speech," i. e. of Arabia, "could diversify the 500 names of a lion." Gibbon, ix. 240. It is the constant emblem of valiant warriors in Antar.

⁵ 1 Cor. xi. 15; "Doth not even nature teach that if a woman have long hair it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering." So Mary Magdalen's, John xii. 3. To cut it short was a mark of mourning. So Jer. vii. 29; "Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem, and take up a lamentation:" and similarly Micah i. 16.

And the same among other nations. So Clemens Alex. observes, Pædag. Lib. iii. p. 224: "Ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα θέλεσεν εἶναι αὐτοφύη τῇ κομῇ μυστρί, ὥστε τὴν τῇ χατὶ γαυρομένην. (Paris Ed. 1629).

⁶ ὡς στεφανοὶ ὁμοιοὶ χρυσῷ. The word στεφανος is the usual rendering in the Septuagint of the Hebrew עֲטָרֹת; and they are both used not merely of royal

plates.¹—The *qualities* and *character* indicated, are here too sufficiently plain. There was indicated man-like courage, but united apparently with effeminate licentiousness;² a combination somewhat singular: also invulnerability in war, and splendid and constant victory.—But, for the present, what I would wish chiefly to inquire into is, here as before, the *local significancy* of these features in the symbol; and whether any, and what particular *nation*, might seem to be figured by them. For in cases like this, as we have seen, the portraiture may be generally supposed to be drawn from life: and, considering all the particulars specified, it is assuredly very characteristic and distinctive.³—Applying this test then, by what is said of *the faces as faces of men*, (i. e. with beard or moustache,) the *Goths* and other kindred barbarian tribes are set aside: the faces of these being very singularly noticed by a cotemporary of their earliest incursions, I mean Jerome, as having faces shaven and smooth; faces, in contrast with the bearded Romans, “*like women’s faces*.”⁴—Again, while from the usual habits of both Greeks and Romans in the empire, that which is perhaps most remarkable in the described appearance, viz. *the hair as the hair of women* (not to add the turban head-covering also) was abhorrent,⁵—there were two

crowns worn by kings, but of ornamented turban-like circlets for head-covering, such as on festival days were worn by Jewish women. So Ezek. xvi. 12, “I put a beautiful *crown* on thy head:” (Hebr. כִּיָּתוֹן Sept. *sepharon*;) some encircling covering “made of fine linen, silk, or gold intermixed with the same;” says Greenhill ad loc: also in the striking passage, Ezek. xxiii. 42, which will be noticed more particularly in the Text presently afterwards.

The more usual Hebrew word for the mitre, or turban, is כִּיָּתוֹן or its cognates; the Greek *μῆτρα*, or *κίβητις*. But the two are united, Ezek. xxi. 26, (Hebrew, verse 31,) “Remove the *diadem*; take off the *crown*.”

¹ *θοράκας ὡς θοράκας σιδηρῆς*. The word is repeated in the Greek.

² This seems inferable from the hair being as the hair of women, and the turban the head-dress, conjointly. So Suidas; *οἷσις κομῆτης ὅτις οὐ ψηνίσεται*, quoted by Daubuz; and again, *θηλυμετρός ὁ πορπός*. Compare Cicero’s description of Clodius;—“P. Clodius a mitrâ, a muliebribus soleis,” &c. De Harusp. Resp. 21.

³ One single one of these very characteristics is noted by Strabo (Lib. iii. p. 232) of the Lusitanian mountaineers, as sufficiently distinctive, viz. having flowing hair like women; *βαθείαν κατακχυμένοι τὴν κομὴν, γυναίκων ὅμοιον*. (Ed. Casaub.)

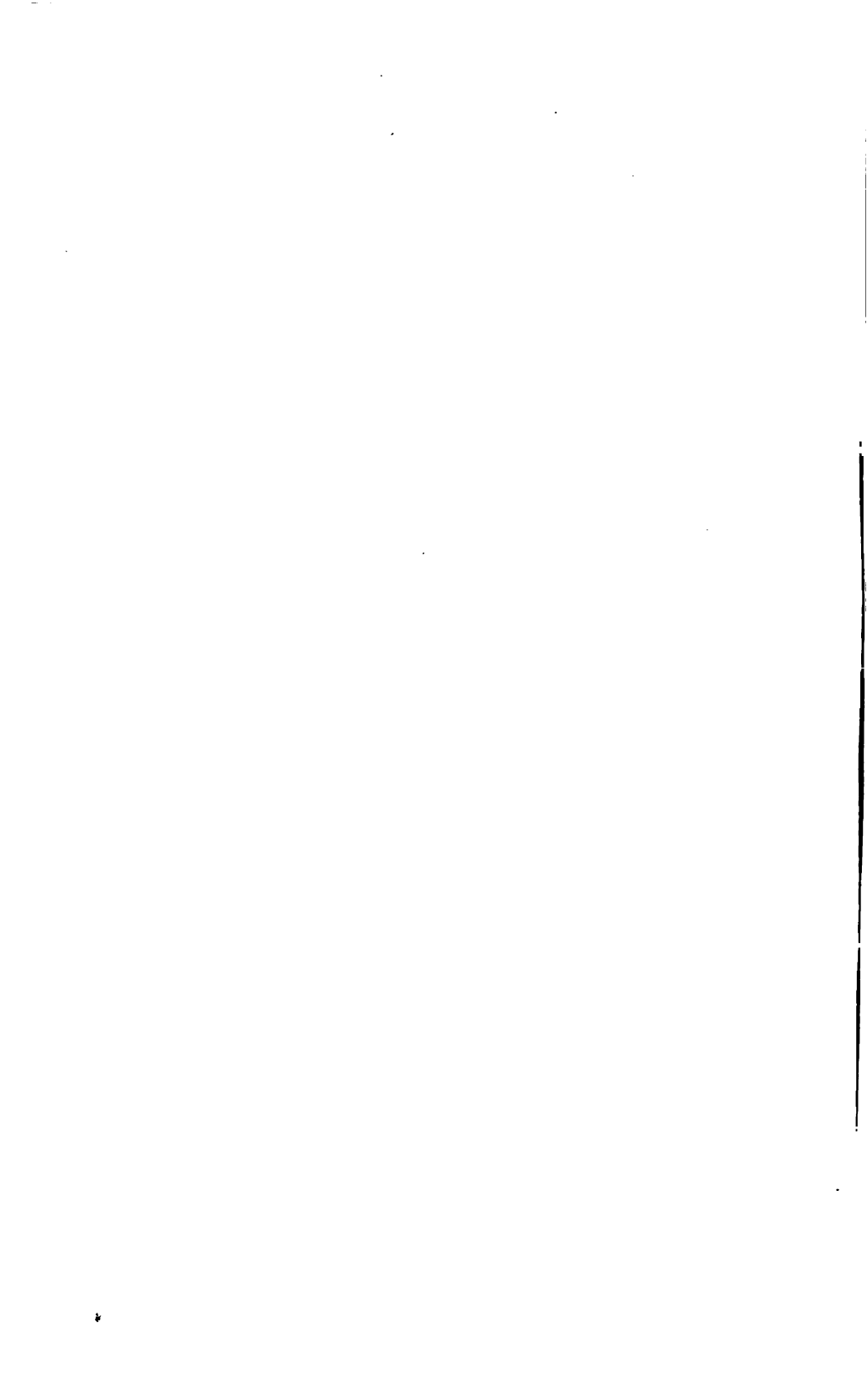
⁴ “*Fœminæ incisæ facies præferentes, virorum et bene barbatorum fugientia terga confodiunt.*” In Isa. viii. Tom. iii. 75.

⁵ This appears from the Apostle’s question, addressed to the Corinthian Greeks, 1 Cor. xi. 14; “Doth not even nature teach you, that if a man have

THE APOCALYPTIC SCORPION-LOCUST.



A Sketch from imagination, illustrative of the possible combination of the details of the Apocalyptic symbol.



great neighbouring nations, and I think but two, with whose national costume and habits both these and the other points of description well suited; I mean the Persians and the Arabs. Of the Persians, alike in the earlier times of their history and the later, the appearance is *nearly* thus represented, both by historians, and upon ancient coins and bas-reliefs still remaining.¹ And of the Arabs, of whom I must speak more fully, as being the people indicated apparently by the points previously considered of the hieroglyphic,—of them descriptions are given *yet more exactly* agreeing with that before us. So *Pliny*, St John's cotemporary at the close of the first century, speaks of the Arabs as wearing the turban, having the hair long and uncut, with the moustache on the upper lip, or the beard;²—that “venerable sign of manhood,” as Gibbon, in Arab phraseology, calls it.³ So *Solinus* describes them in the third century;⁴ so *Ammianus Marcellinus* in the fourth;⁵ so *Claudian*, *Theodore of Mopsuesta*,⁶ and

long hair, it is a shame to him?” Just like their poet Phocylides, 290; Ἀρσένιον οὐκ ἐνέσκεν κόμη.

Originally the Greeks wore their hair long, as Homer describes them, *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. But the custom very much past away before the Peloponnesian war, as the Elgin marbles show us. And afterwards mingling in the Roman empire, the Roman customs in this respect seem to have prevailed among them.—Among the Jews the same habit, as to the *hair*, seems to have prevailed: for when the Nazarite let his hair grow long, it was as a badge peculiar to himself. Absalom, I conceive, cherished *his* hair somewhat in the spirit of Clodius; as an effeminate man. See 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

As to the *beard*, it was sometimes worn by the Romans, sometimes not:—on this point the heads on Roman coins, &c. vary:—but never the *turban*, or *mitre*.

¹ The beard, the long hair, and the turban, are seen on the Darics of the Achæmenides, and on the rock-engraved bas-reliefs of the Sassanides. See Mionnet for the one, and the plates in Sir R. K. Porter's *Travels* for the other. So Herodotus describes the Persians as both *κομηταί* and *μυρφοφοροί*; in the latter respect contrasting them with the Egyptians; vi. 19, iii. 12.—I have used the word *nearly*, in the text above, because with the Persians neither the *μυρτα*, nor the *bushy* form of wearing the hair, were so *woman-like* as with the Arabs.

The Lydians and Phrygians were anciently bonnetted. But after being long absorbed into the Roman empire, it is probable that their better classes, as of the Greeks, adopted Roman costumes and habits.—The long-haired Franks, and other German or Gothic barbarians, though resembling the hieroglyphic in this one point, are excluded by every other. See for one illustration p. 410 Note ⁴.

² “Arabes *mitrati* degunt, aut *intonso crine*. Barba abraditur, *præterquam in superiore labro*. Aliis et hæc *intonsa*.” Nat. Hist. vi. 28.

³ ix. 235, 238.

⁴ c. 53: “Plurimis *crinis intonsus, mitrata capita*, pars rasâ in cutem barbâ.”

⁵ “*Crinitus* quidam a Saracenorum cuneo.” xxxi. 16.

⁶ On Jer. x; “Saracenos ait comam fronte quidem detondere, *retro autem*

Jerome,¹ in the fifth :—of the last of which writers the acquaintance with the people he wrote of must have been most familiar ; as he passed most of the latter years of his life at Bethlehem, on the borders of the Arab desert. This was about two centuries before the great Saracen irruption. Yet once more, in the age immediately preceding that irruption, and which indeed included Mahomet's childhood, the same personal portraiture is still given of the Arab. In that most characteristic of Arab poems, *Antar*, a poem composed at the time I speak of,² we find the moustache and the beard, the long hair flowing on the shoulder, and the turban also, all specified.³—And let me add, in regard to the *turban-crown*, it happens most singularly that Ezekiel (xxiii. 42,) describes the *turbans* of the Sabæan or Keturite Arabs⁴ under this very appellation ; “ Sabæans from the wilderness, which put beautiful *crowns* upon their heads : ”⁵ and, still as singularly, that even the emblematic resemblance of them in the vision to *crowns* or *diadems*, they being spoken of as *like gold*, is one that has been made by the Arabs themselves. Of the four peculiar things that they were wont in a national proverb to specify as bestowed by God upon the Arabs, the first was that their *turbans* should be to them instead of *diadems*.⁶

intonsam demittere.” So Valesius, on the above passage from Ammianus Marcellinus, reports Theodore's testimony : adding also Claudian's ; “ Hunc *mitra redimitus* Arabs.” We may compare Herodotus' statement, iii. 8, *κείρονται υποτροχάλα, και περιβραυνται τας κροταφας*, with the first clause in Theodore.

¹ Jerome, in the life of Malchus, says ; “ Ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores Ismaelitæ irruunt, *crinitis vittatisque capitibus.* ”—The above authorities are given by Bishop Newton from Mede, &c.

² See the Preface to Mr. Hamilton's Translation, from which I quote. In the reign of Haroun Al Raschid, copies were by his order compared, and so a correcter copy formed. It was the *Ossian* of the Arabs, but more genuine.

³ i. 340 ; “ He adjusted himself properly, twirled his whiskers, and *folded up his hair under his turban*, drawing it from off his shoulders.” i. 169 ; “ His hair *flooded down his shoulders.*” iii. 117 ; “ Antar cut off Maudi's hair in revenge and insult.” iv. 325 ; We will *hang him up by his hair.*” ii. 4 ; “ Thou *fool-moustachio'd* wretch ! ” &c. &c.

⁴ So Forster in his Geography of Arabia : making these Sabæans the descendants from Abraham and Keturah ; tribes which intermingled with the Ishmaelites. See p. 420 Note ².

⁵ Hebr. מִטְרָה, Greek *separon*, as before. See p. 402 Note ¹.

⁶ “ It was a usual saying among them, that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs ; that their *turbans* should be to them instead of *diadems*, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of intrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.” Preface to *Antar*, p. xi ; on the authority of Abulfeda, Pococke, and others. Mr. Forster in his “ *Mahomme-*

The testimonies thus quoted refer to *three* out of the four points of personal appearance noted in the vision. And on the *fourth*, that of the locusts appearing *breast-plated with iron*, both Antar, the Koran, and the history of Mahomet and the early Moslem Saracens, will also satisfy us. In Antar the steel or iron cuirasses of the Arab warriors are frequently noticed.¹ In the Koran, among God's gifts to the Arabs, their coats of mail for defence are specially particularized.² And in Mahomet's history we read expressly of the cuirasses of himself and his Arab troops.³—Individual Arabs, no doubt, like the one more early noted by Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴ might not seldom astound the foe by their "naked bravery."⁵ And hence by some it has been fancied the general habit. But the Saracen policy was the wearing of defensive armour. The breast-plate of iron was a feature of description *literally* answering, like the three others, to the Arab warriors of the 6th or 7th century.

Thus, on the whole, the *country* whence the woe was to originate might seem almost fixed, by these concurrent symbols, to *Arabia*. And, turning from *prophecy* to *history*, if we ask whether there was then, about the times of Heraclius, and the opening of the seventh century, any correspondingly destructive irruption of *Arabs* on Roman Christendom, the agreement of fact with the pre-

danism Unveiled."—i. 317. quotes as a precept of Mahomet from the Mishcat-ul-Masabih, "make a point of wearing *Turbans*, because it is the way of Angels."

¹ ii. 203; "A warrior immersed in *steel armour*."—ib. 42; "15,000 men armed with *cuirasses*, and well accoutred for war."—i. 23; "They were clothed in *iron armour* and brilliant *cuirasses*."—iii. 274; "Out of the dust appeared *horsemen clad in iron*."—Also ii. 145; i. 238, 176, &c. &c.

² ii. 104; "God hath given you *coats of mail* to defend you in your wars."

³ Seven cuirasses are noted in the list of Mahomet's private armoury. Gagnier iii. 328—334. In his second battle with the Koreish 700 of the little army are spoken of as armed with cuirasses; &c. Gibbon, ix. 296, 300, 304.

Similarly in the first Saracen irruption into Syria, under the first Caliphate, among the spoils of the defeated Roman army described as "inestimable to the Arabs," and as the instrument to them of new victories, we find particularized innumerable suits of the richest armour. Ib. 391, 405.

⁴ xxxi. 16.—Such was Derar, described as so formidable to the Christians of Syria, in Ockley's History of the Saracens. Gib. ix. 389.

⁵ Gibbon x. 145: "The Arabs in the tenth century disdained the *naked bravery* of their ancestors." Gibbon is in this point, where he deviates from the Apocalyptic description, incorrect.

diction is so far notorious. A mighty Saracen invasion is the chief topic of the history of that century.

II. But it is further said of the locusts prefigured, that they issued *out of the smoke of the bottomless pit, or pit of the abyss*;¹ the pit having been just opened previously, and the smoke ascending thereupon, out of it, as the smoke of a great furnace. What might this mean? And does it apply to the origin of the Saracen invaders just mentioned? The point is one strongly marked in the hieroglyphic, and evidently most important.

The word *αβυσσος*, *abyss*, answers in the Septuagint most generally to the Hebrew *תְּהוֹמִים*. It is the same word that is used of the *deep* on which the primæval darkness rested, in Gen. i. 2; and which seems to signify, most properly, that depth or hollow of the earth which is the bed of the ocean-waters, though often used also of those waters themselves.² By an easy extension or change of meaning, it came to signify sometimes that deeper depth, in which opinion, if not Scripture, placed the receptacle of the departed; at least of the departed wicked. So it is used, for instance, in Ezek. xxxi. 17, where it is rendered *hell* by our translators; "They went down into *hell* with him, unto them that be slain with the sword;" and it is thus connected with the supposed habitation, or rather destined habitation,³ of evil spirits. In the New Testament this seems to be the more general use of the word. In Luke viii. 31, the *abyss* into which the devils entreated that they might not be sent, seems directly contrasted with the *sea* into which they precipitated the swine, immedi-

¹ φρεαρ του αβυσσου.

² e. g. Ezek. xxxi. 4; "The *waters* made him (the cedar) great, the *deep* set him on high;" &c. And Ezek. xxvi. 19, of Tyre, I will bring up the *deep*, (Hebrew *תְּהוֹמִים* Sept. *της αβυσσου*.) upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee. So again Job xii. 32, of the crocodile stirring upon the waters; where however the Hebrew word is different.

³ Probably this latter is the more correct expression. At present the evil spirits seem to have the range of our earth, and the power of the air. See Mede on this subject, Disc. iv.: and compare Luke viii. 31, alluded to above, Job i. 7, 1 Pet. v. 8, Eph. ii. 2, John xiv. 30, Matt. xxv. 41, Apoc. xx. 3, 10.—But this does not prevent allusions to the locality beneath, as the source of what is hellish *now* on earth. Thus St. James says, iii. 6; "The tongue is set on fire of *hell*:" *ὅτι της γέεννης*. Compare John viii. 23.

ately after entering and possessing them. And in the Apocalypse,—passing over those two passages that speak of the *Beast from the abyss*, in chapters xi and xvii, where its meaning might seem more equivocal,—there remains that other at the beginning of chap. xx, in which the sense of the word, as signifying the prison-place of evil spirits, can scarcely be mistaken ;—I mean that in which an angel that had the *key of the Abyss*, is described as seizing the Devil, that old serpent, and casting him into the abyss, and there sealing him up.—In the present case the word *φρεαρ*, or *pit*, (“pit of the abyss,”) that is added, confirms this as the meaning. For it signifies evidently an opening in the earth, a shaft of communication, as it were, between the earth and the infernal region beneath.¹—And it is yet more confirmed by the notice of the *smoke, as of a great furnace*, ascending from it. For in every case in Scripture where the smoke as of a furnace is described as rising from, out of, or beneath the earth,² the context shews that it is the smoke of penal fire. So in the case of Sodom ; so in that predicted of the mystic Edom in Isaiah ; so in that of the Apocalyptic Babylon.³—Thus, on the whole, the observer could scarce be mistaken in interpreting this smoke from the pit of the abyss as an emanation from the pit of hell :—i. e. as some system of error and *false religion* thence originating : originating, it would seem, all on a sudden ; and of which the effect would be, almost instantaneously, to darken the moral atmosphere, and dim the imperial sun in the firmamental heaven.

Which being the thing predicted, we have again to recur to history, and to inquire.—1st. whether, about the opening of the seventh century, there arose any

¹ *φρεαρ* answers continually to the Hebrew *בֹּרַי*, a *pit*. So Jer. xli. 7, 9, a *dry pit* ; Psalm lv. 23, where the word is used metaphorically ; “Thou, O God, shall cast them into the *pit* of destruction :” *φρεαρ της διαφθορας*.—Compare also Psalm lxix. 15 ; “Let the *pit* shut her mouth upon me :” where the cognate word *בֹּרַי* is used.

² When *above* the earth, as for instance in the case of Mount Sinai, Exod. xx, the smoke and the fire were simply the accompaniments and indications of the presence and majesty of Jehovah.

³ Gen. xix. 28 ; Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10 ; Rev. xix. 3.

hellish and false religion in Arabia, in its *manner* of development sudden, and in *strength* such as almost at once to darken Christendom;—2ndly, whether it was *out of it* that the Arab invaders before mentioned issued forth to be a woe to the Roman world.

And to both of these questions who knows not the answers?—Who knows not of the sudden rise of *Mahomedism* in Arabia just at *the very time* we speak of?—that most extraordinary invention of fanaticism and fraud; which being, as it was, from beginning to end a lie, in its pretensions superseding the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, in its doctrines inculcating views of the blessed God dark, cruel, and unholy, and in its morals a system of pride, ferocity, superstition, sensualism,—indicated too well to any one that had eyes to see, that it had indeed its origin from hell, and was an emanation, like the pestilential smoke in the vision, from the pit of the abyss?—Again, who knows not the fact that it was *after embracing Islamism* that the Saracen cavalry hordes burst forth in fury on Roman Christendom; and yet more, that they were imbued from *this very source* with the qualities that the symbols in the vision indicated? For there is indeed a perfect fitness in the representation of the symbolic locusts as issuing forth, all formed in character, out of the smoke from the pit of the abyss. It was the religion of Mahomet in fact, that made the Arabs what they were.¹ It was this that for the first time united them in one, in numbers countless as the *locusts*; this that gave them the locust-like impulse to speed forth as its propagandists over the world; this which imparted to them, as to *lions* of the desert, the irresistible destroying fury of fanaticism; ² this, further, which, in case of their conquering the provinces of

¹ "The Arabs, or Saracens," says Gibbon ix. 351, "had languished in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into those savage bodies the soul of enthusiasm."

² "The religion of Mahomet," says Hallam, "is essentially a *military* system. The people of Arabia found in the law of their prophet not a license, but a command to desolate the world." Middle Ages, ii. 165. It only needs to read the ixth chapter of the Koran to see the justice of this statement.—Schlegel yet more exactly depicts the spirit after the Apocalyptic picture: calling it "the in-

Christendom, as I shall notice in the next Section more at large, had already prepared in them a *scorpion-like* venom of contempt and hatred wherewith to torment the subject christian :—this, finally, that made them the *θηλυμοι* described : that added sensualism to their ferocity ; suggesting indulgence of their lusts in life, and bidding them look and fight for a heaven of lust beyond it.—So that here, too, there was no one point in which the *Saracen* character and history did not answer to the prophetic emblems.—It was the same,

IIIIdly, in respect of the *commission* said to be given to the Apocalyptic locusts :—the *positive* commission, to hurt the *men that had not the seal of God on their foreheads* ; the *negative*, not to hurt the *grass or trees*.—For, as regards the *former*, what do we read in the Koran but that Mahomet understood and declared his mission to be against *idolaters* ; and that he urged his Saracen followers against the men of Roman Christendom, as being of the number ?¹—Again, as regards the *latter*, the very restriction that in the prophecy was put on the destroying career of the locusts,—“ It was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any

fernal spirit that produced that antichristian combination of spiritual and temporal authority &c ; ” “ the new power of hell.” Philos. of Hist. ii. 76, 93.

Let me add that, besides the general religious fanaticism that animated them in battle, there were two principles inculcated in the Koran that exercised a mighty influence to this effect on them : first, the absolute belief in *predestination* ; secondly, the ambition of a *crown of martyrdom* on the field of battle, as that on which the joys of the Mahomedan paradise were promised to follow. Gibbon, ix. 297.

¹ In the Koran, ch. 5, the Christians of the Roman Empire were distinctly charged with worshipping the Virgin Mary as God. And in ch. 9, it is said of the priests and monks specifically ; “ Very many of the priests and monks devour the substance of men in vanity, and obstruct the way of God.” Sale’s Koran i. 141, 182, ii. 8. Sale explains the first charge against the priests, as having reference to their fraudulent gains by the sale, exhibition, and false miracles attached to relics.

What has been already said pp. 309, 381, 389, might well suffice to justify this charge of idolatry. But I add the following, as referring to the exact epoch we speak of, and as what Gibbon could not omit in his sketch of the rise of Mahomedism. “ The Christians of the seventh century had relapsed into a semblance of Paganism ; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East : and the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration.” Gib. ix. 261.

green thing, neither any tree,"—had its precise counterpart in the Koran. The often-quoted order of the Caliph Aboubeker, issued to the Saracen hordes on their first invasion of Syria, "Destroy no palm-trees, nor any fields of corn, cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle," was an order originating not from the individual character of the Caliph, but from the precept of Mahomet.¹ It was dictated to *him* not by motives of mercy, but of policy. And the policy was soon evidenced in the rapid formation of flourishing kingdoms out of the countries conquered by the Saracens ;—a formation that but for this never could have been. But what I wish here to impress on the reader's mind is its *distinctiveness* as a *characteristic* of the Saracens. For let him but mark the extraordinary contrast that they herein presented to other conquests and conquerors. For example, in the invasions of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, the desolation of the trees and herbage was a striking feature.² The *ερημια*, or desert places, that abounded in the provinces conquered by them were long a memorial of it.³ Hence in the Apocalyptic prediction of the *Goths*, the wasting of the vegetation by them is made a distinct feature of prophecy ; in that of the *Saracens* before us there is the foreshowing of the direct reverse.⁴

¹ So Gibbon notices it, ix. 311 ; "In the siege of Tayaf, 60 miles from Mecca, Mahomet violated *his own laws* by the extirpation of the fruit-trees."—It is curious that, while I am writing, a modern illustration of this law should meet my eyes. In the Evening Mail of Dec. 25, 1839, there occurs, in the Correspondence from Circassia, the following passage. "My host and a man from Semex were disputants ; the latter maintaining the impropriety of burning the corn, the former its necessity in the present emergency. Our guest said, It is *contrary to the injunction of our Book*, the Koran."

Compare the merciful ordinance in Deut. xx. 19 ; for what was dictated by *policy* in the Koran, was dictated by *mercy* in the law from Sinai : "When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by forcing an axe against them : for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down ; for the tree of the field is man's life. Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down."

² "I shall not be easily persuaded," says Gibbon, vi. 21, "that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit-trees, of a country where they intended to settle." But his authorities are against him : and his own narrative embodies the fact. See pp. 352, 355 *supra*.

³ See the strong statements to this effect, from Muratori and others, in Robertson's Charles the 5th, Vol. i, Note ⁵, E.

⁴ Theophanes, in his Chronographia, notices that the government of Persia on

IV. But who, or what, that *fallen star* to whom the key was given wherewith to open the abyss? Here is a difficulty that by some has been thought almost fatal to the Saracenic solution. Various indeed, as Dr. Hales remarks, "have been the queries of commentators (i. e. of those who agree in this general application of the vision) concerning this star." By some it has been interpreted of *Nestorius*, with reference to his heresy that prevailed at that time in Syria and the countries adjacent; by some of *Sergius*, a Nestorian monk, who is said, but on doubtful authority,¹ to have furnished religious instruction to Mahomet. Mede explains it of *Satan*: Lowman (almost always unhappy in his explanations) of *an angel from heaven*; the opener of the pit of the abyss on this occasion, as he was the sealer up of Satan in it at the commencement of the Millennium afterwards: Pareus, Willett, and, after them, Cuninghame, Faber, and others, of the *Bishop of Rome*; as being then completely fallen into apostacy: Keith of *Chosroes*, king of Persia; as having by his fall, consequent on the victories of Heraclius, removed the obstacle of effective Persian resistance, and so opened the way to the successes of the Saracens quickly following.—On the other hand Daubuz, Bishop Newton, and Hales expound it of *Mahomet*.² And certainly, unless Mede's interpretation be admitted,—against which there lies the serious objection that Satan is never represented in the Apocalypse as a fallen star,—it is to my mind inconceivable how the figure could with the least plausibility be referred to any other. If, I repeat, the smoke from the pit on its opening symbolize Mahomedism, Mahomet, and none but he, must be regarded as the opener. All this probably would be allowed, even by the disagreeing expositors above alluded to, but for the unsatisfactory explanations

its conquest by the Saracens, was regulated by an actual survey, not only of men, but of cattle and plants of the earth; *ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ φυτῶν*. Ib. 375. The act was characteristic.

¹ Gib. ix. 259.

² I need not of course give Vitrings's explanation of the star, as he expounds this Trumpet of the *Goths*; or Woodhouse's, who, as strangely, or yet more so, expounds it of the *Gnostic heretics*.

hitherto offered of Mahomet's resemblance to a *fallen star*. Thus Newton says the star must be considered as a meteor, and so fitly symbolising Mahomet as a false Prophet. But it is plain that the emblem is not a *meteor* or *wandering star*, such as is used in Jude to symbolize false teachers; but simply a firmamental star, and one at the opening of the vision fallen. Hales offers no explanation. Daubuz supposes it was meant of Mahomet, as heading rebellion against the emperor Heraclius. But, in the first place, Heraclius was not the liege lord of the Arabs of Mecca; in the next, had he been so, the rebelliousness of one of his dependants could not constitute the rebel a fallen star.

And what then? Is there no explication of the difficulty? Is the statement of Dean Woodhouse correct, "that by no interpretation, literal or figurative, can the crafty enthusiast Mahomet be said to have fallen from heaven;" and so, notwithstanding all that has preceded, the very Saracenic solution endangered? By no means. The reader will find, I believe, that the explanation is very simple. Bearing in mind that a star, as all agree, indicates properly a prince or ecclesiastical ruler, and therefore a fallen star a prince degraded from supremacy and power,¹ he will only have to look with attention into Mahomet's early history to find it.

Let it be remembered then that Mahomet was by birth of the princely house of the Koreish, governors of Mecca.²—Originally the principality had been in the hands

¹ Compare, "There shall come a star out of Jacob," Numb. xxiv. 17; and, "How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the morning," Isa. xiv. 12; said of the fall of the King of Babylon.—In Antar the same figure appears: "The chiefs were stars in the eyes of the beholders." iv. 366.

² In Mr. Forster's recently published and learned work on the Geography of Arabia, an admirably clear and satisfactory view is given of its colonization, grounded on evidence scriptural, classical, and that of modern researches. He traces it from six different sources, as follows, 1. *Cush* and his sons, who, before the confusion of tongues, colonized the coast of Bahrein and Oman along the Persian Gulf, and the north-east part of Hadramaut.—2. *Joktan*, the fourth from Shem; (brother to Peleg, in whose days, Gen. x. 25, was the confusion of tongues;) whose settlements occupied the interior, Nejd; and thence in time extended to Hadramaut and Yemen, where the *Hamyarites* preserved the name of Hamyar, grandson to Joktan.—3. *Ishmael*, whose twelve sons were heads of twelve tribes, and their names still traceable through the peninsula; the chief

of the Jorhamites. But one of the Koreish had bought from them the keys¹ of the Caaba, and that which went with the keys, the principality of Mecca; which from him descended lineally to Mahomet's grandfather, and was, in fact, in his hands at the time of the grandson's birth. Now this principality and government was one of no small eminence among the Arabs. Of the many small states into which Arabia was divided at this time, "most seem to have looked up to Mecca," says Hallam,² "as the capital of their nation, and chief seat of their religious worship." Nor could this eminence of the family have been unknown to the Romans. For, although with the vast interior desert of Arabia they had little concern, and almost as little acquaintance, yet with the frontier tribes,—whether on the Syrian border, or the Euphratean, or along the coasts of the Red and the Erythrean seas, comprehending both Hejaz, of which Mecca was the capital,³ and Yemen further south,—with these frontier tribes they were well acquainted.⁴ Indeed on the Red Sea coast, not very far from Medina, they

being the Nabatheans and Kedarites; the *latter* the acknowledged progenitors of the *Koreish* and *Mahomet*. These (under the general names of Ismaelites, or Hagarenes) stretched from the wilderness of Sin and Sinai across the neck of the Arabian peninsula, so as at length to invade the Cushites of Bahrein.—4. Abraham's sons by *Keturah*, who intermixed with Ishmael across the neck of Arabia: the most remarkable tribe being the Midianites; the Sabæans (mentioned in Ezekiel xxiii) another.—5. *Esau*: whose descendants bore the name of Edomites and Saracens, (the latter meaning the children of Sarah,) and occupied the desert nearest to Judæa; among them Amalek. On Amalek's destruction it would seem that a division, fleeing under Omar, made a final settlement in Arabia Felix, where they were known as Homerites.—6. The tribes of *Ad*, son of Uz, son of Aram, son of Shem. So Arabian tradition, though the Scripture does not mention them. It is of them that the famous Hamyaritic Inscription speaks; deciphered lately and most ingeniously by Mr. Forster.

¹ Gibbon ix. 246, says; "The tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Caaba. The sacerdotal office devolved through four lineal descents to the grandfather of Mahomet. The family of the Hashemites, whence he sprang, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country."—Again p. 257; "Mahomet was educated in the bosom of the noblest race of Arabia."

² Midd. Ages, ii. 162. Mecca is the *Macoraba* of Ptolemy; "the second member of which word," says D'Anville, (Geogr. ii. 9) "is made use of to designate a great or principal city."

³ Keith, by mistake, represents Mecca as in *Yemen*; and reasons, and grounds his exposition of the fallen star, on that supposition.

⁴ The Arab tribes on the *Syrian* frontier often entered into alliance with the Romans; as did those on the *Euphratean* with the Persians. It was probably this fact that caused Daubuz's mistake, noticed in Page 419 preceding.

had a custom-house only a few years before the birth of Mahomet.¹ And besides the maritime traffic that connected the Arabs of those parts and the Syrian provincials, there were caravans that twice a year travelled between Mecca and Damascus. Thus, I say, the elevation of Mahomet's ancestors as the Governors of Mecca, must have been well known to the Romans. As Gibbon says, "The grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors, appeared in foreign and domestic transactions as the princes of their country."² They were in the view of the Syrian Greeks as among the stars on the horizon of the political heaven.³—But just after his birth his father died; and, very soon after, his grandfather also: and the governorship of Mecca, headship of the tribe, and keys of the Caaba, passed into the hands of another branch of the family. His prospects of greatness seemed all blasted by their deaths. He found himself, so he recounted his own history afterwards, a neglected and destitute orphan.⁴ Though by birth a star on the horizon of the political firmament, he was now, at the opening of the seventh century, *a star fallen to the ground*; and must so have appeared to the Romans and Syrians, when, in the character of servant of the widow Cadijah, he came to traffic in the markets of Damascus.

But thoughts were even then working in his mind which were to raise him to an eminence (a bad eminence indeed!) immeasurably higher than that of Prince of Mecca. May I not say (so to the point is each trait in the Apocalyptic prophecy) that the fall of the star was

¹ "Justinian," says Gibbon, ix. 230, "relinquished a palm country of ten days journey south of Elah (Procopius: Bell. Pers. i. 19); and the Romans maintained a centurion and a custom-house at a place in the territory of Medina."

Cave thinks that the *Portus Romanus* of which *Hippolytus*, of whom we have more than once spoken, was bishop, was not the *Italian* Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, but that so called, and also *Adana*, which is now the British Gibraltar of the Red Sea. Hist. Lit. i. 67. This by its name Aden, or *Eden*, gave the title of Arabia *Felix* to the country of which it was the capital on the coast of *Yemen*.

² ix. 234.

³ Attila's meteoric star is similarly represented as blazing in the Roman political firmament, its locality being just on the borders.

⁴ "She (Cadijah), believed in me, said Mahomet, when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world." Gibbon ix. 328; from Abulfeda.

probably the very cause of all that followed afterwards?¹ Methinks, had he not lost the keys of the Caaba, the holy place of the Pagan religion of his ancestors and countrymen, he would have sought no other. But lost as these were, and with a mind brooding on his loss and fall, when another key, likely to lead to his re-ascendancy, that of a new and false superstition, was by the father of lies presented him, he eagerly grasped it.—The secret cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, to which he withdrew each year, and where he consulted, says Gibbon, “the Spirit of fraud or of enthusiasm, whose abode was not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet,” has not inaptly suggested itself to interpreters as the mouth, as it were, of that *pit of the abyss* whence the pestilential fumes and darkness were seen to issue.—Then at length he declared his mission; first privately; three years after publicly. For a while the elders of the city, and uncles of Mahomet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan.² They chased him from Mecca. His flight marks the Era of the Hegira. But soon fortune changed. “After an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and the prophet (too) of his native country.”³

Thus does this point in the emblematic description, just as the three before considered, answer precisely to the history of the origin, and the originator, of the Mahommedan imposture in Arabia. And I will only add, in conclusion of this Section, that the very emblem of the *key*, here figured as given him, might almost seem to have been selected in *allusive contrast* to its counterpart in the Koran. In the latter the *key of God* is asserted to have been given to the false Prophet; that which was to open to believers the portals of the true religion, and of heaven. Hence it was borne by his

¹ “The injustice of Mecca and the choice of Medina transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into a leader of armies.” So says Gibbon (ix. 322,) of later operating causes.

² Ancient Universal History, xviii. 411, &c.

³ Gibbon, ix. 308.

followers subsequently,—at least by those of them who achieved the western conquests of Islam,—even as the holy cross of Christians, as both a religious and a national emblem:¹ and the sculpture on the proud Gate of Justice in the Moorish Alhambra still retains and exhibits the symbol.² But the Apocalyptic vision more truly represented it as the *key of the abyss*: and the smoke that rose from the abyss, on his opening it, as the fumes and the pestilential darkness of hell.³

§ 3.—PROGRESS OF THE FIRST WOE, AS PREDICTED
AND FULFILLED.

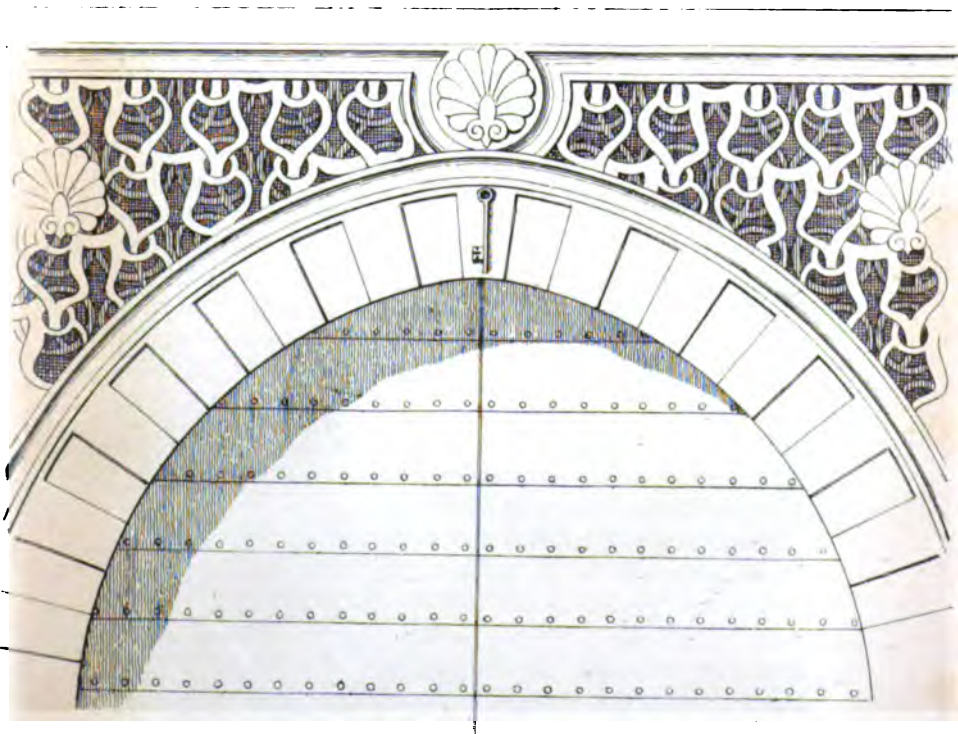
In what precedes, we have examined the chief *symbols* of the prophetic vision; and seen their suitableness to figure the *rise* of Mahommedanism, and of the Moslem Arabs, in the seventh century. It remains that in the history of the Arab invasions of Christendom we trace the fulfilment of the other intimations given respecting them; intimations in which was foreshown what was most material in their subsequent progress and history.

¹ See *Essais sur l'Espagne* by M. Peyron, forming the third Vol. of a Translation of Travels in Spain by Chevalier de Bourganne. At page 189, he says; "The Koran continually speaks of the *key of God* which opened to them the gates of the world and of religion. So in the Koran; 'Did not God give to *his* *legate* the power of heaven which is above, and fire which is beneath? With the *key*, did he not give him the title and power of a porter, that he may open to those whom he shall have chosen?'"

The following form of renunciation of Mahommedism, enjoined by the Greek Church on a convert to Christianity, and which is given in Nicetas' *Saracénica*, *Bibl. Patr.* (Ed. in four vols. Paris 1624), Vol. ii. p. 286, thus alludes to Mahomet's pretended *key of heaven*: *Αναθεματίζω την παρα τοις Σαρακενοις αποκρυφον διδασκαλιαν και υποσχεν τον Μωαμεδ· ητις φησι κλειδεσθον αυτον γενησθαι τον Παραδεισον.*

² The key was also an armorial bearing of the Andalusian Moors. So Peyron, *ubi supra*. When they crossed from Africa into Spain, it was on their standard; and was thus, with a double significance perhaps, sculptured on the archway of the Alhambra. An engraving is given.

³ Let me note from the Koran another contrasted representation to that before us, which has struck me. Mahommedism is *here* denounced as an imposture emanating from the smoke of the pit of hell. In the *Koran*, ch. 77, I read; "Woe be on that day (the day of judgment) to those who have accused the prophets of imposture. It shall be said to them, Go into the shadow of the smoke of hell; which shall ascend in three columns, and not shade you against the flames." Sale ii. 470.

KEY ON THE ARCH OF THE GATE OF JUSTICE IN THE ALHAMBRA.

From Murphy's Alhambra.



I. There was indicated, as well by the hieroglyphic itself as by the words of explanation accompanying, that to the Arab cavalry hordes, thus gathered to the smoke of the hellish exhalation, there would be opened a fearful career of conquest over Christendom; one in which they would fly, as it were, with locust-wings, destroy what opposed them with the strength of lion's teeth, and torment the Christians subjugated as with the poison of a scorpion-sting. And was there then a correspondence with this in the facts of the subsequent Saracenic history?—It was in the year 629 that the Saracens first issued from the desert into *Syria*, with proclamation of war against Christendom. They appeared, and they retired: it was but the omen of what was to follow. But in 636 they returned to prosecute their mission in earnest; and behold, within less than three years *Syria* was subdued. When *Damascus* had fallen, and then *Jerusalem*, the unhappy *Heraclius*, with tears of anguish, bade farewell to the Syrian Province. He saw it was lost to his crown irretrievably. The Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, yet more unhappy, had to attend the victor Caliph through it. He muttered as he passed on, "The abomination of desolation is in the Holy Place!" And soon, as if to remind the christian remnant of the fact, there resounded that voice of the *Muezzin*, from a mosque erected on the site of *Solomon's temple*, which, except with brief intermission during the reign of the crusaders, has since then never ceased.¹—The subjugation of *Egypt* followed quickly on that of *Syria*;—then, some 20 or 40 years after, that of the *African Province*; then, at the beginning of the eighth century, that of *Spain*. All this, within the limits of Roman Christendom: and contemporaneously,—though without those limits, and consequently without the sphere of the Apocalyptic prefigurative vi-

¹ The *Muezzin* began with Mahomedism. He is mentioned expressly in the capitulation of *Jerusalem*. "The *Muezzin*," said *Omar*, "that calls the faithful to prayers, shall not stand on the steps of the Church of *Constantine*."

The *minareh*, it may be observed, was not erected till 690 A.D.; and then first at the great Mosque of *Damascus*. D'Herbelot iii. 157. Hence the *Muezzin's* standing in *Omar's* time on the church steps.

sion,—that of *Persia* in the second quarter of the seventh century, and that of *North-west India* and of *Trans-Oaxiana* at the commencement of the eighth.—Let us take, in exemplification of the rapidity and extent of their conquests and destructions, two historical statements. The one, that in the ten years of Omar's Caliphate, from 634 to 644, the Saracens had reduced to his obedience 3,600 cities or castles, destroyed 4000 churches, and built 1,400 mosques for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. The other, that at the end of the first century of the Hegira, the Arabian empire had been extended to 200 days' journey from East to West, and reached from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic. "Over all which ample space," says Gibbon, "the progress of the Mahommedan religion diffused a general resemblance of manners and of opinions ;"¹—over all which ample space, we may add, the venom of the scorpion-sting of their conquerors was made to rankle in the breasts of the subject Christians.

For indeed the bitter contempt and hatred flowing out from the Moslem faith towards them could not but be felt perpetually. It was marked in the very terms of appellation, Christian dogs and infidels.² The enactments of the capitulations granted them were their every day remembrancers of it. Deprived of the use of arms, like the Helots of old, and with tribute enforced as their annual life-redemption tax,—with a different dress enjoined them from their masters, and a more humble mode of riding,—an obligation to rise up deferentially in the presence of the meanest Moslem, and to receive, and gratuitously entertain for a certain time, whosoever of them when on a journey might require it,—such were

¹ Gibbon ix. 501.

² "Ye Christian dogs, ye know your option, the Koran, the tribute, or the sword." Such was Caled's characteristic address to the Romans before the battle of Aiznadin. Such, near 200 years after, that in the letter of the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid to the emperor Nicephorus; "Haroun Al Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog," &c.—In later years it has been the same from the *Turks*, and from the same cause. "What care I whether the dog eat the hog, or the hog eat the dog?" was the Vizier Kiuperli's answer to the French Ambassador, on his informing him of Louis XIVth's victories over the Spaniards. Eton's Turkey, p. 110.

the marks of *personal* degradation ordained in the Capitulations. And then, in token of the degradation of *their religion*,—that to which, notwithstanding all their superstitions, they clung with fond attachment,—there was the prohibition to build new churches, to chime the bells in those retained by them, or to refuse admission into them to the scoffing Moslem, though they regarded his presence as defilement.¹ Add to which, the inducements to *apostacy*, operating to an incalculable extent, on the young and thoughtless in families more especially, and then the penalty of death against their returning to the christian faith, the insults moreover to christian females, and thousand undefinable injuries of oppression ;—and how could it be but that the bitterness of their lot should be felt, and the poison rankle within them, even as in other days with the Jewish captives in Babylon, so as to make life itself almost a burden ?²

And now we shall be better prepared to consider,

Idly, What is said of the locusts having a king over them, “the *angel of the bottomless pit* ; whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue bath his name Apollyon.” By Mede this angel is explained as meaning *Mahomet*. And Daubuz notices a curious fact, as corroborative of that interpretation : I mean that not only *during his life-time* did the myriads of the Arab Moslems acknowledge Mahomet “as both their prophet and their king,”³ but that, even *after his death*, they who succeeded him in the headship of the Saracens and of Islamism, the commanders of the faithful, considered and called themselves Mahomet’s *Caliphs*

¹ The above is extracted from the Capitulation of Jerusalem granted by Omar ; a document given by Al Wakedi, and copied into the Modern Univ. Hist. i. 429. —Comp. Gibb. ix. 499 ; who has erroneously *post-dated* these degrading enactments 200 years.

² “And in those days shall the men seek death, and shall not find it, and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.” Verse 6. A statement, of which the meaning is made clear by the parallel one in Jer. viii. 2 ; where it is said of the Jews taken captive to Babylon ; “And death shall be chosen, rather than life, by all the residue of them that remain of this evil family, in all the places whither I have driven them.” It is a strong proverbial expression of great wretchedness.

³ Gibbon ix. 354.

or *Vicars*.¹—The objection to this interpretation is, that in the Apocalypse, wherever angels are mentioned, they seem to have been the angelic spiritual agencies, good or bad,² by whose unseen instrumentality human affairs are affected. We may, however, by a modification of the interpretation reconcile it in a measure with the proper apocalyptic use of angel, and carry out its point and force much further; viz. by supposing not Mahomet personally to be intended, but the *Spirit of evil* that, like the lying Spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets,³ inspired him, and of whom Mahomet was but the mouth and instrument.—And then, and as so interpreted, we see not merely a singular fact predicted, but one of important bearing on all the main points of the prophecy. For the prediction was to this effect,—that wheresoever the Arab locusts might travel in their career of conquest, there they would carry the false religion of Mahomet with them; there, for however long, be ruled by its laws, and actuated by its spirit.⁴ Now this was not a result necessary, or to have been anticipated *à priori*. By no means. The *Gothic* invaders that conquered and settled in the Roman empire, embraced, almost immediately after, the religion of the conquered, and so were rapidly amalgamated into one people with them. The same was the case with the *Saxons* afterwards, the *Hungarians* of the tenth century, and other invaders. But as the prediction noted the fact respecting the symbolic locusts, so in the case of the Saracens was it fulfilled. Through all their conquests, in countries the most remote, the *Koran*, the book dictated by the Spirit of the abyss to Mahomet, was the code of religion and of law that governed them; and the Caliphs, invested with civil power,

¹ Ibid. 329.

² In Apoc. xii. 5, we find noticed the Dragon's angels, as well as God's.

³ 1 Kings xxii. 21, 23.—It is well to remember that the Spirits of evil, as of good, have an individuality of work and office, as well as of person.—As to the name here noticed, it simply marks *character*; just as in Mark v. 9; "Our name is *Legion*, for we are many."

⁴ "It is not the propagation, but the permanency of his religion, that deserves our wonder. The same pure and perfect impressions which he enjoined at Mecca, are preserved after the revolution of twelve centuries by the Indian, African, and Turkish proselytes of the *Koran*." Gibbon, ix. 350.

were invested simply in virtue of their religious character and office, as Caliphs or Vicars of the false Prophet. —And hence, in fact, the perpetuation of their character through this period as destroyers to Christians. For the name of that *Spirit of the abyss*, their king, was *Destroyer*. Such it appeared in the doctrine of the Book ; such on the field of battle. And when we consider not only the destruction of bodily life resulting, but also the destruction of soul from the poisonous doctrines of Mahommedism, surely the suitableness will be allowed by all, of the name thus given him. Oh what a contrast, (it is one that even Gibbon cannot help alluding to)¹ what a contrast in character, doctrine, and results to men, between the Spirit that animated MAHOMET and his Koran, and that of HIM and his Gospel, against whom Mahomet set himself,—the Prince of Princes, the LORD JESUS !—the one the Spirit of Peace and Salvation, the other the Abaddon, the Destroyer !²

III. But there was a term and limit prescribed to these locusts ; a limit as to *effect*,—a limit as to *time*. They were not to *kill* the men of Christendom, so as were the agents under the second woe ;³ i. e. to annihilate them as a political christian body ; but only to torment them. And this was to be for the defined period of 150 *days*. These are the next points for investigation.

And first, as to the limit in *effect*.—When the reader consults any carefully written history of the Saracens, he will be almost sure to find the notice of their successes succeeded by a notice of certain remarkable checks that they received after a while ; the consequence of which was the preservation of Christendom, both in the east, and in the west. And he will find, intermingled with these statements, expressions of surprise and admiration, at checks such as these occurring after so long

¹ ix. 295.

² Professor Lee compares Dan. viii. 23, 24, " A king of fierce countenance, and that shall *destroy* wonderfully : " a description very similar, though the Hebrew word there is not מַחֲרִיב, as here.

³ Apoc. ix. 15, 18.

and irresistible a progress of success¹.—Thus, as regards the *eastern* empire. Twice did the Saracens, in the pride and plenitude of their power, attack the *vital* part of that division of Christendom, by besieging Constantinople ; —1st, in the seven years' siege, which lasted from 668 to 675 ; 2ndly, in the years 716—718, when Leo the Isaurian was on the imperial throne. Alike on either occasion they were unsuccessful ; and obliged to retire, defeated and disgraced, as they had never been before.—Similarly, in the *west*, after that the Visi-gothic empire in Spain had been all but destroyed, A.D. 711, in the fatal battle of Xeres, and when, its remnant and only germ of re-vivification being with Pelayo in the mountains of Asturias, the Moorish Saracens, flushed with victory, attacked, in order completely to destroy that remnant, their former success forsook them. They were twice repulsed with great loss, and gave up the enterprise. Again, and yet more remarkably, in the year 732, when Abdulrahman and his Moorish Saracens had prolonged a victorious line of march above 1000 miles, from Gibraltar to the Loire, “adjudging to the obedience of the Prophet whatever yet remained of France or Europe, and in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man,”—at that crisis, when, as Gibbon declares, “it appeared impossible for France to avoid subjugation,” and in which case all Europe would probably have fallen, and as regards our own island, “the interpretation of the Koran be now taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits demonstrate to a cir-

¹ So Gibbon x. 2 : “The calm historian, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the Church and State were saved from this impending, and as it should seem, inevitable danger.” And Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 3, 169. “These conquests, which astonish the careless and superficial, are less perplexing to a calm inquirer than their cessation :—the loss of half the Roman empire, than the preservation of the rest.”

² Gib. x. 21, 23. Sismondi, ii. 48. In Vol. ix. p. 483, Gibbon thus notices, further, the design of the Moorish conqueror Musa against all Christendom : “to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards : to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican ; thence, subduing the barbarians of Germany, to follow the course of the Danube to the Euxine sea, overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and, returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the province of Syria.”

cumcised people the truth and sanctity of the revelation of Mahomet,"—at that crisis a bulwark was raised up most unexpectedly by the Franks under Charles Martel. The Saracens recoiled broken and discomfited from the blows of him that was called the *hammer* of Western Christendom; and "Europe owes its existence, its religion, and its liberty, to his victory." Historians, I repeat, agree in speaking of these deliverances of Christendom as events of which, at the time, there could have been no reasonable anticipation. But to the student of the Apocalypse, who has thus far followed and agreed with me, it will appear all accounted for. It was said to the Saracen locusts, "that they should not *kill*," not politically annihilate the united church and state of Christendom, either in the east, or in any one of the kingdoms of the west;—however scorpion-like they might mutilate the political body, and torment the men, its constituents. In attempting to *annihilate* them, they exceeded their commission, and were repulsed.

Again there was a restriction as to *time*. It was to a period of *five months*, or *150 days*,¹ that their commission was confined, to injure the inhabitants of Roman Christendom.—In order to the understanding of which restrictive clause, (a clause that will necessarily detain us some length of time,) it is important, indeed essential, that the reader should bear in mind two things:—1st, that the period noted is not that of the *duration* of the symbolic locusts, but of their *aggressively striking, injuring, and tormenting* the men of Roman Christendom, with their lion-like teeth and scorpion-stings:²—2ndly, that the period intended by the 150 days is, if I am right, *150 years*. For I adhere to the principle of expounding a

¹ For 30 days went to a month. So if we compare Gen. vii. 11 and viii. 3, 4, it will appear that 150 days give the interval of five months, reckoned from the 17th day of the second month to the 17th of the seventh month.

² Verse 5; "And it was given them that they (the apostatized Christians) should be tormented by them *five months*; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when it has struck a man; and in those days men shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them." Verse 10; "And their power is to injure (*adurau*) the men *five months*."—The period seems to be twice noticed, by way of emphasis; like those in Apoc. xii. 6, 14; xx. 4, 6.

day as significant of a *year*, in the chronological periods of symbolic prophecy:—a principle early suggested, as I have already intimated,¹ and partially applied, by certain old prophetic expositors of eminence; and subsequently, and in more modern times, adopted and fully carried out by *Mede*, and most other English Protestant interpreters after him. An examination of the objections lately urged against it, by Mr. Maitland and others, will of course be necessary. This I reserve for my comment on Apoc. xiii, as the most fitting occasion. For the present I will only repeat my deliberate conviction of the truth of the principle; and beg attention to the remark that, in its application, both here and elsewhere, it will be my care to allow myself no more license or latitude than such as we find distinct precedent and authority for in other scripture chronological prophecies; prophecies allowed on all hands to have received their fulfilment.

This premised, we turn to the history of the Saracenic warfare against Roman Christendom, to see whether there is discernible in it any well-marked period of five symbolic months, or 150 years, defining what we may call the *intensity of the woe*:—in other words that of the irresistible *aggressive* movement of the symbolic locusts; (irresistible, except with the reserve implied in the restriction as to *effect* already noted;) and of the full outflowing of the venom of their scorpion-stings, to wound and to torment.

In the carrying out of which inquiry, the first question of course must be, *from what act or event*, as an epoch, to date the *commencement* of the period. And here,—just as in regard of those two ancient famous prophecies, the one Jeremiah's, respecting the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, the other Daniel's, respecting the seventy weeks to the Messiah,²—it is not *one* epoch only that suggests itself, as that from which we might reasonably date the commencement of the period we speak of, but *two* or *three*. Thus, did we know when first the idea established itself in Mahomet's

¹ p. 388 *suprà*.

² Jer. xxv. 11; Dan. ix. 24.

mind of preaching his new and false religion, *that* perhaps might be considered a fit epoch of commencement; as being the time when the key of the abyss was given him.¹ Next there was that of the year A.D. 609, when Mahomet began *privately* to preach his divine mission, and so, in the eyes of his family, to open the pit of the abyss; and, yet again, that of 612, when he first *publicly* announced his prophetic mission,² and so publicly caused the smoke of the pit of darkness to rise up before the eyes of men. Fourthly, there was the epoch of the year 629, when the locust armies first issued out of the smoke, to make their attack on Syrian Christendom.—Now out of these four epochs I agree with Daubuz in selecting the *third*. I prefer it to the two first, because in regard of the term of duration of any public woe, we ought, I think, to have some *noted public* act, and not any thing merely *private*, to mark both its commencement and its end. And I am led to it, in preference to the *last*, both because the Christians in Arabia, and along the Red Sea, suffered previously to the year 629 from Mahomet's persecutions;³ and also because the commencing epoch of 612 has, as we shall see, a suitable epoch of termination corresponding with it, whereas that of 629 has none.—It is to be observed, that in the circumstances of this public opening of his mission, A.D. 612, there was then for the first time expressed that principle of propagating his false religion by violence and with the sword, which made his followers a woe to all the countries near them, and was specially a declaration of war on Christendom. Nay, more: the organization might then be said to have begun, the

¹ Bishop Newton on Dan. xi. makes A.D. 606 the year in which Mahomet retired to his cave to forge this imposture.

² Gibbon ix. 255, 256, 284.—Elmacin (Hist. Sarac. p. 3.) thus notes the chronology of these acts. "Ut annos implevit 40 vocatus fuit ad munus propheticum: anno autem ætatis suæ 44 manifestavit vocationem; ante enim clanculùm tantùm invitavit ad Islamismum." He adds afterwards, "Anno decimo quarto migravit Mohammed Medinam."—Hence his supposed prophetic call was in the fourteenth year previous to the flight of Medina: or (since this flight gave date to the famous Mahommedan æra of the *Hegira*, A.D. 622) A.D. 609.

³ E. g. The Christians of *Dawmat Al Jundal*; as related by Al Iannabi, p. 147, referred to in the Mod. Univ. Hist. i. 137.

destroying commission to have been given, and in the person of *Ali*, whom *Mahomet* named the *Lion of God*, the locust-form, with its lion-teeth and scorpion-sting, to have been discernible in the smoke from the just opened pit. For what passed on that occasion? "Who," said Mahomet, after announcing his mission, "will be my Vizier and Lieutenant?" "O Prophet," replied Ali, "I am the man. Whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O Prophet, I will be thy Vizier." On which I find Mr. Hallam thus observing:¹ "These words of Mahomet's early and illustrious disciple are, as it were, a text upon which the commentary expands into the whole Saracenic history." And, just as in the case of the 400 years of affliction and servitude, predicted as to befall Abraham's seed,² the epoch of Isaac's mocking by Ishmael seems justly fixed on as that of the commencement of the period, because that in that mocking laugh there was manifested the spirit and the germ of what was more fully developed afterwards,—so, in the case before us, the epoch of the announcement and first manifestation of the bitter, fanatic, persecuting spirit of Mahomedism against all opposers, or even dissentients, may as justly be fixed on as that of the commencement of the 150 years of the chief virulence of the Saracenic woe. "After the year 612," says the Modern Universal History, "Mahomet sought to propagate his religion with all his might."³

But supposing the epoch of the *commencement* of the woe thus fixed, when may we consider that its five months period of intensity *ended*? Not evidently during the progress of the aggressive religious wars and victories of the Saracen Moslems. Not, that is to say,

¹ Middle Ages, ii. 167.

² Gen. xv. 13; on the explanation of which Dr. Adam Clarke's conclusion seems to me the just one. Compare Gal. iv. 29.

³ Mahomet's celebrated Letter to Chosroes the Persian king, enjoining him to acknowledge him as the Apostle of God, and on his refusal, and tearing the letter, declaring, "God will so tear the kingdom of Chosroes," occurred as early as A.D. 615, according to Boulainvilliers in his Life of Mahomet. Gibbon would place it somewhat later. Gibbon, viii. 226.

during the *first* prophetic month (or thirty years) from this commencing epoch of 612, in the course of which Syria and Egypt fell before them:—not during the *second* month, in which month Cilicia was reduced to obedience, their inroads advanced to near Constantinople, and the African province invaded:—not during the *third* month, that in which the subjugation of Africa was all but completed;—or the *fourth*, in which Spain was subdued, and the south and centre of France almost to the Loire.¹ The earliest date for the end of the chief intensity of the Saracenic woe, that can for a moment be thought probable, is that of the battle of Poitiers, already spoken of, in which Charles Martel defeated them, and which occurred in October 732, the beginning of the *fifth* prophetic month. But though defeated and repulsed on that memorable occasion, their power and their spirit to aggress and to torment with all the bitterness of fanaticism, was not terminated. “The vanquished spoilers,” says Mosheim,² soon recovered their strength and ferocity; and returned with new violence to their devastations.” In *Southern France* the strength of the Saracens was so far from being crushed, that we find its Southern districts continued to be wasted by them till the middle of this century: and that about the year 740, in spite of Martel and the aid he had invoked from Luitprand King of the Lombards, they besieged and took Aix in Provence; nor were driven out till some ten years afterwards.³ In Spain the tide of their success and supremacy, notwithstanding the ill success of their

¹ The Syrian war was from 632 to 638, A.D.; the Egyptian from 638 to 640; the African begun 647. The conquests of the Saracens, suspended in Africa near twenty years, were resumed 665, and in 689 advanced to the Atlantic. In A.D. 670 Cairoan was founded, their African capital. The conquest of Africa was completed in a war from 698 to 709. That of Spain occupied them from 710 to 713. That of the south of France, from the Garonne to the Rhone, was effected, 721; to the Loire, 731.—The battle of Poitiers was in the month of October, 732: i.e.—as it would seem that the date of Mahomet’s public opening of his mission, A.D. 612, was in an earlier month than October, perhaps July,—at the beginning of the *fifth* prophetic month. So Daubuz, p. 414.

² viii. 1. 2. 2.

³ This is stated in Paul Warnefrid’s History of the Lombards: and he says that Luitbrand, accordingly, crossed the Alps to give the requested aid to Charles Martel.

efforts at totally extinguishing Pelayo and the Gothic remnant, had not yet begun to ebb.¹ In Africa, some twenty years after the battle of Poitiers, the torment of the scorpion-sting so operated, as to induce nearly the whole Christian population of the province to apostatize, and become Mussulman.² From east to west, throughout the vast Mahommedan world, one Caliph still governed the locust-hordes in the name of the Prophet. Their power remained unbroken.

But just about the middle of the eighth century, a change occurred, marked by two events of such a nature, and such importance, as to be regarded by historians, both the one and the other, as constituting epochs most memorable in the Saracenic history. The change was this. The *Abbassides*, descendants of a different family of the early followers of Mahomet, in the year 750 supplanted the *Omniades* in the Caliphate.—And then what followed? First the one and only survivor of the deposed and proscribed family escaped to Spain: and behold he was there received, acknowledged, and established as the lawful Caliph. This was in the year A.D. 755. So at length was the Caliphate divided. There was thenceforth a Caliph in the west, in opposition to the Caliph in the east. “The Colossus,” says Sismondi, “that had bestridden the whole south was broken.” And he adds, “This revolution did more for the deliverance of Europe from the Mussulman arms than even the battle of Poitiers.”³—Such was the *first* notable result.

Further, out of this change of dynasty, a *second* most important consequence followed in the east. The new Abbassidean Caliph, dissatisfied with the *Syrian* capital, where his rivals and enemies, the *Omniades*,

¹ Fleury (Hist. Eccles. ix. 261) gives from Sandoval (p. 87) the substance of a treaty between an Arabian chief, and the Goths and Romans of Coimbra in Portugal, fixing the tax to be paid by them for permission to live as Christians; a treaty of the date A.D. 734.

² In A.D. 754 a lieutenant of Africa informed the Caliph that the tribute of the Infidels was abolished by their conversion. Gib. ix. 495.

³ Fall of Roman Empire, Vol. ii. p. 92. He dates it about the middle of August.

had so long lived and reigned, determined on building another on the *western bank of the Tigris*,¹ just a few miles beyond the old Roman Euphratean frontier. It was in the year 762 that Almanzor there laid its foundations; and thither the government and head of the locusts then took its flight, far eastward, away from Christendom. This was the era, as Daubuz well calls it, of the *settlement* of the locusts.² They no more roved, he says, in a body as before, in quest of new conquests. And so Dean Waddington;³ “The Arab conquerors now settled in the countries they had subdued.” In fact the ancient warlike spirit, at least in this eastern division, had ceased to animate them as of old. “War,” says Gibbon, “was no longer the passion of the Saracens.”⁴ The very name that the Caliph gave to the new capital, was but an indication of the comparatively peaceable character that was thenceforth to attach to the Saracens. It was named *Medinat al Salem*, the *City of Peace*.—The era is further noted by historians as that of the *decline* of the Saracenic power. So Gibbon observes;⁵ “In this *City of Peace*, amidst the riches of the East, the Abbasides aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian Kings;”—“The luxury of the Caliphs (i. e. of the Abbassides) relaxed the nerves and *terminated the progress* of the Arabian empire.” So Mills, in his *History of Mahommedism*;⁶ “The previous period was that of the rise of the Saracenic power; that which succeeds of its decline and fall:” and Hallam; “The Abbassides never attained the real strength of their predecessors.”⁷—Nor must I omit to observe on the manner in which the very geographical position of the new capital contributed to the relaxation of the woe.

¹ See the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. ii. pp. 277, 279, 284, for a full account of the building of Bagdad, and with the original Arabic authorities subjoined. The palace of Al Manzor, and the oldest part of the city, were built on the *western* or *Euphratean* side; the fort of Al Mohdi on the eastern; round which the city afterwards chiefly gathered.—So Benjamin of Tudela also reports of the site of the Caliph's palace in his time; i. e. A.D. 1170.—*Travels*, ch. xii.

² Daubuz, p. 417—It is to Daubuz that we are indebted for this explanation of the 150 years. ³ P. 263. ⁴ x. 41. ⁵ *Ibid.* 36, 40.

⁶ As abstracted and referred to by Faber, *Sacred Calendar*, ii. 285.

⁷ *Middle Ages* ii. 173.

For not merely with reference to *maritime* enterprises against it, as Mr. Hallam suggests, but with reference to *military* also, the distance of the new seat of government added to the difficulty, and diminished the temptation. The locusts were no more in such immediate contact, as before, with Eastern Christendom.

And now, behold, instead of aggressive war on the part of the Saracens, aggression has begun against them, and victoriously too, on the part of the Christians. In the *west*, under the son of Charles Martel, Narbonne and Septimania were in the year 755 recovered, and the Saracens driven beyond the Pyrenees. Again in 761, as Baronius marks the date,¹ the christian remnant in the mountains of Spain, under the first Alphonzo, began to roll back the tide of war on their Saracen oppressors. It was the same in the *east*. There Constantine Copronymus, the then reigning emperor, seized the opportunity for avenging the wrongs, and enlarging the limits, of the Greek empire.²—So that the septenary of years begun A.D. 755, and ending 762, is obviously every way remarkable, as the period of the deliverance of Christendom from the chief terror and persecution of the Saracens. And either its year of commencement, 755, or that of its termination, 762, is just the fittest epoch, so far as I see, the one or the other, at which to consider the intensity of the Saracen woe as terminated.

And what then the *length* of the *period of intensity*, thus defined?—It is possible that the exact time when the idea was first formed by Mahomet of acting the part of false prophet, and when thus the *key was presented to him* wherewith to open the pit of the abyss, may have been about the year 605,³—four years before his private preaching; and so have furnished a date of *inceptive commencement*, corresponding with the year 755, as that

¹ Others give the date A.D. 757.

² How strange, when such were the facts, the statement of Dean Woodhouse; that "the progressing conquests of the Saracen Mahometans continued more than double the length of the period of 150 years!"

³ Bishop Newton says A.D. 606. See p. 433, Note ¹

of the *inceptive termination*. But the epoch of decided commencement may rather be fixed, as we have said, at Mahomet's public opening of his mission, A.D. 612 ; and the epoch of full termination,—as regarded the *Greek* empire at least, to which in this and the next Trumpet there is all through a special reference,—at the removal of the Caliphate to Bagdad, A.D. 762. Indeed there is in the next vision, as it seems to me, a direct allusion to this removal, as constituting an epoch recognized and marked out for notice in the Apocalyptic prophecy. And the interval between these dates of commencement and termination is, as the reader sees, precisely that laid down in the prophecy ; viz. *five prophetic months*, or 150 years.

AND now we have discussed, I think, all the prophetic details, and seen their truth and their fulfilment ; more especially as characterizing the Saracen woe during its term of chief intensity, the above-mentioned 150 years :—a discussion somewhat discursive ; and which has forced us, like the historian of the Decline and Fall, though all in relevancy to his and our great topic, into inquiries respecting “the genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and spirit of his religion.”¹ It is to be remembered, however, that this period did not define the whole duration of the Saracen power or woe :² it being but a period within the whole period of the vision ; just like another noted under the sixth Trumpet.³ And thus it seems fitting that we glance, ere we quit the subject, at what remains of the history of these apocalyptic locusts ; after the ending of the first 150 years, and their memorable flight beyond Euphrates.

¹ “The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire : and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions, which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.” ix. 218.

² In proof that the woe had not wholly terminated, yet that its character, in respect of aggressiveness, strength, and bitter religious venom against Christians, was very different from what it had been before, I may refer the Reader to the history of the Abbassidean Caliphs, in the English Univ. Hist. Vol. xxii.

³ Apoc. ix. 15 ; “An hour and day and month and year.”

There then, far East, in Bagdad and the country round it,—after a brief temporary splendour and temporary revival into military enterprize and success, from 781 to 805, under the reigns of Mohadi and Haroun al Rashid, —we must think of the once terrible power of the Saracens as declined and declining : luxury and licentiousness working their usual sure process of decay with both prince and people, and the fervour of religious fanaticism past away. At length, in the year 841, the reigning Caliph, distrusting the martial spirit of his Arabs, hired a band of 50,000 Turkmans from beyond the Oxus, to be the support of the Caliphate at Bagdad : and these, acting precisely the same part as the Roman Prætorian guards before them, revolted against, insulted, humiliated, and deposed the Caliphs : and so, in this case too, became a further and powerful accelerating cause of their sovereigns' downfall.—Meanwhile among the Moslems both in Africa and in Asia, the example of the Spanish schism had had its imitators. At Fez and Tunis, in Egypt and in Syria, in Chorasán to the North, and Persia to the East, new and independent dynasties were set up in the course of the ninth century : until at length, as the tenth century opened, the *Fatimites*,—descendants of that *Ali*, Mahomet's first Vizier, of whom we have before spoken,¹ and of his wife Fatima, Mahomet's favorite daughter,—asserted their rightful claim, not to independent *political* sovereignty only, but even to the *Caliphate* itself : in the prosecution of this claim reduced Africa, Egypt, and Syria ; and, from *Cairo* as their capital, became known as the *third* Caliphate of Islamism, excommunicating and excommunicated by its rivals, both at *Cordova* and at *Bagdad*.—Thus more and more dismembered, the Abbissidean Caliphate at Bagdad more and more languished : until the Persian independent Moslem dynasty of the Bowides, interposing on occasion of the factions there prevalent, advanced in the year 934 to Bagdad ; stripped the Caliph

¹ P. 434 *suprà*.

of his *secular* office and supremacy ; and reduced him to his *spiritual* functions as chief Pontiff of Islamism, the mere phantom thenceforward of departed power.

Such was the progressive decline of the *eastern* Saracens ; and in that decline their brethren in the *west* in a measure participated. Throughout the ninth century the Christians of Spain were ever gaining ground on their Moorish oppressors. In 904 the capital of Asturias was advanced from Oviedo in the Gallician mountains to Leon ; and that of Arragon from Jaca, in the Pyrenean vallies, to Pampeluna. The spirit of bravery and enterprise indeed had not yet left the western Arabs. It appeared in the Spanish battle-fields. It appeared in the exploits of the marauding bands that issued both from Spain and Africa :—of whom some, ere the middle of the ninth century, conquered the islands of Crete and Sicily : attacked, though vainly, Rome itself ; nor were expelled from their conquests, till after a tenure of above a century in Crete, and two centuries in Sicily.¹—But these were but like the marauding enterprises of the Normans of the eleventh century ; indeed not so remarkable. The strength of the lions' teeth, and the venom too of the early religious fanaticism,² was greatly wanting. The *intensity* of the woe to Christendom had evidently passed away. The Saracenic conquests and incursions in Crete, Sicily, and Italy, were but a memento of what had been.

There remains just one other point to which I would wish to call attention, ere concluding this present Chapter ; I mean the fact of two remarkable coincidences between certain notable epochs in the history of the Saracen woe already noticed, and others equally notable in the

¹ Crete was seized by Saracens from Spain A.D. 823 ; regained by the Greek emperor Nicephorus Phocas, A.D. 960.—Sicily was attacked by Saracens from Africa A.D. 827 ; subdued 878 ; reconquered by the Normans, for the Greek empire, A.D. 1060—1090.—Rome was attacked by the Saracens from Sicily A.D. 846 ; repulsed by Pope Leo the 4th, A.D. 849.

² e. g. from the year 757 Abdulrahman, the Moorish king, changed the former mode of treating his Christian subjects in Spain to one of greater mildness. See the Univ. Hist. xxii. 20. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Saracens even courted alliances with Christian powers. Hallam, ii. 4.

ecclesiastical and religious history of Eastern Christendom. Its *apostacy*, its *open* apostacy from Christ,¹ has been mentioned as the predicted cause of the infliction ; and further how Mahomet and the early Saracen Moslems, understanding their special commission to be against *idolaters*, avowed that it was as regarding its people in *that* character, that they carried the war into Roman Christendom. Now throughout the seventh century this charge was made against them by their conquerors and tormentors altogether ineffectually. At length, some twenty years or less from the commencement of the eighth century, the celebrated Isaurian family was raised to the imperial throne of Constantinople : and its princes, otherwise doubtless illustrious, became chiefly so on this account, that for sixty years almost uninterruptedly,—supported by not a few really religious, (as even Gibbon admits,²) but with opposition bitter and abiding from the great majority within the empire, and the Roman Popes without it,—they set themselves strenuously to wipe away the reproach of image-worship, at least from Eastern Christendom.³ And what followed ? It was in A. D. 717, very soon after the emperor Leo's accession, and first decided attempt at this reform of the church, that the grand armament of the Saracens attacked Constantinople. It attacked it, but was completely defeated and repulsed.—Again, in A. D. 754, Constantine Copronymus, the successor of Leo in determination of spirit on this point,⁴ as well as in the throne and kingdom, (it is of his public acts simply that I now speak,) convened a grand synod at Constantinople,—the seventh general Council, as he most properly called it, though

¹ It was against "the men that had not God's mark on their foreheads."

² ix. 122 ; "They (the monks) were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians ; who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church."

³ Gib. ix. 129, 130, describes both the determination of the then reigning Emperor Constantine, and the reluctance of most of his subjects to it. Προγράμμα γὰρ ἐξετέμψε πατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, πᾶντας ὑπογράψαι καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὸν ἀσέβητον τὴν προσκυνῆσαι τῶν σέπτων εἰκόνων, So John Damascenus, Op. i. 625 ; quoted by Gibbon.

⁴ Theophanes, on the 27th year of Copronymus, complains that whoever said Θεοτοκε βοῦδαι in address to the Virgin Mary was punished.

it was afterwards stigmatized and disowned,—for the express purpose of condemning image-worship. It passed that public sentence of condemnation on it : and behold the very next year, as historians record, the Caliphate was divided ; the Mahommedan colossus broken ; the scorpion-locusts carried away, as by a strong west wind, to the Euphrates ; the intensity of the Saracenic woe brought to an end.

Alas ! the efforts of these emperors and of the more enlightened of their subjects, always resisted by the majority, proved abortive.—In the year 781 *Irene* succeeded to the imperial throne : and, having murdered her iconoclastic husband, who stood in the way of her object, she gathered in 787 another synod, the famous seventh General Council ; ¹ in the which the decrees of the former Council were reprobated and disavowed, and the worship of images, by a solemn act of the Catholic Church, declared lawful. It was just about this time that the Saracenic woe, though already broken, seemed as if it had received a temporary revivification. Guided by Haroun Al Rashid, the Arab forces from Bagdad swept across the lesser Asia, on provocation from the Greek Emperor, not once only, but eight times, bearing down all opposition before them. Was there not a memento of warning from heaven in it?—But the Eastern Church persisted. Under the influence of the empress Theodora the struggle ended finally, in the year 842, in the undisputed ascendancy and establishment of image-worship.—And what then the consequence? With characteristic forbearance, as we have seen, the Lord continued to this guilty people the interval of mitigation and of respite, through the ninth and much of the tenth century. But would He endure the provocation much longer? How long would be the respite before another woe?

¹ Called also the second Council of Nice.

CHAPTER V.

PAUSE BETWEEN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH TRUMPETS.

“One woe is past!—Behold there come two more woes hereafter.” Apoc. ix. 12.

When might the Saracen woe be said to have terminated?—Perhaps we might fix on the epoch of A. D. 934, when the Caliphate at Bagdad was stripped, as has been noted, of its temporal power: perhaps on the period of from 960 to 980 or 985, when the public and striking evidence of it was exhibited to Christendom, in the conquest, from those once terrible enemies, of Crete, Cyprus, Cilicia, Antioch; when the Greek arms were borne triumphantly eastward, even across the Euphrates; and, in the west, the last great attempt of the Moorish Saracens against the rising christian kingdoms in Spain, was, after a temporary success, totally repulsed, and the Moslems, with continually contracted dominions, reduced finally, and almost for ever, to the defensive.¹ Let us take the last-mentioned epoch, which dates, we said, about the *close of the tenth century*. In correspondence with it there seems to have been a pause in the prophetic representations: and perhaps too a silence from tempests in the firmamental heaven; such as that noticed as occurring before the blowing of the Trumpets. And nothing broke it to the Evangelist on the apocalyptic scene, but the solemn intimation, “One woe is past! Behold there come two more woes after it.”

The æra, I suppose, referred to is one memorable in European history, for a panic of very remarkable origin,

¹ I allude to the wars of Almanzor, Vizir of Haccham the 2nd; who for a short time almost revived the Saracen woe to the Spanish Christians. In A.D. 980, he attacked and defeated them, and burnt Leon and Compostella; but was in 990 and 998 defeated by Dons Sancho and Garcia: and, after the latter repulse, in despair committed suicide. “With him,” says the learned writer in the English Univ. Hist. xxii. 411, “expired the fortune of the Cordovan Moors.”

and results, which then intensely agitated the minds of men, especially in Western Christendom. It was supposed that with the end of the tenth century *the world would end* also. The opinion arose, doubtless, from Augustine's interpretation of the apocalyptic *millennium*, as that *millennial* or rather *quasi-millennial* period of Christ's triumph by his church over Satan, which, beginning at his first advent and miracles, would only terminate with Satan's re-loosing and Antichrist's manifestation, just before the consummation of all things.¹ I say *quasi-millennial*, because in Augustine's own mind, we have seen, as well as in that of interpreters following him in the fifth and sixth centuries, the full definite value of 1000 years was not supposed to attach to this ecclesiastical millennium. Their expectation of *the sabbatism* of the saints ensuing after the world had lasted 6000 years, and belief in the Septuagint chronology, which reckoned 5500, or 5350, or at least 5200 out of the 6000, to have already elapsed at the Nativity,² made them construe the apocalyptic millennium as only that interval which yet remained after Christ's birth to complete the sixth millenary ;—perhaps 500 years, or it might be 600, or 700, or a little more.³ But the Greek Septuagint with its chronology having, in the long interval since Gregory I, been altogether superseded in western Europe by the Latin Vulgate and the Hebrew chronology there given,—and the sabbatical theory too

¹ Mosheim (x. 2. 3. 3) speaks of the opinion as first springing up in the *ninth* century ; "superiori jam sæculo ex loco Johannis Apoc. xx. 3, 4, nata." He does not advert to Augustine's interpretation of the passage : an interpretation grounded by that eminent Father on our Lord's saying, Matt. xii. 29, "No man can enter a strong man's house, &c, unless he first bind the strong man ;" and which I shall have to set forth more fully in the closing part of this Work.

² See p. 373. Augustine's words are these : "Mille anni duobus modis possunt intelligi : aut quia in ultimus annis mille ista res agitur, i. e. sexto annorum milliaro *cujus nunc spatia posteriora voluntur*, secuturo deinde sabbato quod non habet vespem ; ut hujus milliarii *novissimam partem*, quæ remanebat usque ad terminum sæculi, *mille annos* appellaverit : eo loquendi modo quo pars significatur à toto ; aut mille annos pro annis omnibus hujus sæculi posuit." C. D. xx. 7. 2.

³ The Vulgate was the Latin translation made by Jerome from the Hebrew ; and A.M. 4000 the date of Christ's birth, as computed from it. In the year A.D. 527 *Dionysius*, a Roman abbot, computed from, and mainly contributed to introduce into use, this the *Vulgar Era*.

having been probably forgotten in the darkness of those dark ages,—the main point only of Augustine's interpretation was remembered ; I mean his construing the time of Satan's binding to signify that of the present supremacy of the church over him. And the natural and reasonable alteration having been applied to this his opinion about the millennium, of its being not, as he had supposed likely, a mere fraction of a thousand years, but a thousand years fully and exactly, it was impossible but that as the *tenth century* drew near, and yet more after it had begun and was advancing, the subject should be felt one of intense personal interest. Thus it was then frequently preached on, and by breathless crowds listened to ; the subject of every one's thoughts, every one's conversation. The time, they thought, was actually come ; the end of all things at hand ; the loosing of Satan, Antichrist's manifestation, and, what was most terrible, the day of judgment.—Belief on such a subject could not be inoperative. Its form of working took its character from that of the times. Under the impression, multitudes innumerable, says Mosheim,¹ having given their property to monasteries or churches,² travelled to Palestine, where they expected Christ to descend to judgment. Others bound themselves by solemn oath to be serfs to churches or to priests ; in hopes of a milder sentence on them, as being servants of Christ's servants. In many places buildings were let go to decay, as that of which there would be no need in future. And on occasions of eclipses of sun or moon, the people fled in multitudes for refuge to the caverns and the rocks.—But the time of the consummation fixed in God's counsels was not yet. In the apocalyptic chronology it was

¹ Ubi *suprà*. In a Note he gives an interesting extract, in illustration from Abbo, Abbot of Fleury on the Loire, who died in the year 1004. "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in ecclesiâ Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quodd statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet. . . . Fama pene totum mundum impleverat, quodd quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceue contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset."

² Almost all the donations of this century, says Mosheim, mention as their occasion, "Appropinquante mundi termino."—See too his notice of the panic, and its passing away, xi. 2. 4. 3.

written, "One woe hath past: behold there come yet two more woes after them."—The dreaded 1000th year came and past, without any great calamity accompanying; and gradually the alarm and the expectation died away.

Yet there was woe at hand, the prophecy declared, though of another kind;—the woe of the sixth Trumpet. And where to fall? and on whom? On *western* Christendom: which, though not without spots less dark at times, and points of relief,¹ had been too universally and progressively settling down since Pope Gregory's time last-noted,² into the dæmonolatrous apostasy,³ with its predicted accompaniments (of which more in a later chapter) of clerical fraud, avarice, superstition, and licentiousness;⁴ till in the tenth century its moral debasement was such, as to fix on that century the appellation of the *iron age*?⁵ Or was it to fall distinctively on *Rome* itself, the western religious capital: where all these evils had been long more than elsewhere rampant;⁶ and where

¹ Such, I doubt not, were to be found in some few of the Benedictine monasteries; as well as in the more eminent exceptions of reformers, like Claude of Turin.

² See pp. 379—389 *supra*.

³ Witness, for example, Claude's account of the universal image-worship in his diocese, on his entering it about A.D. 820.

⁴ See for the *prediction* Apoc. ix. 21, a passage which will come under full review in Part iii. chap. 1; and for *historical proof* of its incipient fulfilment, before the Turkish woe, Mosheim's dark general sketches of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries, with the authorities in his margin.

To which let me add, by way of corroboration,—as Mr. Maitland has lately given a very different colour to the period in his "Dark Ages,"—a reference to the following Councils: the ixth and xvith of *Toledo*, Canons 3, 10, held A. D. 655, 693; that of *Chalons*, Canons 14, 15, 18, held 813; that of *Aquis Granum*, Canon 39, &c. held 816; that of *Paris*, Canon 25, held 829; that of *Aquis Granum* again, Canon 11, held 836; and that of *Trevis*, Canon 9, held 919.

In that of 836 the following statement is made respecting certain convents; a statement which will serve to introduce others similar that will be quoted in Part iii. ch. i, with reference to a later age; "Monasteria puellarum in quibusdam locis potius lupanaria videntur esse quàm monasteria." Hard. iv. 1398.—And in that of 829 there occurs an allusion to a habit, evidently not infrequent, of the clergy being licensed to live in concubinage, for a money-price paid to their ecclesiastical superiors; which will also there be shown by me to have had its continuance and expansion in a later age. Berengaud, a Benedictine monk of that era, reprobates it in his Comment on Apoc. xviii, as a crying sin of the time: "Scelus pessimum ab iis qui archidiaconi appellantur committitur; ab adulteris presbyteris pretium accipiunt, et tacendo in malum consentiunt." The passage is well worth referring to. The Benedictine Editor refers to the Councils of Paris, Chalons, &c. in illustration.

⁵ So Baronius; "Seculum quod pro boni sterilitate ferreum appellari consuevit."

⁶ The Roman Popes in the 8th and 9th centuries had been the main agents in effecting the enactment and reception of the *idolatrous* canons of the 2nd council

the impiety and profligacy, specially of its popes and cardinals, (witness the names of Theodora, Marozia, and John XII) had in this same tenth century risen to such a height,¹ as according not to Mosheim only, but even to Baronius, might seem to have cried to heaven, like as from another Sodom, for vengeance?

No! not so! For Antichrist (supposing our presumption as to his identity with the Roman Popes correct) had not yet grown up there to full maturity of development: and it was in God's purpose, as before said, that for this *his complete development* scope and time should be given. For the present *eastern* Christendom was to be again the chief and primary sufferer: it being indeed as much as the west sunk in the *apostacy*; though not like it subject to a *heading Antichrist*.—Here it was, I say, and *near about this time*, that the fated woe was to fall: although certainly at the time spoken of, judging by human calculations, the probability of such a visitation might have seemed very small.

It was the second Basil that was then on the throne of Constantinople;² his long reign having extended from the year 976 through the first quarter of the 11th century. And when we think what, on his looking around, and considering what was and had been, must

of Nice.—Further, the current though mistaken belief of the existence and story of the *female* Pope, *Joan*, may suffice to characterize the *moral* state of Rome and its pontificate, in the latter half of the same 9th century.

¹ "Romanorum antistitum qui hoc sæculo vixere historiam non hominum, sed monstrorum, scelorum, flagitiorum atrocissimorum historiam esse, optimi quique scriptores, et ipsi Romanorum Pontificum patroni, fatentur."—Mosh. x. 2. 2. 2. Baronius speaks of the Popes as rather *apostates* than *apostles*.

Of the earlier half of the eleventh, or next succeeding century, let the case of *Benedict IX* be taken as a sample:—a boy brought up in debauchery, and made Pope at the age of twelve: and of whose subsequent character in the Pontificate, Desiderius, Abbot of Cassino, afterwards Pope Victor III, thus writes; "Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quàm turpis, quàm fœda, quàmque execranda extiterit, horresco referre."

² He was of the *fourth* Greek dynasty subsequent to the rise of Mahommedism.—The one *then* reigning was the *Heraclian*; which continued through the seventh century, and so bore the brunt of the Saracen woe. The *next* was the *Isaurian*; which filled the eighth century, and was memorable for its part in the Iconoclastic controversy. *Thirdly* there was the less notable *Phrygian* dynasty, which continued only about fifty years: and then, *fourth*, the *Macedonian*, begun by Basil I, A.D. 867, and to which belonged also that Basil II of whom we now speak, as reigning 150 years after. It was superseded by the *Comnenian*, A.D. 1057; just in time to receive and suffer under the first *Turkish* onset.

have past before him, it will be found that he might reasonably, as I said, on mere human calculations, have prognosticated prosperity and splendour, rather than woe, to the Greek empire. For let us make the review with him.—Since the era of Haroun Al Raschid no woe, like that of the Saracens, had come near, so as to mutilate or to mar the empire of the city of Constantine.¹ The only irruption on Christendom that might at all be deemed a woe, that of the Hungarians, from 889 to 934,² had scarcely been felt in the Greek dominions. Its course had been speedily deflected from Constantinople; followed the line of the Danube into the heart of Germany; thence sent out its ravaging detachments into Italy, North Germany, and the south of France; and been then at length utterly defeated and repelled out of Christendom, into that ancient Dacian province, which has subsequently borne from them the name of Hungary. Thus enjoying a long comparative exemption from the desolations of foreign invasion, with a loyalty and civil union of its provinces unknown in other kingdoms,—the insurrectionary movements of the Greeks, when such there were, scarce ever extending beyond the day and the capital,—with a superiority of naval strength in the Mediterranean, and an active commerce, the source of national wealth resulting, the empire had had time and means to recover in no little measure from the effects of the tremendous Saracenic scourge.—There seemed indeed to be inherent in it a principle of vitality, and of endurance, unknown elsewhere. Unchanged itself, how many the changes that had been witnessed by the city of Constantine! Inviolata, how many assaults had she repulsed! Yea, more! She had within the last half century waked up, as with somewhat of the revived vigour of youth, to a measure of military enterprize and success. The two immediate predecessors of Basil,—Nicephorus and John Zimisces, had conquered Crete, Cyprus, and Cilicia

¹ So Gibbon of Constantinople in the tenth century, x. 103; "Her treasures might attract; but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the invasions of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian."

² A.D. 934 is the date of Henry the Fowler's victory: 955 of that of Otho.

from the Saracens. And Basil had himself just achieved (it was in the year 1017) a yet more important triumph, in the conquest of the *Bulgarians*:—that power of which the rise was associated with the history of Belisarius and Justinian; which had in 680 been consolidated into a kingdom; and which,—including as it did, under its jurisdiction not Bulgaria proper only, between Thrace and the lower Danube, but the provinces also, half peopled by its colonists, of Dardania, Thessaly, Epirus,¹—and connected too, as it was, with the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Croats, Wallachians, by which in the eighth and ninth centuries the whole country obliquely from the Danube to the Adriatic had been occupied and Slavonized,²—had been always, even after its embracing Christianity, as a thorn in the side to the Greek empire.³ Thus circumstanced,—with victory again attending its banners, with a measure of fresh spirit infused into both rulers and people, with its dominions extended from Antioch to Belgrade,⁴ and from the mouths of the Danube, beyond Greece, to its subjected province in the south of Italy,—was there not reason for Basil, from considerations of *its own* present state, to augur well of the future prospects of his empire?

And certainly these anticipations might have been strengthened by a consideration of the state of *other* surrounding countries. For whence was any overwhelming woe likely to arise and fall on it? From the *western European states*? But these were but constituent parts of the christian world: a guarantee it might

¹ In the famous dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople in the ninth century, the provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epiri, are assigned to the kingdom of Bulgaria. So Baronius Ann. Eccl. A.D. 869, quoted by Gibbon x. 196.—Lychnidus, or Achrida, was the Bulgarian capital, and seat of its patriarch.

² "As early," says Gibbon, x. 105, "as the eighth century, Greece, and even Peloponnesus, were overrun by some Slavonian bands, which had outstripped the royal standard of Bulgaria." He quotes from Constantine Porphyrogenitus the following; *Ἐσθλαβωθὴ πασα ἡ χώρα, καὶ γέγονε βαρβαρὸς* (Themat. ii. 6.): and from the Epitomizer of Strabo, whose date is fixed by Dodwell at A.D. 980, *Καὶ πῶς δὲ πασαν Ἠπειρον, καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδόν, καὶ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ Πελοποννήσον Ἰκύναι Ἰλλυριοὶ νύμνονται*. This was the *Illyrian* or *middle third* of the Roman Empire; on which see my page 340 *supra*.

³ In the year 960 the Bulgarian king dedicated the conditions of peace, while besieging Constantinople.

⁴ Gib. x. 351.

seem, almost of itself, against their falling *as a woe* on another division of Christendom. Moreover, if the *will* were theirs, the *power* seemed wanting. United though they were by that singular *religious* tie of looking to Rome as their common ecclesiastical head, (a relation to it from which the Greek empire had in the ninth century completely emancipated itself)¹ yet *politically* there was no confederation, nor any likely principle of combination, for common purposes of war. And separately considered, and individually, it needed not the practised eye of a Greek politician to discern their weakness. The Anglo-Saxon dynasty in *England* had just been conquered by Canute the Dane;² —a new conquest that might be expected to prolong its state of civil disunion and semi-barbarism. In *France* the Carlovingian dynasty, fallen by its own weakness, had been succeeded by that of Capet;³ and the latter,—disorganized as the whole kingdom was, and specially paralyzed by the inroads on its north-western coasts of the ferocious Normans,—shrunk from even the attempt of subjecting the independent princes that held fiefs of the crown. In the *Germanic empire* a similar multitude of independent principalities was conspicuous, even notwithstanding their temporary combination under Henry the Fowler and Otho, for the repelling of the Hungarians. The attempt of Charlemagne to bind together his vast dominions, had proved to be premature. They were compressed by his giant grasp, not combined; and when his grasp was relaxed in death, separated necessarily into their political molecules. It was possible that out of these molecules, instinct as they were with vitality, new forms of political life and energy might in time arise. But for the present a retrogradation into barbarism was the consequence. In *Spain* the christian nascent kingdoms of Asturias and Navarre had too full occupation for their rude valor and chivalry in the Moorish wars, to think of others far distant. And as for *Italy*, trisected as she was (and seemed

¹ Under the patriarchate of the famous Photius.

² A.D. 1016.

³ A.D. 987.

fated to be) between the papal estates in the centre, the northern attached to the Germanic empire, and the south, now chiefly in the hands of the Greeks themselves, what could she do, except with her papal thunders, which in Constantinople and its empire were impotent?—Thus much as regarded the states of western Christendom. To the north, the conquest of *Bulgaria* had not only removed an enemy, but restored to the empire the Danube, as its strong frontier line of defence. And the settlement of the *Hungarians* beyond it might, now that they had become christianized,¹ be deemed a further bulwark; indeed all that was needed against other invaders from that quarter.—It was true that the *Russians*, a new barbarous power, half Scandinavian, half Sclavonian, had explored another route in their naval marauding expeditions; and descending their rivers from the far North into the Euxine, had from time to time threatened and sometimes humiliated the Greek capital.² Moreover respecting them a singular prophecy was rife, said to be inscribed on an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus, to the effect that the Russians should in the last days become masters of Constantinople.³ But their power, sufficient to annoy,

¹ This was the tenth century.—The family of *Arpad* formed, and reigned 300 years over, the kingdom of Hungary; beginning 972.

² These Russian marauding excursions were continued at intervals from 865 to 1043. The christianization of Russia began, but with very partial success, during the patriarchate of Photius. The more proper era is that of the baptism of the Russian Queen Olga, in Constantinople, A.D. 955.

³ See Gibbon x. 233; "By the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was *secretly* inscribed with a prophecy," &c. And in his Note he says that this was a brazen statue which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins. He refers for authorities to Nicetas Choniates, Codinus, and a writer on the Antiquities of Constantinople, who lived about A.D. 1100. "They witness," he says, "the belief of the prophecy; the rest is immaterial."

In a curious Book entitled *Vaticinia Abbatis Joachimi*, printed at Venice A.D. 1589, the Editor, Paschalinus Regisilinus, states in his Annotations at P. 1, that certain Greeks asserted their nation's propriety in Joachim's prophecies; ascribing them to one of their emperors, of philosophic turn, named Leo, and reporting that they were engraved on an ancient column at Constantinople. Paschalinus rebuts the claim indignantly, as an injury to the prophetic fame of Joachim; and adduces evidence to show that no such engraved column or statue then existed in the Byzantine capital.—Presuming that the column or statue intended was the same with that mentioned by Gibbon, the asserted melting it down by the Latins, on their capture of the city, would account for its disappearance. That a remembrance of the prophecy itself has been kept up among Turks as well as Greeks, even till now, the author can himself testify; his Janissary having

seemed quite insufficient to conquer ; and the prophecy idle, and to be despised.—Thus the *Mahomedan dynasties* to the east and south alone remained to be considered. And certainly, split as the Saracens had been into three hostile Caliphates, and ten or twelve fragments of kingdoms,—from those of Spain, Morocco, and Fez westward, to the principalities of the Fatimites in Egypt and Syria, and so on to the Abbassides at Bagdad, and beyond them the independent dynasties of Khorasan and Persia,—I say, thus divided as they had been among themselves, and inferior as they had proved of late in battle, to the Christians, there seemed little to be apprehended from them. The only really formidable power was that, of which rumour must have told, of the Sultan *Mahmoud* of *Ghisni*, near Caubul, in the far East.¹ But this was far distant. He had almost absorbed himself in the great enterprize of the subjugation of India ; and he was now too in his old age, and the empire likely to fall to pieces at his death.—Thus even to that quarter, Basil might have looked without any great apprehension. Political security, and even prosperity, seemed assured to his Greek kingdom by the most considerate review that he could make of the then state of the world. No woe seemed from any side to threaten ; least of all from the Euphrates and Bagdad. Could a power so fallen be resuscitated ? Could religious fanaticism be rekindled from its embers, and, under a new commission, become again terrible ?

So might the royal Basil have naturally thought within himself. Devoted as he was to the Greek superstitions, it is not likely that the guilt of image-worship, and of its many accompanying corruptions, such as, we shall pre-

related it to him, and added that it was frequently talked of in the Turkish coffee-houses at Constantinople.

¹ Can it be without some high object in the divine counsels, that the *British* from the far west have, in this latter age of the world, established a political connexion and influence at Ghizni ?

[So I had written before the catastrophe at Cabul. But I conceive that we have not yet seen the end of the results of that occupation of the Ghiznivite and Cabul territory by the British. 2nd Ed.]

sently see, still flourished unchecked in the empire, would have weighed upon *his* mind, as that which must needs bring down again God's vengeance. That fearful declaration against them that receive not the love of the truth, "God shall send them strong delusion that they shall believe a lie," had already begun to have its fulfilment.—But with real Christians, such as John represented, the impression must have been most different. As they had seen one woe already sent to punish the apostate nation, so there must have sounded in their ears a foreboding sound of other judicial woes yet to come. For self-delusion was not security. Even while saying, Peace and safety, sudden destruction impended on the Greek empire; and that from the very quarter least looked to with apprehension. The agencies were prepared: the Trumpet blown again: and *the four angels*, under a new commission to destroy, let loose *from the Euphrates*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SIXTH, OR SECOND WOE TRUMPET.

"And the sixth angel sounded; and I heard one¹ voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which have been bound by the great river Euphrates.² And the four angels were loosed; which were prepared, after the hour and day and month and year,³ to slay the third part of men. And the number of the army of the horsemen were myriads of myriads:⁴ and I heard the number of them. And thus I

¹ *μὴν φωνήν*, one and the same voice.

² *τὰς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῇ ποταμῷ*, &c. that have been bound; not *δεσμένους*, that are bound.—On the rendering of the *ἐπὶ*, compare Matt. xxiv. 33, *ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θύραις*, he is near at the door; Thucydides, iii. 99, *περιπαλίων ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλφει ποταμῷ*, by the river; &c.

³ *εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτόν*. The proper rendering of this clause will be duly investigated in the sequel.

⁴ *μυριάδες μυριάδων*. Griesbach.

saw the horses in the vision, and them that sate on them, having breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone. And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions: and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone. By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths. For their power is in their mouths, and in their tails. For their tails were like serpents, having heads: and with them they do hurt.”—Apoc. ix. 13—19.

§ 1.—THE OCCASION, LOCAL ORIGIN OF, AND NATION COMMISSIONED IN, THE SECOND WOE.

“AND I heard one voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God; saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which have been bound by the great river Euphrates!—And the four angels were loosed: which were prepared for to slay the third part of men.”

I. The thing most observable in the *voice* here spoken of is *the point whence it issued*; viz. the *four horns of the golden altar of incense*. Now, when a voice of command, whether as here for the *commissioning* of judgment, or as elsewhere for its *arrest*, proceeded from the throne in the inner temple, from the heavenly Spirit, or from some divinely-appointed angel,¹—in cases like these the meaning is plain. It was an intimation that it originated from God. But what when proceeding (which is more seldom the case) from some other local point, or scene? In every such example we shall find, if I mistake not, that the locality whence the voice invocative of judgment proceeded, was one associated with the sin or guilt to be punished. So in the history of Cain, Gen. iv. 10: “The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto

¹ Compare Apoc. iv. 5, xvi. 17; xiv. 13; vii. 2, &c.

me from the ground." So in Job's protestation of innocence, xxxi. 38; "If my land cry against me, or that the furrows thereof complain; if I have eaten the fruits thereof without money, or caused the owners thereof to lose their life." So in Habakkuk's denunciation against Babylon, ii. 11; "The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it; Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity:" and, yet again, in the denunciation by St. James, iv. 4, against the Jews of his time; "The hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth." Once more in Isaiah lxvi. 6,—an example more exactly parallel with that before us,—we read; "A voice from the city! a voice from the temple! a voice of the Lord that rendereth recompence to his enemies:" and we find this preceded by an appalling statement of the manner in which not only otherwise had the Jewish citizens done evil against God, but even in the temple itself had provoked Him, by profaning its holy sacrifices and services. "He that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that offereth an oblation as if he offered swine's blood: he that burneth incense as if he blessed an idol." So that in that case the very incense-altar and altar of sacrifice, profaned as they had been by the Jews, were scenes of their guilt; and scenes consequently from which, as well as from the city of their iniquitous lives, a voice issued denouncing vengeance against them:—"A voice from the *city*; a voice *from the temple*; a voice of the Lord rendering recompence!"—Just similarly, though with an inversion of the reasoning, in the case before us, since a cry was heard announcing and commissioning judgment against the third part of men, *from the incense-altar*, in the Apocalyptic temple of vision, it was to be inferred that that mystic incense-altar had been a scene of special sin, (whether through profanation or neglect,) on the part of the above-noted division of the men of Roman Christendom.

But this explanation is only partial. The Evangelist

does not in mere general phrase describe the voice as issuing from the *incense-altar*, but specifically from the *four horns* of it: "I heard one voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God." It would seem therefore as if there had been guilt contracted, in respect of some such particular ritual as these *horns* of the altar were one and all alike concerned in. And what, we inquire, the rites of this character? I believe there were just *three* services in the Mosaic ritual, and only three, in which, agreeably with the divine injunction, this altar's horns were thus used. The two first were the *occasional atoning services* for sins of ignorance, when brought to light, either of the priests as priests, or of the people collectively as a People; the third that of the stated and solemn *annual atonement*, for the sins both of priests and people, on the great day of expiation.¹ Thus the *object* of the three services was similar: and, with the exception of what was peculiar to the great day of atonement, in the High priest's entering into the Holy of Holies and the rite of the scape-goat, there was much of similarity in the ceremonials. In each case the hands of the party seeking reconciliation and forgiveness were to be laid on the head of the victim, and his sins told over it; then, after the sacrifice of the animal victim, its blood to be sprinkled by the priest seven times before the vail of the sanctuary, and then some of the blood to be put upon the *horns* of the altar of incense. So was an atonement to be made for the sins of the transgressors, especially for their sins in respect of holy things; and so

¹ On the rite of atonement for the priest's sins of ignorance see Levit. iv. 3—7; on that for the people's, ib. 13—18; on that of the great day of atonement, Lev. xvi. 1—18.—The original command of the last-mentioned rite was given in Exod. xxx. 10. It had been previously said, with reference to that part of the usual ritualistic service with which the incense-altar was associated, "Aaron shall burn sweet incense thereon every morning and at even; a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations. Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon." So that three points were herein enforced; the offering morning and even,—the doing it by the Aaronic priesthood,—and the offering sweet incense; besides what was added elsewhere, using fire from the great altar of sacrifice: in any of which points there might be transgression. Then it is added, verse 10; "And Aaron shall make an atonement upon the *horns* of it, once in a year, with the blood of the sin-offering of atonements: once in the year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations. It is most holy unto the Lord."—We may compare also Ezek. xlii. 20.

it was promised that their sins should be forgiven them, and that the holy place, tabernacle, and altar should be cleansed from the uncleannesses of the children of Israel, and reconciled.—It was thus that king Hezekiah, with all solemnity and earnestness, made atonement for Israel, after its notable apostacy under the reign of his father Ahaz.¹ For they had, both priests and people, for years previous, forsaken the house and altars of the Lord, and sacrificed and burnt incense to other gods in every city of Judah; in spite alike of severe national chastisements, sent to bring their sin home to them, and of the remonstrances of Isaiah and other holy prophets. But this rite of atonement having been performed, the promised reconciliation with God followed. From the temple, and altar, and each blood-bedewed horn of the altar, a voice as it were went forth, not of judgment, but of mercy; of mercy through Him whose expiatory blood-shedding, and its application by Himself to purify and to reconcile, the whole ritual of atonement did but combine to typify. Instead of summoning destroying armies against Judah from the Euphrates, it staid them, when thence advancing to its invasion under Sennacherib:² (thus direct was the contrast between Israel's case under Hezekiah, and that of Christendom that we are now reviewing): it staid them, I say; and, with authority not to be resisted, bade them back.

Such were the particulars common in these three rites of atonement; and with their real and spiritual meaning, just as with that of the rest of the Levitical ritual, St. John, we know, like his beloved brother Paul, was well familiar.³ It was by this knowledge that he had been prepared to understand the intimations given from time to time respecting the religious state of the Christian Church, in the mute but significant language of what was enacted on the Apocalyptic temple-scene: specially for instance, how at the time correspondent with the

¹ See 2 Chron. xxix. 20—24.

² Ib. xxxii. 21; Is. xxxvii. 33, 34.

³ How beautiful the allusions to the Levitical services in his first epistle, i. 7, 9; ii. 2; iii. 5; v. 6; &c.

first preparing of the Trumpets of judgment, the large majority in Roman Christendom would have forsaken the great High Priest of their profession, in respect of his connection with either altar; in other words both as their atoner for sin, and as their intercessor, mediator, and offerer of their incense of prayer, on the golden incense-altar before God.¹ And now then, when, after the judgments of five successive Trumpets against them, he heard a voice denouncing judgment yet afresh from the *four horns* of the *golden altar*,—that altar which was appropriated to the true priest's offering the true incense,—those horns of which the one and only use was in the *rite of reconciliation*, (specially in respect of sins associated therewith,) for a transgressing priesthood and people,—what could he infer from the figure but this, that in spite of the fearful previous rebuke of their apostasy from heaven, neither the priesthood nor the collective people, at least of this third of Christendom, would have repented and returned:—that the offer, the means provided, and critical occasion of respite given for *reconciliation*, would have past unheeded:—specially that their idolatrous superstitions would be persisted in, and abandonment of Christ, the High Priest over the house of God, for other intercessors and mediators, just as we have seen was the very fact throughout the whole continuance of the Saracenic woe:—that thus their sins would be graven even upon the *horns of the golden altar*; and the voice of the intercessorial High Priest himself forced to pronounce from the midst of them, “Loose the four angels to slay the third part of men!”—Such, I say, would, as it appears to me, be his interpretation of the voice in question.² Issuing from the points whence it did, I think there could be no other meaning put upon it, accordantly with

¹ See on Apoc. viii. 3, p. 304, &c, *suprà*.

² Daubuz, alone of the commentators that I have seen, explains the passage under consideration by reference to these Jewish rites of atonement. But he does not particularize the special sin connected with the altar of incense. He at the same time supposes a reference also to the horns of the altar, as a *place of refuge* for criminals. But in this supposition he seems to be in error. It was the horns of the *altar of sacrifice*, not of the *altar of incense*, that were thus used. See 1 Kings i. 50—53; where the “brought down from it” implies height and ascent.

the spirit of the Levitical ritual: as also that no other imaginable typical action on the temple-scene could so accordantly with that spirit, and at the same time so simply and definitely, have intimated the important fact. —And alas! if the intent of the prefiguration was thus clear to St. John, there were answering facts in the state of Greek Christendom, at the time we speak of, equally clear to the discerning Christian. The offered opportunity for repentance and reconciliation, in regard more particularly of that crying sin against Christ of which I have been speaking, past unheeded. The guilt of *inveterate* anti-christian apostasy was fixed upon them. It was stamped on their ritual. It was stamped on their hearts. It was stamped on their very coinage. Witness the specimen here set before the reader's eye.¹

II. "And I heard one voice from the four horns of the golden altar," (each corner of the land to which the horns pointed had been alike guilty,) "saying, Loose the four angels that have been bound by the great river Euphrates! And the four angels were loosed which

¹ The coin I append, as illustrative of the saint-worship in vogue, and of their images, specially of that of the Virgin Mary, now established in the Greek empire, is a coin of the emperor John Zimisce, Emperor from 970 to 973. In this the image appears on the *reverse* surrounded with a *nimbus*, and with the letters ΜΡΘΤ, i. e. Μήτηρ Θεου, the mother of God.—It seems that after defeating the Bulgarians, he placed on a chariot, taken among the spoils, an image of the Virgin of great reputed sanctity; made with it a triumphant entry into Constantinople; then deposited it with great solemnity in the principal church: where it was afterwards kept, like that of Minerva of old, as the Palladium of the state. So Walsh on Ancient Coins, p. 134.

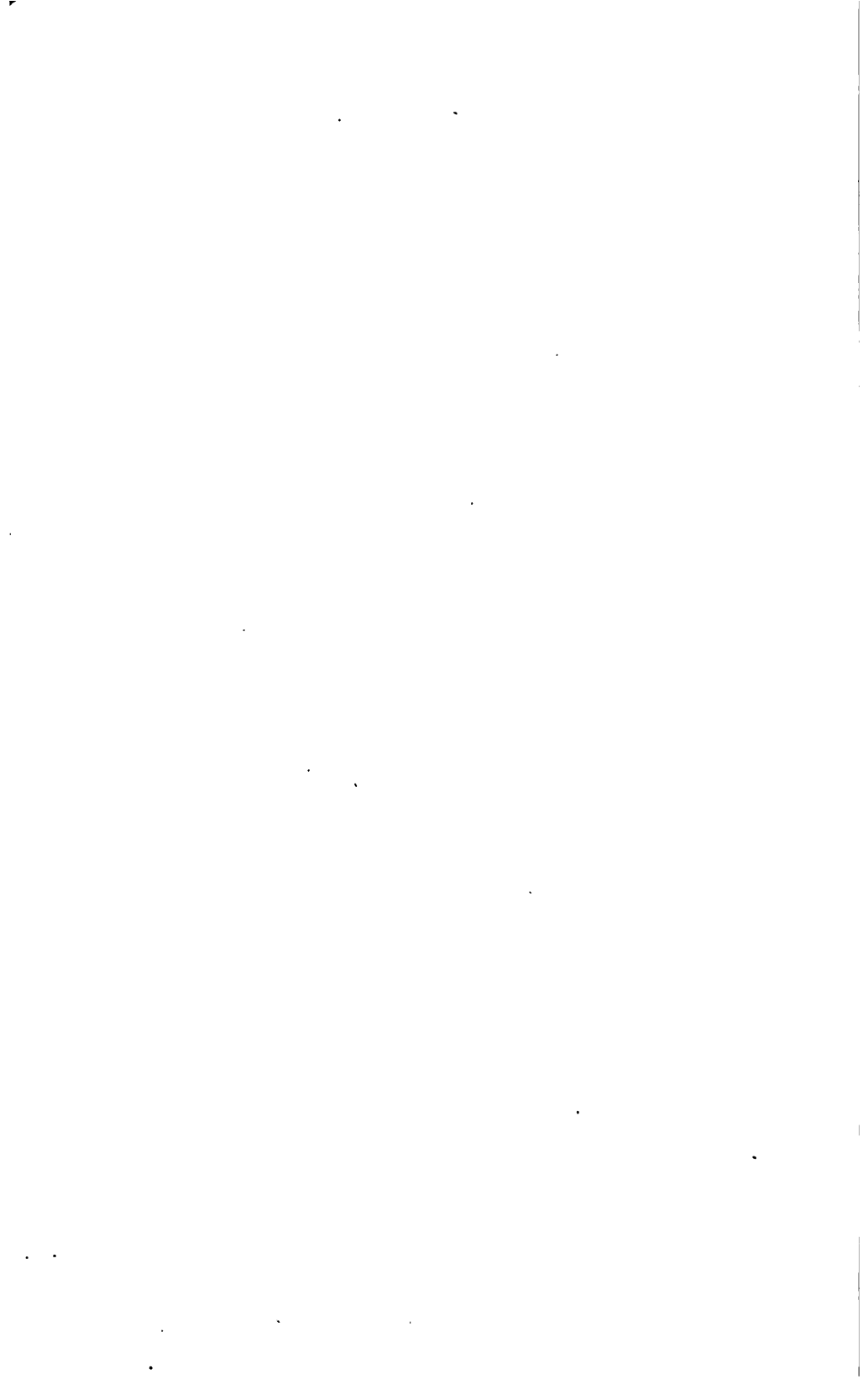
It is added by Mr. Walsh that the Emperor John Zimisce was the *first* thus to represent the image of the Virgin on the Greek coins; and further that coins of the Basilian or Comnenian Imperial families subsequent to J. Zimisce, and clearly bearing this device, are scarcely to be found. But Rasche (iii. 246) instances the same device both in coins of Theophano and Nicephorus Phocas before John Zimisce, and also on coins of Romanus Diogenes, (the same that was defeated and taken prisoner by the Turks,) Isaac I, Constantine XI, and others of the Comnenian family *subsequent*. (See too the Dissertation annexed to Duncange's Supplement p. 27, and Plates 3 and 7.)—Thus the reader may regard the specimen given as characteristic of the Constantinopolitan coinage, as well as superstition, at least through the times of the *Selyukian* Turks, and up to the temporary capture of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders. Subsequent to its recovery from the Latins, the superstition continued in full force, though the coinage is wanting to attest it. During the very last siege of Constantinople, and just before its storming by the Othman Turks, the divine *image of the Virgin* was brought out, and exhibited in solemn procession, as the last and best hope of the Greeks.

COIN OF THE EMPEROR JOHN ZIMISCES.



Illustrative of the Image-Worship then established in the Greek Empire.

From Walsh.



were prepared for to slay the third part of men."—The question comes now before us, Who, or what, might be these angels?—angels *four* in number;—angels *commissioned in the work of judgment*, and here specially for the destruction of the third part of men;—angels that had been *bound* previous to the blast of this Trumpet, apparently as if in action before the act of binding;—and whose binding had begun and continued *by the great river Euphrates*? Who, I say, or what these angels?—The notorious fact of the *Turks* having subverted the empire of Eastern Christendom, has naturally and reasonably suggested a reference to *them*, as the grand subject of the sixth Trumpet-vision. And, led by this conviction, the majority of Protestant interpreters, I mean of those who regard the Apocalypse as already in great measure fulfilled, have sought to explain the four angels of *four Turkman*, or, at least *four Mussulman powers*, that, in succession, or contemporaneously, took part in this work of destruction. But the interpretations are found on examination to be, one and all, inadmissible. As the commissioning and loosing of the four angels in vision was but *a single act*, so the agencies symbolized must necessarily have been *at one and the same time* loosed or commissioned: by which consideration alone all such *successions* of destroying agencies are excluded, as Vitringa, and after him Woodhouse, have suggested in explanation.¹ And as to *cotemporary* Turkman dynasties, whether we refer to the list given by Mede and by Newton after him, or that by Faber and by Keith from Mills and Gibbon,² there is no quaternion of them that can be shewn

¹ Vitringa proposes the *Saracens*, the *Seljukian Turks*, the *Tartars* under Zenghis and Tamerlane, and the *Othmans*. So also Woodhouse; they being four Mahomedan nations, he says, memorable near the Euphrates. But,—besides the decisive objection mentioned above,—it is plain that the *Saracens*, having been the subject of the former Trumpet, cannot be figured here. Moreover after they became a *Euphratean* power, they ceased to be a destroying woe to Christendom. As to the *Tartars* under Zenghis and then Tamerlane, how did they help to destroy the Greek empire? The *former* destroyed, not the Greeks, but the *Seljukian* Turkish dynasty, that was long the chief enemy of the Greeks. The latter overthrew Bajazet, Sultan of the Othoman Turks, another most deadly enemy of their empire; and thereby delayed its fall, instead of accelerating it, for perhaps half a century.

² Mede's list gives us the dynasties of Bagdad, Damascus, Aleppo, and Ico-

either to have combined together in the destruction of the Greek empire,—to have been all locally situated by the Euphrates,—to have had existence at the time asserted to be that of the commissioning of the four angels,—or to have continued in existence up to the time of the completion of the commission given, in the destruction, of the Greek empire.¹ In short the manifest inconsistency with historic fact of every such attempted solution has been hitherto, in the minds of the more learned and inquiring prophetic students, like as it were a mill-stone about the neck of the whole Turkish theory of interpretation.

But *who* then, we must repeat, or *what*, these four angels? And does the impossibility of finding four Turkman powers answering to the description, affect

nium: founded, he says, from 1055 to 1080, A.D; and of which the three last, I may observe, were founded during Malek Shah's life, and were dependent on him. So Bishop Newton also. The list given by Faber and Keith is the quarterion into which Malek Shah's empire split on his death, A.D. 1092; viz. Persia, Kerman, Syria, Roum.—The two lists are nearly similar: there being this difference only, that *Kerman* has place in the *latter*, not in the *former*; and that *Mede's Aleppo and Damascus* are supposed in it to have coalesced into the one kingdom, if so it be called, of *Syria*.

¹ The fact of decisive objections existing against the lists, such as noted above, *chronological, geographical, and historical*, will thus appear. 1. *Chronological*: That *Mede's* four dynasties did not all come into existence till some time after A.D. 1057,* whence he and Keith compute the hour, day, month, and year, follows from the dates of their founding, from 1055 to 1092, just given. Again Faber's *Kerman* dynasty perished above a century before 1301, his date of the loosing.† 2. As to *geographical situation* *Kerman* was separated from the *Euphrates* by 500 miles of space at the nearest, and by the intervening kingdom of Persia; *Roum* (or *Iconium*) by the Halys and Mount Taurus; *Damascus* by the desert. So far were the four from being all watered, as Keith represents, by the Euphrates and its tributaries. 3. *Historically* considered, neither *Kerman* nor *Persia* had any thing to do with the Turkish wars against the Greek empire. And as to the *Syrian* Moslem dynasty, whether under Nouredin or Saladin, though it had much to do with the Latin crusaders, it had little concern with the Greeks. I may add that *Syria* was not united to the Turkman power till Sultan Selim's time, A.D. 1517, long after the taking of Constantinople.—It was the Turkish dynasty of *Roum*, or *Iconium*, that was alone charged with the commission of slaying the third part of men.

Foxe,—the earliest interpreter I have seen that applies this prophecy to the Turks,—expounds the four angels of the Turks from Persia, Tartary, Arabia, Scythia. Martyrs, iv. 102. To this theory similar objections apply.

Mr. Cuninghame, after mentioning each of these solutions, and his dissatisfaction with them, finally takes refuge with Woodhouse in the number *four* as a sacred and complete number! *πᾶσα ἐν τῇ τετραδῷ.*

* This is *Mede's* and Keith's date of the investiture; but it should be A.D. 1058, as will hereafter be shewn.

† Gibbon x. 369, Note 47.

the truth of the general reference of the vision to the Turks? By no means. We need only to look at the nature and use of angels, as represented in the apocalyptic prefigurations, to have suggested a view of the point in question very different, and one that will leave the rest of the Turkish interpretation altogether unincumbered.

For in the apocalyptic prophecy, just as in all other revealed Scripture, the angels figured as acting on earth seem to mean, almost uniformly, *superhuman angelic intelligences*, bearing commission from God as the executors of certain defined purposes in his providential government; and in execution of them making use of, directing, controlling, and over-ruling certain earthly and human agencies subordinate.—In such case the *number* of angels specified is not conformed to the number of earthly agents subordinately employed, whether national or individual. For example, the circumstance of its being *one* angel, (Apoc. xiv. 6,) that was seen flying in mid-heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation under heaven, (and the remark applies to the other two angels also that in succession followed,) did not imply that it would be *one nation* only that would furnish the earthly agency. Many probably might be co-operators in the work. Again, the specification of *four* angels in Apoc. vii, as appointed to desolate the Roman empire, was no intimation of *four nations*, exactly and only, being intended to combine in that desolation. Rather the number four was chosen in accordance simply with the *propriety*, or what older commentators call the *decorum*, of the figure. The thing intended to be figured being that from every side fierce tempests of invaders would fall on the devoted empire, *four angels* of the winds was the number depicted on the apocalyptic scene; in correspondence with the well known fact that *four winds*, of the *four corners of the heaven*, are the proverbial representatives of *all* the winds.¹

From the above there follows this obvious inference, with respect to the passage before us, that there is no

¹ Jer. xlix. 36; Ezek. xxxvii. 9; Dan. vii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 31, &c.

necessity to suppose four *earthly* powers to be prefigured as combining in the work of the sixth Trumpet, because four *angelic* agencies are represented as concerned;—rather that the number of the latter may have been chosen from considerations altogether different. And besides this there is further suggested the suspicion that, as the number of angels *here* mentioned is the same with the number mentioned in chap. vii, (and it is mentioned, let me add, no where else in the Apocalypse,) so it is not unlikely that they may be, the one and the other, the *very same identical quarternion* of angels. Which idea once suggested, it will I think only need that we trace out the characteristics stated or implied of the first-mentioned quarternion, and compare them with those stated or implied of the other, in order to be convinced of their identity, and to see that this is indeed the true and simple solution of the whole matter.

With regard then to the *four tempest-angels* of Apoc. vii, the nature and range of the executive commission given them under the sixth Seal, was thus defined, “to hurt the *land* and *trees* and *sea*,”¹ of course of the Roman world:—a commission, let it be observed, of very general and large import, in so far as that world was concerned; and possibly of long duration, too, even as that of the 144,000 sealed by way of protection from them: although liable to arrests and interruptions, such as in fact checked them at the time of their first appearance; more especially in subordination to Christ’s purposes and provision for the preservation and good of these his election of grace.—Which being their commission, and the angels figured as ready, with the winds in leash, to execute it, the instant that restraint was withdrawn,—it could not surely be but that the process and results of their acting it out should also enter into the figuration.²

¹ Apoc. vii. 1.

² The circumstance of the angels themselves not being again mentioned in the subsequent figurations of judgments no more negatives this fact, than the subsequent silence, after the first mention of *their* loosing, about the angels from the Euphrates; whom yet we all know to have been the spirits, whether seen or unseen afterwards, that impelled and directed the woe of the Euphratean horsemen.

—Admitting which, and considering that on the next or seventh Seal being presently after opened, the judgments thereupon inflicted on the apostate world were pictured under the *tempest-like* figures,¹ first and introductorily, of thunderings and lightnings and an earthquake,² then, on the two first trumpets sounding, of hail and volcanic fire, affecting (as it is expressed with singular coincidence of phrase) “the *land*, and *trees*, and *sea*,”³—considering this, it must, I think, be deemed incredible but that these selfsame judgments were the primary results of the acting of the above-mentioned four tempest-angels. —And if so, why suppose their commission and their action to terminate with the second Trumpet? Why not rather to go on under the third Trumpet, and the fourth; seeing that it is still the same third of the Roman world that is the scene of the infliction; and that the meteoric judgment of the third Trumpet, at least, is as notoriously associated as those preceding, alike in poetic figure and in nature, with winds and tempests?⁴—Thus have we advanced to the fifth Trumpet; and have only once more to inquire why, if the four destroying angels were in action thus far, we should negative the idea of their acting still: so as in fact, gathering round,⁵ to have brought the locusts on Christendom:⁶ especially considering that the same body of

¹ As to the *thunderings, lightnings, and hail*, of the seventh Seal's introductory Vision and first Trumpet, it is needless to show the connexion of *winds* with them. It is notorious. With regard to their association with *earthquakes* and *volcanic fire*, as under the second Trumpet, I may suggest Isa. xxix. 6. xxx. 30, for scriptural examples; and further beg to refer to authentic accounts of most great volcanic eruptions, in illustration. For example, in that at Sumbawa, (noticed by me p. 345 *supra*.) Daubeny says; “Between nine and ten, ashes began to fall; and soon after a violent *whirlwind* ensued, which blew down nearly every house in the village of Sangir,” &c. Daubeny on Volcanoes, p. 34.

² Apoc. viii. 5.

³ Apoc. viii. 7, 8.

⁴ So Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 365;

“Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis
Præcipites cœlo labi, &c.

And with the obscuration of heavenly luminaries, so as in the fourth Trumpet, the winds are also associated as in Matt. xxiv. 29.

⁵ The view taken supposes the combined action of these angels under each of the Trumpets,—just as of the four winds let loose against Elam in Jeremiah xlix. 36, of the *πνεύματα ἀνεμοί* of Homer, and the “*Unâ Euræusque Notusque*,” &c. of Virgil,—to introduce and to direct the judgment-woes.

⁶ So Exod. x. 13; “The east wind brought the locusts.”—Similar is their association also with *river-floods*; such as appear from Apoc. xvi. 12 to have

Christ's sealed ones, that were originally noted in association with the four tempest-angels, are referred to as on the scene now also:¹ and the same care implied in the charge given to the *earthly* agency of the scorpion-locusts, that these sealed ones of Christ should not be harmed in the infliction, as in the tempest-angels' original commission. Nor can I see any reasonable ground for pronouncing against this view.

Thus much as to the probable *acting* of the four tempest-angels.—Then as to their *restrainings* let two things be observed. The *one* is, that in any case of the restraint being long and entire, (so, for example, as when the Saracen woe ceased,) the figurative phrase *bound* would be perhaps the most fitting of all others to designate it, considering the element they impersonated; whether judged of by classical or scripture usage.²—The *other* is that, supposing the local spot of their arrest, and cessation to act,—in other words, that of the *earthly* agency directed

been the accompaniment of the lion-headed horses, that issued at the blast of the sixth Trumpet, from the swellings of the Euphrates against Christendom. So Matt. vii. 25, &c.

Let me further observe here, that the action of these angels of the winds as God's commissioners, is not inconsistent with the cotemporary action, though in another way, of a *spirit* or *angel from hell*:—such, I mean, as in the fifth Trumpet is described as acting in and influencing the locusts: or, again, such as is spoken of in the xiith Apocalyptic chapter as urging on the Gothic invasions; they being there represented as a flood out of the mouth of the dragon, though in the viiith figured as tempests raised and directed by the angels of the winds. I say there is in this conjunction of the two agencies no inconsistency. For it is but an exemplification of a truth uniformly taught in the Bible; viz. that evil angels are permitted to act in this world's political affairs, as well as good: in such wise, however, as that the former are overruled and controlled by the latter; and that nothing can result which is not according to the will and foreseen purpose of God.—See what is said in chap. xii. 7, of the action of *the devil and his angels*, as well as of *Michael and his*, in the affairs of this world. Compare too the striking narrative in Job i, ii; and also Dan. x. 12, 13.

¹ Apoc. ix. 4; "It was said to them that they should only hurt the men that had *not* the seal of God on their foreheads:" a charge implying the existence, and the protective care over, those that had it.

² So Virgil depicts the tempest-winds as *bound* when inactive. Æn. i;

Hic vasto rex Æolus antro

Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras

Imperio premit, ac *vinculis et carcere frænât*.

He also speaks, in similar figure, of their being *loosed*, when afresh raging;—
qui fœdere certo

Et premere, et *laxas* sciret dare jussus habenas.

In all this Virgil follows Homer.—Compare also Prov. xxx. 4; "Who hath gathered the winds in his fists;" where, as in Virgil, the winds of all the four quarters are depicted as gathered and held in *one* spot;—also Psalm cxxxv. 7.

by them lapsing into quietude,—to be one very marked, then it would just be accordant with scriptural analogy to represent them as bound *at that selfsame spot*. So, for example, in the memorable instance of the angel of pestilence, commissioned against David and Israel. His course having advanced with the pestilence from Dan to Beersheba, he is described as with hand outstretched locally over Jerusalem to destroy it, at the time when the plague was there commencing to destroy; and also to have been *arrested* and *stayed* locally at *that very spot*, viz. by the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, where, as well as when, the plague was stayed.¹—Now then, applying this Scripture mode of speaking of angelic agencies, to the case of the Saracen locust-plague of the fifth Trumpet, and supposing the angels of chap. vii. to have both acted in it during its progress, and ceased acting when it ceased, the locality at which their *arrest* might be fitly described as taking place, could be no other than that where the plague itself received its arrest, viz. *Bagdad by the Euphrates*;² the place where they might fitly be said to have *remained fettered and bound*, no other than that where the power of the Saracen caliphate remained paralyzed in its declension, and had at length its temporal power of the sword formally taken from it;—still the same *Bagdad by the Euphrates*.

In fine the conclusion we are forced to is this;—that both in respect of the local spot of their previous arrest,

¹ 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16, &c.: 1 Chron. xxi. 15, 16, &c.

² It has been already mentioned (see p. 437) that Bagdad was built on the Tigris, within some twenty or thirty miles from the Euphrates. It had in the twelfth century, according to Benjamin of Tudela, a canal from the Euphrates falling into the Tigris at that very spot. In the course of years changes have taken place, and some of the canals been dried up. But it may be well to add two statements, the one from an ancient author, the other from a modern, to show that the level of the Tigris there has been always lower than that of the Euphrates; and the intervening land such as to allow of the Euphratean water, whether by canal or otherwise, finding its way to Bagdad or its neighbourhood. 1st. *Arrian*, who says, vii. 7; ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολὺ τι ταπεινότερον ἔχει τῇ Εὐφράτει, διαρρυχὰς πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δεχεται—2ndly, *Buckingham*, who in his *Mesopotamia*, p. 495, observes; “Near the bend of the Tigris, about two hours below Bagdad, we were shown the marks of an inundation all the way from the Euphrates; rafts even coming over from one river close to the other by its waters. This . . . proves that the bed of the Euphrates is higher at Felugiah, than that of the Tigris at Bagdad, in the line of east and west.”

and in respect of the local spot of their subsequent continued restraint, our description of the *four-tempest-angels* of judgment, commissioned originally in Apoc. vii. 1, must at this point of time (on the hypothesis of the prolongation of their commission and their acting) have exactly answered to what was said or implied at the sixth Trumpet's sounding of *that very quaternion of angels*, (for I now turn to them) *that were to act in that Trumpet's woe*:—they too being said to have *been bound*, (after an implied period of *previous acting*), and to have also *continued bound, by the great river Euphrates*.¹

Thus the characteristics of the one quaternion of angels and of the other agreeing, they may be fairly considered identical. And the *Turkish* interpretation of the sixth Trumpet being freed from the difficulty of showing four Turkman nations answering to the four Euphratean angels, which has so long and so fatally encumbered it, it only remains, in explanation of so much of the prophecy as stands at the head of this Section, that I show respecting the *Turkman power*, or new *earthly* agency, as I presume, employed under the *angelic*,—

IIIrdly, the two points following:—1st, that the *locality* where it received *its* commission, was the same as that where the preceding Saracenic scourge was arrested and bound, viz. *Bagdad, by the Euphrates*; 2ndly, that its people and power, then and there commissioned, *continued thenceforward in political life and action*; so as, in due time, to effect the work assigned to the Euphratean horsemen in vision, of *slaying the third part of men*.

And to prove these two points, nothing more will be necessary than to trace, in brief narrative, the history of the Turkman nation, from its first commissioning as a

¹ Since this was written my attention has been directed by a friend to the words *αἰώνιος* and *αἰώνιοι*, instead of *αγγελῶν* and *αγγέλαι*, among Griesbach's various readings, as readings in the Codex N. 30. In my History of Apocalyptic Interpretation, given in the Appendix to my Vol. iv, it will be seen that Primasius and Ambrose Ansbert so read the verses.

Moslem power against Christendom, to the time of the fall of Constantinople.

1. In my sketch of the state of the world, coterminously, given in the last Chapter, as that which might have suggested itself to the mind of the second Basil at the commencement of the eleventh century, the name of *Mahmoud of Ghizni* was mentioned as the only reigning potentate, whose power could reasonably have been deemed formidable to the Greek empire. It was also noted, as that which might allay apprehensions of danger from that quarter, that Mahmoud seemed absorbed in his Indian conquests; that he was then in his old age; and that his empire was likely, in all human probability, to fall to pieces at his death.—We now proceed to observe, that, as it might then have seemed probable, so it happened. In the year 1028, three years after Basil's own death, Mahmoud died: and at his death, forthwith his vast empire began to fall to pieces. Among his subjects had been numerous *Turkman* tribes,—descendants of those Turks of Mount Altai from whom, in the seventh century, the Avars had fled, and with whom the emperor Justin had negotiated:—tribes whom it had been Mahmoud's policy to move southward to Khorasan, a country between the Himalaya and the Caspian; thereby to separate them more entirely from their countrymen beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes. It was these that were now to become a woe to Christendom. Soon after Mahmoud's death (it was in the year A.D. 1038) they rose in assertion of their independence; chose *Togrul Beg* of the house of *Seljuk* as their chief; defeated and killed Mahmoud's son Massoud; drove the Ghiznivite nobles eastward to the banks of the Indus; and stood forth before the world as the chief power in central Asia.—Originally idolaters in religion, they had lately, both prince and people, embraced with fervour the religion of Mahomet: and, being thus co-religionists, were called in the year 1055 to his assistance by the Prophet's Vicar, the *Caliph of Bagdad*, on occasion of some threatening danger of domestic factions. And then

the following memorable consequence resulted. (I state it in brief, because the history must be given by me more in detail in the next Section.) After the quelling of the factions, and the extinction of the weak dynasty of the Bowides, who had ruled since A.D. 933 in Persia, their chief, Togrul, was appointed by the caliph *his Lieutenant*; (the inauguration being performed soon after with solemnity suited to the importance of the occasion;) and the Turk hereby legitimately constituted temporal lieutenant of the Prophet's Vicar, and so head of the secular power of Islamism. Then and thence was the reviving and reloosing of the long quiescent Moslem power against *Roman Christendom*.¹ And I must here pray the reader well to mark the *place*; as I shall in the next Section call on him to mark the *time*. For it was the very place noted in the prophecy, as that from whence the destroying angels, under the sixth Trumpet-blast, were to be loosed and re-commissioned to destroy,—*Bagdad, by the Euphrates*.

This was *one* point that we were to prove in respect of the Turks. It only needs to pursue their history to see in it the fulfilment of the *other*,

2. Thus invested then, and with a freshness of fanatic fervour which spoke them animated by the same *spirit from hell* as their early Arab precursors, a holy war against Greek Christendom was speedily, in the very spirit of their commission, resolved on. The chief Togrul himself dying, it fell to his nephew *Alp Arslan*,—the successor to the office, title, and spirit of his uncle, and “with his name, next after that of the Caliph, similarly pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems,”²—

¹ So Turner in his *History of England*, Vol. i. p. 207: “Togrul Beg produced a revolution still more momentous to the mind and fortunes of mankind. Under his reign the great Turkish nation adopted the religion of Mahomet. And professing it with all the energy of their native character, and all the zeal of recent converts, they became its fierce champions at that precise era when it was losing its hold on the human intellect; and, but for the support of their simple, rude, uncriticizing, credulous, and vehement spirit, might have quietly expired.” I copy from Mr. Forster's *Mahomm. Unveiled*, i. 221.

² The Turks deem no Sultan legitimately inaugurated until the Hutbe prayers, on a regularly appointed Friday, shall have been solemnly offered up, for the health and prosperity of the new sovereign. Faber, S.C. ii. 297.

to execute the project. Bearing in the very name of Alp Arslan, "the Valiant Lion,"¹ both his own character and that of his army,—according to the prophetic symbol (of which more in the next Section,) "I saw in the vision the heads of the horses as the heads of lions,"—"he passed the Euphrates," so Gibbon describes it, A.D. 1063, "at the head of the Turkish cavalry: and the loss of the kingdom and frontier of Armenia (1065) was the news of a day." The then emperor Diogenes Romanus (successor, after two or three brief reigns intervening, to Basil) hastened to the defence of his empire.² Franks, Normans, Bulgarians, mingled with the Greeks to add strength to his army. But in the fatal field near Malazgerd (A.D. 1071) his army was defeated, himself taken prisoner, and the fate of the Asiatic provinces sealed irretrievably.—The victorious career of Alp Arslan himself against Greek Christendom was indeed cut short by assassination. But it was followed up under *Malek Shah*, the greater son of a great father: him of whose empire we read that it extended, in its *final* amplitude, from the Chinese frontier, west and south, as far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, (now just taken from the Fatimites,) and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix.—I say the victorious career of the Turks against Greek Christendom was continued under him. For it was under the shadow of his sceptre, as the Asiatics express it, that *Suleiman*, one of the many Seljukian subordinate princes, achieved in 1074 the conquest of Asia Minor; and, with *Nice* as his capital, founded what was then the *dependent* principality of *Asia Minor*, or *Roum*. This was indeed, as says the historian, "the most deplorable

¹ This kind of title, which reminds one of those of the American Indians, seems to have been common among the Turkmans. So *Kizil-Arslan*, the *red lion*, as D'Herbelot, iii. 370, in the Article on *Tacash* explains it; a chief cotemporary with Thogrul Beg: and again, *Kilidge Arslan*, the Sultan of the Turks encountered by the Franks of the first Crusade, at Nice.

² In 1066 appeared the *great Comet*; great as never seen before. "The appalled multitude," as it has been said, "gazed night after night at the messenger of evil; the long-haired star darting its awful splendour from the horizon to the zenith:"—a portent that "with fear of change perplexed monarchs." Quart. Rev. Oct. 1844, p. 301.

loss that the church and the empire had sustained since the first conquests of the Caliphs." Nor did the severity of the scourge end at Malek's death. For though of three out of the four kingdoms into which his dominions then split, I mean of Persia, Kerman, and Syria, none had anything to do with the desolation of the Greek empire, the destiny of Roum, now become an *independent* kingdom, was different.—It seems that Suleiman had been originally urged to the war against the christian infidels by the voice of the Caliph, as well as of the supreme Sultan: and as he deserved from them the title of *Gazi*, or *Holy Champion*, by the vigour and success with which he conducted it, so by the manner also in which he continued to make it subservient to the propagation of the Mahomedan faith. Throughout the whole extent of the new kingdom, from the Euphrates to Constantinople, mosques were built, the laws of the Koran established, the mission of Mahomet preached, Turkish manners and language made to prevail in the cities, and Turkman camps scattered over the mountains and plains. On the hard condition of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion. But their most holy churches were profaned, their priests insulted, thousands of the children circumcised, and of their brethren multitudes induced to apostatize. Alexius trembled on the imperial throne of Constantinople, and in plaintive letters implored the succours of western Europe:¹ for unless some great intervention should occur to prevent it, it threatened to extinguish his empire, and kill his third part of the men.

And such an intervention did in fact arise. The *Crusades* (as I shall again have to notice in the next Section) began, and continued for two centuries; not indeed so as to avert the destruction, but to delay it. And what I wish, at the present point of our inquiry, to call the reader's attention to, is this; that throughout those two centuries,—a period memorable in the historic page, as

¹ See the history in Gibbon, whose words I chiefly use.

comprehending within it the rise, progress, and end of the Crusades from western Europe,—the *Turkish Sultany of Roum*, in spite of the hostility thus aroused against it, still all through *preserved its vitality*. The host of the *first* Crusaders, indeed (A.D. 1097) having taken Nice, and once and again defeated the Turkman hordes, forced them to move back the capital of their now contracted territory into the interior, to Iconium.¹ But in 1147 the leaders of the *second* Crusade, Conrad and King Louis VII, had in melancholy strains to relate to their countrymen that the power and spirit of the Anatolian Sultan remained unquenched; and how the bones of their christian hosts lay bleaching among the Pamphylian hills, a monument of the continued sharpness of the Turkish arrows. Yet again in the *third* Crusade, A.D. 1189, the Emperor Frederic 1st, traversing the same route to the Holy Land, found every step of his fainting march besieged by the still innumerable hordes of the Turkmen: till, in desperation, he stormed Iconium, and forced the Sultan to sue for peace.—It was not until the next century that a power of a different character, and from a different quarter, viz. that of the *Moguls*, under one of the generals of *Zenghis*, sweeping across Anatolia, broke the kingdom of Iconium: and then it was not so as to extinguish the *Turkman power* in Asia Minor, but only the *Seljukian* dynasty that had ruled over it.

Not, I say, the Turkman power. For so it had been ordered by an over-ruling Providence, that, just before this destroying Mogul irruption, a fresh band of Turkmen from Charisme and the Oxus, under Ortogrul and his son Othman, fleeing from the Moguls, had in A.D. 1240 engaged themselves in the service, and become subjects of the kingdom of Aladin, the then Sultan of Iconium.² And when the Seljukian dynasty had

¹ Gibbon xi. 104.

² "Ortogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin; and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of 200 families, whom he governed fifty-two years (A.D. 1247—1299) in peace and war." Gib. xi. 432.

been extinguished, as before stated, one of these, reuniting some of the broken fragments, furnished a new head to the Turkmans of Anatolia. Gradually, but continuously, this process of reunion went on under the Othmans: the decline of the Moguls, and death of Cazan of the house of Zenghis, having, as Gibbon says,¹ given free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman Empire. And at length, in the course of the 14th century, every fragment having been united by them, and the whole of Anatolia (including both Iconium and Nice, the more ancient and the later capital) embraced in their dominion, even as in the earlier and palmy days of Suleiman's greatness,—with the same manners, language, and laws remaining to it as before, as well as the same religion, and with an armorial memento too, as I I believe, of the Seljukian ensign, in the crescent that gilded and surmounted its banners,²—it might truly be

¹ xi. 431.

² The origin and date of the adoption of the *crescent* as a Turkish ensign, has been a subject of much difference of opinion among the learned. Many suppose that it was not adopted till the taking of Constantinople; and then because of its having been a symbol of old Byzantium. So Franciscus Menenius and Busquebius; towards whose opinion Paulus Pater leans, as I am informed, in his Dissertation entitled "*Insignia Turcica*;" though allowing the uncertainty of the question. Von Hammer too thinks it not improbable that European writers (among whom are Gibbon, Hallam, Mills, &c.) may have been guilty of anachronism; and have spoken of the crescent, as waving on the banners of Saladin and the Seljukian Turks, *by anticipation*.

On the other hand, Sir Harford Jones Brydges, whose oriental knowledge is well known, and who has been engaged in a *Life of Saladin*, gives it as his opinion on the subject, (as I learn through the kindness of Sir Robert Inglis,) that the crescent was one of the earliest bannerial distinctions used by the Sunni Mahomedans. Thus he thinks that Saladin, for example, (who was a Sunni) carried a crescent marked on a *green* flag, the Abbassides of Bagdad on a *black*.

For my own part I cannot but strongly incline to the latter view. For 1st, it seems little credible to me that the Turks should have gone back above 1000 years to the antiquities of the old Byzantium for an ensign. 2nd. I read in D'Herbelot, on the word *Takash*, that in a poem composed by one Kemaleddin in honor of his prince, a Chorasmian Turkman, after his defeating the Seljukian Thogrul Beg, there occurs in it the passage following: "*Takash will raise the religion and state of the Mussulmans as high (as the Seljukids themselves)*. The *crescent*, which glitters above his pavilions, has already received the homage of the greatest princes on earth." So that at that early date, about A.D. 1070, it is spoken of as a *Mussulman* ensign. 3rd. In the conquest of Muscovy, about 1250 A.D. by Tartar detachments from Zenghis Khan, we read that, on converting the churches of the country into mosques, they fixed the *crescent* as the badge of Mahomedanism upon them: and that when, 200 years after, John Basovitch delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and restored the churches, he left the crescent standing, and planted a cross over it.—See Rees' *Encyclopædia*, on the word *Crescent*.

said, as Gibbon remarks with his usual accuracy, that the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians had again revived under the Ottoman princes. The ruling dynasty was indeed different; and a brief interval of anarchy had passed before the revival: but not so (let the reader well mark the point) as to affect the unity and continuity of the Turkman Anatolian kingdom. Just as the Visigothic power in Spain was continued under Pelayo and his successors, or as the Frank kingdom, after the dissolution of the Carolingians and anarchy consequent, was yet kept up in the new line of Hugh Capet,—just as, (to take a biblical example,) Judah, when revived under Nehemiah or the Maccabean princes, after the longer or shorter periods of interregnum consequent on the invasions of Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus, was still regarded in scripture prophecy and promise, as the same Judah,—so is the identity of the Ottoman with the old Seljukian empire demonstrable, on this reorganization of the Turkman power.¹ And as under the one dynasty it began the fulfilment of the prophecy of the sixth apoca-

Hence on the whole I infer that it was, as a *Mussulman* ensign, common to various Mussulman nations, as early as the 11th century; and so to the Seljukian Turks, the chief of the Mussulmans.—Considering the Turks' (I might say the Moslems') reverence for the new moon, of which Purchas speaks in his Pilgrimage, p. 295, the ensign was very natural.

Mr. Forster in his late work on Arabian Geography, i. 340, assuming that the crescent was a *Saracenic* banner, suggests the passage Judg. viii. 21, "Gideon took away the *ornaments* (*Marg. ornaments like the moon*) that were on the camel's necks," (of the Midianites Zeba and Zalmunna,) in illustration. "The regal crescent," he says, "on the war-camels of the Midianitish kings would naturally pass into the standard of the nation, and hence become the standard of Mahomet and his followers." He allows, however, that no mention of the *crescent* occurs in the early history of the Saracens. And I believe it was a *Turkman* ensign, not *Arabian*.

¹ Foze in his *Eicamsi in Apocalypsin*, explaining this Trumpet of the *Turks*, similarly traces the continuity of the Seljukians and Othmans. "Turcos post 192 annos Tartari attracti ab Armeniis, A.D. 1240, deturbatos principatu, sibi parere coegerunt. Et si Turci ipsi nondum prorsus aboliti sparsim quedam retinuerunt in Cappadocia, Galatia, et Bithynia. Principe tantum caruerunt; donec, Tartarorum imperio paulatim labefacto, circa A.D. 1300 pristinam denuo potentiam sub principe Othmanno recuperarunt."

So too Mills, *Hist. of Mahommedism*; "The Seljuks of Iconium and the Chorasmanian Tartars became one people, known by the common name of *Ottoman Turks*; and the sword and sceptre of power were transferred from the sluggish Seljukian princes to their ambitious and enterprising generale." p. 261.

I believe the title *Tartar* is here incorrectly given to the Ottoman Turks. M. Khaproth distinguishes between Turks and Tartars; considering the former as of Caucasian, the latter of Mongol race.

lyptic Trumpet, so under the other, as I must now briefly notice, it completed it.

Although indeed, as to the rest, what need it to tell the well-known history? Of the Sultans Othman and Orchan, Amurath and Bajazet, 'who knows not; and of the passage of their victorious armies across the Hellespont? Who knows not how, from the Danube to the Adriatic, the European provinces of the empire were then, one after another, rent from it by the ruthless foe, until its vitality was almost confined to the city of Constantine: just as vegetable life sometimes dies down to the root; or, where the limbs are dead, the animal life may still beat at the heart? Then at length, says the historian, for the first time for above 1000 years from its foundation, "Constantinople was surrounded both on the Asiatic and European side by the same hostile monarchy." The four destroying tempest-angels seemed to have occupied each its corner of the heavens, whence to destroy: and the Turkman Sultan *Mahomet the 2nd* furnished the *earthly* agency for the consummation of the catastrophe.—On the particulars of this catastrophe it is not my present purpose to dwell. There are various most interesting points of detail, which will call for notice in the next Section. Suffice it in the present to have shown, as I proposed, the *national continuity of these Turkmans*, from the time of their first commissioning, and the loosing of the Moslem power under them against Roman Christendom, to that of their destroying the Greek empire. And in conclusion, let me only remark, how by their official titles and appellatives the Turkman Sultans seemed almost to proclaim before the world, their identity on those points with the prefigured

¹ The dates of the reigns of the Ottoman princes are as follows; Othman, A.D. 1299—1326; Orchan, A.D. 1326—1360; Amurath, A.D. 1360—1389; Bajazet, A.D. 1389—1403.

It was about the time of the decline of the Mogula, and a little before the accession of Othman, that the Latin Crusaders were finally driven out of Palestine. 1291 was the date of that event.

Orchan subdued the Asiatic provinces to the Bosphorus and Hellespont, consummating the captivity or ruin of the seven Asiatic churches. *Amurath* was the first to cross into Europe.

² Gibbon, xi. 445.

agents of the second woe. The *slayer*, in apocalyptic phrase, *of the third of the men*, of Christendom, the Sultan called himself *Hunkiar*, the *slayer of men*.¹ The reviver and relooser, according to apocalyptic prophecy, of the long dormant power of the preceding woe, i. e. of the spirit of the Saracenic Moslem Caliphate, he had soon the *caliphate*, or *spiritual* headship of the Moslem world, yielded up to him.² (as, long before, its *temporal* headship,) and added it also to his titles. Finally, having in 1530 united Bagdad to his dominions,—just as if to direct the attention of an inquirer to *that city by the Euphrates* as the *local source* whence, as here foretold, his primary commission issued,—he inserted it prominently into the list of his proud titles of empire; "I Sultan of Sultans," was his style of writing, "Governor of the earth, Lord of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, &c. &c,—and more particularly of the *capital of the Caliphs*, BAGDAD."³

§ 2.—FURTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATION
COMMISSIONED IN THE SECOND WOE.

In the preceding Section the two first noted and most prominent particulars, designative of the people that were to be God's scourge under the second woe, viz. their receiving their commission from the same locality where the former or Saracenic woe had been bound, i. e. *by the Euphrates*, and their *destroying the third part of men*, the Greek empire, have been shown to apply to the *Turks*,—the Seljukian and Ottoman Turks. And it surely needs not to say that they can apply to no other nation whatsoever. In order, however, yet more distinctly to

¹ See Dallaway's Constantinople, p. 41, and Thornton's Turkey, p. 95.

² It was solemnly renounced in the year 1517, in favour of the Turkish Sultan Selim, by the Fatimite Caliph, Mohammed XII, after the overthrow of the Circassian Mamelucs in Egypt. This was at that time the only Moelem caliphate remaining: the caliphate at Bagdad having been extinguished by the Tartars in the year 1300, and that of Cordova yet earlier, before the middle, I believe, of the eleventh century.—Hence the Sultan's title of Imam ul Muslimim, Chief Pontiff of Mussulmans; and the almost divine sacredness of his character in their eyes, in consequence.

³ Ferrario, Part iii. See also Thornton's Turkey, p. 54; who gives the list as heading a Treaty of A.D. 1790, with the king of Prussia.

fix the application, there are added certain other characteristics of the people intended; describing their *numbers*, their *personal appearance*, the particular *instrumentalities* used by them in *destroying and injuring*, and the *period of time* (a period very singularly defined) within which they were to execute their commission of slaying the third part of men. These I proceed now to consider—the simpler points more in brief; the difficult and the most important more at large.

1. And, *first*, as to their *numbers*. “The number of the armies of the *horsemen*,” it is said, “was *myriads of myriads*.”¹ a numeral phrase indefinite, but according to its natural and not infrequent use in scripture,² expressive of large numbers; and of which the applicability characteristically to the Turkman armies, more especially as it is not mere numerousness of *soldiers* that is noted, but numerousness of *horsemen*, is to a student of the history of the times notorious. Numerous indeed were the cotemporary armies of western Europe, at the close of the 11th century: though not innumerable like the Turks. But herein was a greater distinction. With them the cavalry or knights were comparatively few; the bulk of the army being foot-soldiers: whereas of the Turkman, as of the Saracen armies before, (and who so well knew the fact as the Greeks and Franks that encountered them?) the numbers numberless were cavalry.³—Further, it has been suggested, and I think not without reason, by Daubuz, that there may be probably an

¹ Many manuscripts read *δύο μυριάδες* or *δύς μυριάδες*. These our translators have followed. Griesbach, on *external* evidence, prefers the more simple reading *μυριάδες μυριάδων*; which seems to me preferable on *internal* also.—So Michaelis in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. vi. p. 537, (Marsh's Translation;) which may be consulted.

² Compare Gen. xxiv. 60; *γινε εἰς χίλιας μυριάδων* “Be thou the mother of thousands of myriads;”—Num. x. 36; *ἐπιστρέφε Κύριε χίλιας μυριάδας ἐν τῇ Ἰσραὴλ*: “Return to thy thousands of myriads (Heb. myriads of thousands) in Israel;” an example strikingly to the point, as the numbers of Israel are mentioned, in the census of Num. i. 45, 46, to have been only 600,000 above twenty years old:—Dan. vii. 10: *μυρία μυριάδες παριστῆκεισαν αὐτῷ* “Myriads of myriads stood before him;”—and the same nearly, Rev. v. 11; *ἢ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων* i. e. according to Griesbach's reading. Compare Procopius' *μυριάδων μυριάδες*, said of the numbers that fell by the plague under Justinian.

³ e. g. The forces of the *Seljukian* Sultan Soliman, encountered by the first Crusaders at Nice, are stated by the Christians, says Gibbon, at 200 or even 360

allusion also in the *form of expression* to the Turkman custom of numbering by *tomans*, or *myriads*. For though not unused among other nations,¹ yet there is probably none with whom it has been from early times so prevalent as with the Turkmans and Tartars. Thus in the Seljukian age, if I remember right, the population of Samarcand was rated at seven *tomans*, because it could send out 70,000 horsemen warriors. Again, the dignity and rank of Tamerlane's father and grandfather was thus described, that they were the hereditary chiefs of a *toman* of 10,000 horse.² So that it is not without his usual propriety of language, that Gibbon speaks of "the *myriads* of the (Seljukian) Turkish horse overspreading the Greek frontier from the Taurus to Erzeroum:" or of the cavalry of the earlier Turks of Mount Altai "being, both men and horses, proudly computed by *millions*."³ He had doubtless the Turkman mode and phraseology of numbering in his mind, when he penned the two sentences; and, in the last of them, their proud habit of exaggeration also. And wherefore then may we not suppose a similar reference, since the turn of the phrase is similarly apt and characteristic, in the apocalyptic notice of number before us?

It is added, "And I *heard* the number of them." And considering the pointedness of the declaration,—appended as it is to the notice of the numbers previous, in an order and form unusual,⁴—and also John's *represen-*

thousand horse. Again Knolles states the number of the Timariot horsemen of the *Othman* Turkish empire, as alone amounting in his time, i. e. in the earlier half of the 17th century, to above 700,000.

¹ e. g. Of the inhabitants of Nineveh there are said in Jonah, iv. 11, (Septuag.) to have been twelve myriads.

² Gibbon, xii. 4.

³ Gibbon, vii. 287, x. 351.

⁴ The usual and simple mode of expressing the thought would have been; "And I heard the number of them: myriads of myriads;" the notice of hearing being prefixed to the statement. Compared with which the emphasis of the actual expression, "the number of them was myriads of myriads:—and I heard the number of them:" will be evident.

Compare a somewhat similar, though less emphatic use of the expression in 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 4: "Jonathan smote the garrison of the Philistines that was in Geba; and the *Philistines heard of it*. And Saul blew the trumpet throughout the land, saying, Let the Hebrews hear! And *all Israel heard say* that Saul had smitten a garrison of the Philistines; and that Israel was had in abomination with the Philistines." So too 1 Sam. xvii. 23, &c. It marks *impression*.

tative character on the Apocalyptic scene, I cannot but think that it must have been meant to betoken that the report of the 'Turkmans' might and numbers would fall *with more than common impressiveness* upon the ear of the christian church.¹ If so, it surely needs but a glance at history to see the realization of the intimation. Passing over the terrors of the Turkman name to the *Greek* christians, we know that by Peter the Hermit personally, and by the letters also of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the report was carried to all the princes and churches in western Christendom. "Jerusalem hath been besieged, taken, sacked, razed, triumphed on. What may the rest of Christendom promise to itself? The strength of the Turks is daily increased: their forces are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Saracens: they have already devoured the whole world in hope. We call on you for help, as christians not in the name and profession only, but in heart, soul, spirit. Ere the tempest thunder, ere the lightning fall on you, avert from yourselves and children the storm hanging over your heads!"² Deliver us: deliver your religion; and God shall requite you." So as Knolles relates,³ the report was echoed and thrilled through western Christendom:—among the *true*, as well as the *false*, that bore the christian name: the former having as yet not formally, or in a body, separated from the church visible. And what followed? The Council of Clermont: the fermentation through Christendom; and then its precipitation in the Crusades against the Euphratean horsemen. All was but the result of that hearing of the bruit of the Turkish might and terrible-ness from Jerusalem. "And *I heard* the number of them."

2. The next descriptive trait represents to us their *personal appearance and array*. This is a point not

¹ Compare too what occurs in "the burden of Babylon which Isaiah the son of Amos did see,"—"The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people: the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle." Isa. xlii. 4. Also 2 Kings vii. 6: "The Lord hath made the host of the Syrians to *hear* a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host:" &c.

² Observe here the Apocalyptic figure of a *tempest*; a figure agreeing with the supposition of the four tempest-angels being the invisible directors of the woe.

³ See the Patriarch's Letter given in Knolles' History of the Turks, p. 13.

forgotten, as we have seen, in the figurative prophetic descriptions, whether of the Old or New Testament. So, for instance, in that of the Assyrian lovers of Aholah in Ezekiel; "Horsemen riding upon horses *clothed with blue*, captains and rulers:"¹ and again, turning to the Apocalypse, in that of the Saracens with man-like faces, but hair as the hair of women, just preceding; and in that of Papal Rome and its hierarchy, as typified by the *scarlet-coloured* Beast, yet to come.² So here of the Euphratean armies: "I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sate on them, having breast-plates of *fire*, (i. e. of *fire-colour*,) and *hyacinth* and *sulphur*;" or of red, blue, and yellow. On which it is the just remark of Mr. Daubuz, that from their first appearance the Ottomans have affected to wear warlike apparel of scarlet, blue, and yellow: a descriptive trait the more marked from its contrast to the military appearance of Greeks, Franks, or Saracens cotemporarily." And, indeed, I may add that it only needs to have seen the Turkish cavalry, (as they *were* before the late innovations,) whether in war itself, or in the djerrid, war's mimicry, to leave an impression of the absolute necessity of some such notice of their rich and varied colourings, in order to give in description at all a just impression of their appearance.

The word *hyacinthine*, let me observe, fixes the *primary* meaning of the other two words, *fire-like*, *sulphur-like*, thus to signify *colour*. At the same time the singularity of the words used to figure it,³ cannot but strike us. And the *appropriateness* of Scripture emblems,—an appropriateness abundantly evidenced and exemplified in a former chapter,⁴—must suggest the suspicion of *fire* and *sulphur* having been things in some peculiar and characteristic manner connected with the Turkish armies:—a suspicion confirmed, and also explained, by a sub-

¹ Ezek. xxiii. 6.—So again in Ezek. xxvii. 7, of Tyre; "Fine linen with bordered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." Also Nahum ii. 3, &c.

² Apoc. xvii. 4.

³ We may indeed compare the *ruppos* in this sense with the *ruppos* of Apoc. vi. 4 and xii. 3; but the *θειωδεις*, *sulphur-like*, is never used elsewhere in Scripture to denote colour.

⁴ See p. 394, &c, *supra*.

sequent notice of fire and sulphur in the emblematic figuration of them; and of which this twofold, or rather threefold notice shews the importance.

3. To this point, then, let us next direct our attention. "The *heads* of the horses," the Evangelist proceeds to observe, "were as the heads of *lions*; and out of their mouths goeth forth *fire*, and *smoke*, and *sulphur*. By these three was the third of men slain,—by the fire, and the smoke, and the sulphur that proceedeth out of their mouths. For their power is in their mouths, &c."—The horses and their riders are here evidently a composite symbol: the latter being mentioned just once, as if, like the *human resemblances* in the Arab scorpion-locusts, to notify *man's agency* in the scourge; but all the principal characteristics, including such as must needs refer not to animals, but to men, being said of the horses. So in the clause, "their heads were as the heads of lions." On which let me just observe, in passing, that as the *heads*, being unnatural, are of course symbolic, and the symbol, according to its all but constant use in scripture,¹ to be interpreted of the Euphratean leaders,—it was a preintimation that to these leaders the same lion-like haughty destroying character would attach, even as to the Saracens before them. And as to the fulfilment, it was seen not in respect of character only, but even of title, in the Alp Arslans and Kilidge Arslans, the Valiant Lions and Noble Lions of the *Seljukians*: and in the pretensions and character of the *Othman* Sultans, also; according to the Othman Turks' own similitude.²

But it is to the other more important descriptive point that I wish to hasten. "Out of their mouths issued *fire*, and *smoke*, and *brimstone* (or *sulphur*)": it being

¹ E. g. Isa. vii. 8; "The head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin." Dan. ii. 38; "Thou art the head of gold." Judges xi. 11; "They made him to be a head and governor:" κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀρχηγόν. Again in Rev. xiii we read in this sense of the seven heads of the Beast; and in Psalm xviii. 47, "Thou hast made me to be the head of the heathen."

² So Rycart on the Turks, chap. xxi: "The Turks compare the Grand Seigneur to the lion, and other kings to little dogs; which may discompose the quiet and majesty of the lion, but can never bite him without the utmost peril."

added, as if to limit and to define their instrumental use: "By these three *was the third part of men killed*, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths." Now that there is in this, as Mede suggests, an allusion to the modern *artillery* used by the Ottomans against Constantinople, seems to me so obvious and so striking, that I cannot but wonder that any one, as Dean Woodhouse, should have objected to, or even, as Vitringa, hesitated about it.¹ Wherefore could the Dean speak of the interpretation as a force on prophetic language, unworthy of respectable names? If the arms of a nation be often elsewhere noticed in prophetic scripture, why not here?—And where, indeed, and on what other occasion, did ever the arms employed bear so memorable, so all-important an influence, on the great catastrophe? For I would wish strongly to impress this point on the reader's mind. It is marked prominently in the prophecy before us. It is marked prominently also in the history. It was to "the fire and the smoke and the sulphur," to the artillery and fire-arms of Mahomet, that the killing of the third part of men, i. e. the capture of Constantinople, and by consequence the destruction of the Greek empire, was owing. Eleven hundred years and more had now elapsed since her foundation by Constantine. In the course of them, Goths, Huns, Avars, Persians, Bulgarians, Saracens, Russians, and indeed the Ottoman Turks themselves, had made their hostile assaults, or laid siege against it. But the fortifications were impregnable by them. Constantinople survived, *and with it the Greek empire.*² Hence the anxiety of the Sultan Mahomet to find that which would remove the obstacle. "Canst thou cast a cannon," was his question to the founder of cannon that deserted to him, "of size suffi-

¹ "An mysticè hic alludatur ad morem bellorum gerendorum per machinas flammam ex incenso pulvere sulphureo evomentes, . . . fidenter asseverare non ausim." p. 541.—The true solution, I doubt not, of Vitringa's hesitation on the subject, is to be found in his unfortunate exposition of the four angels as meaning four successive Mussulman powers that attacked the Greek empire; of whom none but the *Turks* used cannon.

² I have not particularised the Latin capture of Constantinople, A.D. 1200, because the Latins had a party among the Greeks.

cient to batter down the wall of Constantinople?" Then the foundry was established at Adrianople, the cannon cast, the artillery prepared, and the siege began.—It well deserves remark, how Gibbon, always the unconscious commentator on the Apocalyptic prophecy, puts this new instrumentality of war into the foreground of his picture, in his eloquent and striking narrative of the final catastrophe of the Greek empire. In preparation for it he gives the history of the recent invention of gunpowder, "that mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal:" tells, as before said, of the foundry of the cannon at Adrianople: then, in the progress of the siege itself, describes how "the volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of the musketry and cannon:" how "the long order of Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundering at once on the most accessible places:" how "the fortifications which had stood for ages against hostile violence were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon, many breaches opened, and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers levelled with the ground:" how, "as from the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides, the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire:" and how, the besiegers at length rushing through the breaches, "Constantinople was irretrievably subdued, her empire subverted, and her religion trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors." I say it well deserves observation, how markedly and strikingly Gibbon attributes the capture of the city, and so the destruction of the empire, to the Ottoman artillery. For what is it but a comment on the words of the prophecy, "By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the sulphur, which issued out of their mouths."

4. Next as to the appearance of the *horses' tails*.—And in this, according to what I cannot hesitate to

call its obviously true interpretation,—though to support it we have not, as before, the authority of many consenting interpreters, but by all of them that I have seen, except Dr. Keith, it is not so much as hinted, and by him only glanced at allusively and in a Note,—I say there is in this descriptive point a symbol as remarkable and as characteristic of the Turks, as even that on which we last commented :—I might perhaps say more so. For what are the terms of the description ? “ Their power (ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν) is in their mouth and in their tails : for their tails were like unto serpents, having heads, and with them they do injury.” Now had it been simply said, “ their tails were like serpents, and with them they injure,” the case would have closely resembled that of the scorpion-locusts of the plague preceding ;¹ and have indicated here, just as there, the injury merely, and venom of a false religion accompanying it, done by the new agencies of woe. But there is mentioned further the peculiarity of these serpent-like² horse-tails, seen in vision *having heads* : and thus, according to the all but constant prophetic use of the symbol, as before observed,³ the further idea, is naturally, I may almost say necessarily suggested of *rulers*, or *governing authorities*,⁴ being associated with the horse-tails. But how ? The *crown* seems a sufficiently natural symbol to denote a *conquering emperor*, the *diadem* a *monarch*, the *sword* a *military*

¹ Verse 10 ; “ They have tails like to scorpions, and stings were in their tails.” —In explaining the clause under consideration, Mr. Daubuz says ; “ The horses had stings in their tails :” Bishop Newton ; “ They (the horses) resemble the Saracen locusts ; the tails of serpents, with a head at the end, being attached to the horses :” Dr. Hales ; “ Turkish horsemen with serpents’ tails.” By this perversion of the plain prophetic statement, these interpreters unconsciously blinded themselves and their readers to the singular significance of the symbol : the tails were still *horse-tails* ; but serpent-like, and having heads at their extremity : the word *οφεις*, let it be observed, being *masculine*, the *ουραι* and *εχουσαι* feminine.

² Just at the time of the rise of the Seljukian power it was said of these Turkmans by one of his Omrahs to Massoud, son of Mahmoud of Ghizni ; “ Your enemies were in their origin a swarm of ants. They are now like little snakes. And unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents.” The above is quoted by Daubuz, as also by Gibbon x. 343 ; and exemplifies, in respect of the *serpent-like* form of the Apocalyptic horse-tails, not the figurative sense only, but also the national appropriateness of the symbol.

³ See Note 1, p. 482, *suprà*.

⁴ Mill reads, *αἱ ἐξουσίαι αὐτῶν*, “ their *authorities* are in their tails.” The word is similarly used in the plural Luke xii. 11, Rom. xiii. 1 &c.

prefect, the *balance* an *administrator of justice*. But a *horse-tail* to denote a ruler! Strange association! Unlikely symbol! Instead of symbolizing authority and rule, the *tail* is in other scripture put in direct contrast with the *head*, and made the representative rather of the degraded and the low.¹ Besides which it is not here the lordly lion's tail, but that of the horse. Who could ever, *a priori*, have conceived of such an application of it? And yet among the *Turks*, as we all know,—among the Euphratean horsemen that were to kill the third part of men,—that very association had existence, and still exists to the present day. It seems that in the times of their early warlike career the principal standard was once lost, in the progress of battle; and the Turkman commander, in its default, cutting off his horse's tail, lifted it on a pole, made it the rallying ensign, and so won the victory.² Hence the introduction and permanent adoption among the Turks throughout their empire of this singular ensign;—among the Turks *alone*, if I mistake not, of *all the nations that have ever risen up on this world's theatre*:³ and this as that which was thenceforward,—from the vizier to the governors of provinces and districts,—to constitute their badge, mark their rank, and give them name and title. For it is the ensign of *one, two, or three-horse tails* that marks distinctively the dignity and power of the *Turkish Pasha*.⁴—Marvellous

¹ So Deut. xxviii. 44; Οὐδὲς ἐσται εἰς κεφαλὴν, σὺ δὲ εἶσθαι εἰς ὄψαν. "He shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail."

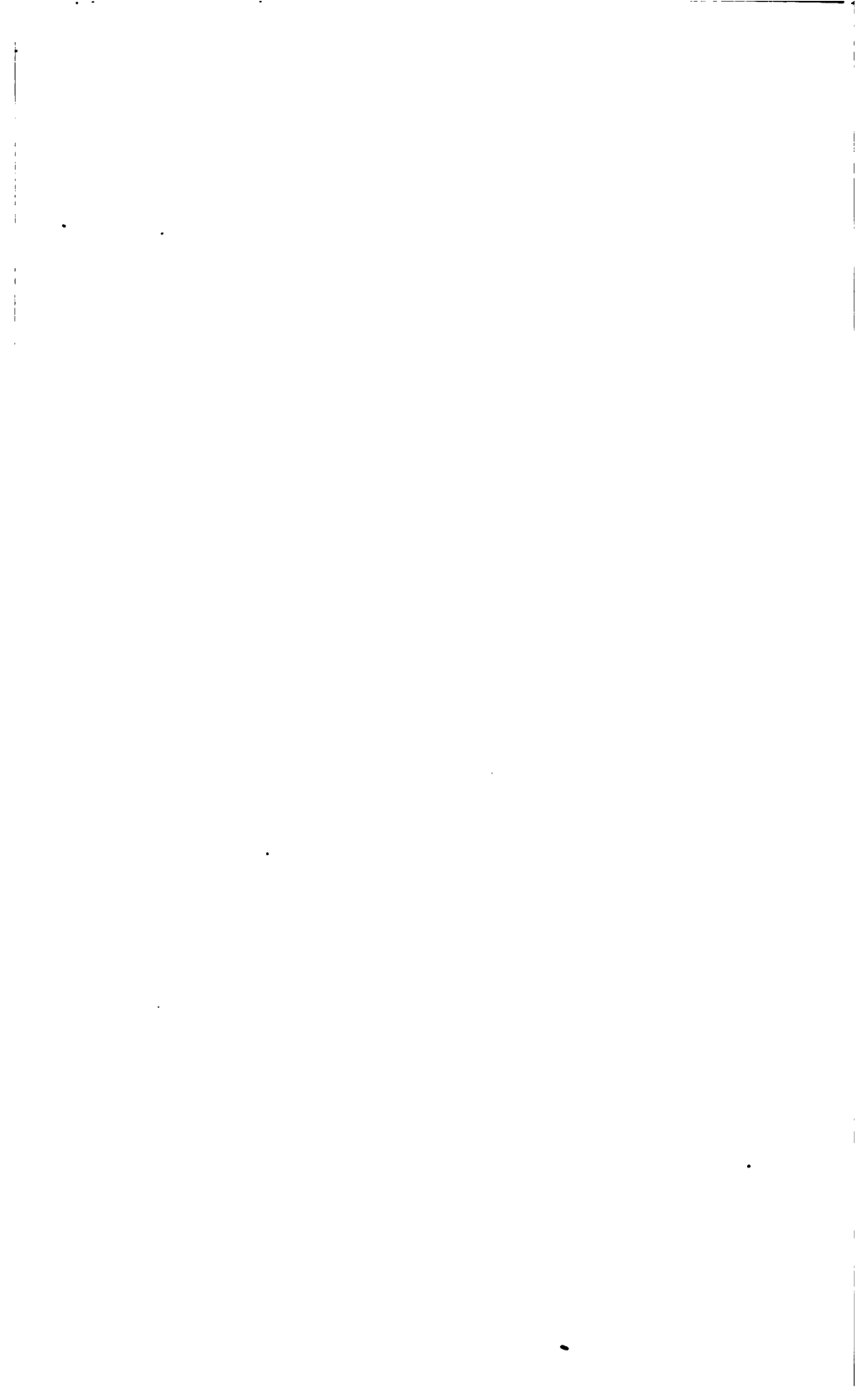
² So Tournefort in his *Travels*; also Ferrario. The following is Ferrario's account of the origin of the ensign. "An author acquainted with their customs says, that a General of theirs, not knowing how to rally his troops that had lost their standards, cut off a horse's tail, and fixed it to the end of a spear; (pomo d'una lancia;) and the soldiers, rallying at that signal, gained the victory." *Costumi* &c. i. 126.—He adds further that whereas "on his appointment a Pasha of three tails *used* to receive a drum (tamburo) and a standard, now for the *drum* there have been substituted three horses' tails, tied at the end of a spear, round a gilded haft. One of the first officers of the palace presents him these three tails and a standard."

³ The Hetman of the Cossacs that migrated to Poland is said to have been presented by the Polish king with a *horse-tail* also, among other ensigns of authority. But these Cossacs were but a small tribe; and it seems likely that they borrowed this military ensign, as as they did many of their military terms, from the Turkmen.

⁴ In Blackwood's Magazine for August, 1842, the writer of the Chapter on Turkish history, thus appropriately makes use of the figure. "The recent over-

TURKMAN STANDARD OF THREE HORSE-TAILS.





prefiguration ! And who but He could have depicted it, to whom the future is clear as the present, and who in his Divine prescience speaks of things that are not as though they were.

“ And with these they do injustice ;” *αδικεσι*. Alas ! where is the *historian* of the Turkish conquests and empire that does not tell of the oppression of the christian *rayah* by these Turkman Pashas ! As Knolles, in his *Sketch of the Turkish Greatness*, expresses it ; “ His Bassaes, like ravening harpies, as it were suck out the blood of his poor subjects.” And where is the *traveller* through European Turkey (at least if his travels dated before the late Greek revolution) that has not with his own eyes witnessed the same ? Even now the scene rises in memory before the author, of the long train of a Turkish Pasha, proceeding to his Pashalik in Greece, that past him by, winding in picturesque array up one of the passes of Mount Othrys, near where that mountain-chain frowns over Thermopylæ : and bright, he remembers, shone the sunbeams on the varied colourings, the “ red and blue and yellow,” of the horses, horsemen, and foot-retainers, in the procession ; and proudly the ensign was borne before the Turkman of *two horse-tails*, to mark his dignity. But associated with the remembrance there rise up other recollections also : —the scene of a village which, on entering a few days before with his companions, he had found deserted, though with marks of recent habitation ; and from which, as a straggler emerging from his hiding-place informed them, men, women and children had fled to the mountains, to escape from the visit, on some errand of oppression, of one of the officers of a neighbouring Pasha. Nor again can the scene be forgotten of other

throw of the Mameluc power by the Ottomans had extended the shadow of the horse-tails far along the coast of Africa.” He is speaking of the times of Barbarossa.

And in this same North of Africa it still furnishes its figure to the fragment of the once mighty Turkish empire there remaining. On General Bugeaud’s summoning the tribe of Mascara to submission, the answer began thus : “ *The horse of submission has no tail.*” Semaphore de Marseilles, June 12, 1841.

permanently deserted villages, such as the traveller's path each day almost had to pass by; and often with nothing but the silent grave-yard in its loneliness, to tell the tale of former life and population. Thus was there set before his eyes how the inhabitants had failed before the oppressions of the Turkman Pashas: and, long ere he thought of entering on the direct investigation of prophecy, the singular aptitude and truth of this symbol, as applied to them, fixed itself on his mind: "*The horse-tails were like unto serpents, having heads; and with these they do injury and oppress.*"

5. There remains for explanation but one point more in the prophecy; viz. the *time* within which the commission to *destroy the third part of men* was to be accomplished. This is a point of great interest and importance: and, although freed by our explanation of the *four angels* spoken of, and of their *binding near the Euphrates*, previous to the sixth Trumpet-blast, from no little embarrassment,¹ it is yet one not altogether devoid of difficulty. Indeed some critical research will be in the first instance essential, in order satisfactorily to fix the meaning of the phrase in which the chronological

¹ See my Note p. 462 *suprà*.—Nothing, I conceive, can well be clearer as to the *chronology* of the prophecy than these three things: 1. that the *four angels* must have been in existence both at the time of their binding, and at the time of their loosing:—2. that the time of their loosing must have been at the sounding of the sixth Trumpet:—3. that the predicted period of the *hour, day, month and year*, must have been the interval between their loosing and their accomplishment of the stated subject of their loosing, viz. to slay the third part of men.

Now alike Mede and Newton, Faber and Keith, explain the *binding* to mean the restriction of the Turkman power by the crusades; and the epoch of loosing, and of the sixth Trumpet-sounding, as an epoch somewhere between A.D. 1280 and 1301, when the curbing-power of the crusades had ceased, and the Othmannic Turkman come to the supremacy. But at this epoch neither Mede's quaternion of kingdoms, nor Faber's, were in existence.—Further, the period of the *hour, day, month, and year*, being made to end by Mede and Keith, where I think the Apocalypse makes it end, viz. at the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and fall of the Greek empire, it is necessarily from its length made by them to begin about 1055; i. e. 250 years before *their epoch* of the sixth Trumpet's sounding. On the other hand Bishop Newton and Mr. Faber, rightly deeming that its true commencing epoch must be that of the Trumpet's sounding and the angels' loosing, do yet make it end, in consequence of *their date* of the sounding, 250 years after the slaying of the third part of men, the Greek empire.

I have thus reverted to and expanded my chronological argument at p. 462, from a sense of the importance of the point involved in it.

term is announced. This settled, the historical fulfilment will soon appear.

The chronological term is expressed as follows : "And the four angels were loosed ; which were prepared *εις την ωραν και ημεραν και μηνα και ενιαυτον*, at the expiration of the hour, day, month, and year," *aggregated together*, (so I translate and understand the phrase) "to slay the third part of men." In which translation two things require consideration and proof: the *one*, the taking the nouns of time *collectively* and *in concatenation*, as constituting a period made up of their aggregate ; the *other* the construing the preposition "εις" as meaning *after*, or *at the expiration of*, that period.

Now as to the construction of the nouns of time *collectively* and *in the aggregate*, I so understand them,—1st, because that which is the only alternative construction appears to me on every account inadmissible: I mean that which, taking them each separately, would render the clause thus ; that *at the destined hour, and destined day, and destined month, and destined year*, they should slay the third part of men.¹ For,—to say nothing of the want of the article prefix to three out of the four nouns, a prefix needed, I conceive, for such a rendering,²—it will be obvious that it explains the clause as made up of tautologies ; tautologies such that every successive word after the first, instead of strengthening, only weakens the supposed meaning ; and which bring out, at last, as the result of their accumulation, nothing more than this, that the destruction spoken of should be effected *at the time appointed*. Do the inspired Scriptures ever speak in this way?—2ndly, I so take them because in another complex chronological phrase, and one, in respect of its enigmatic form, the most nearly parallel to the present that prophetic scripture offers, we have the exposition of inspiration itself interpreting the phrase as meant to be taken in the aggregate. I allude to the well-known clause in Daniel, (xii. 7) *εις καιρον, καιρους,*

¹ So, or nearly so, Vitringa, Daubuz, Woodhouse, Cuninghame, &c.

² So Matt. xxv. 43 ; *αδε την ημεραν, αδε την ωραν*.

και ἡμισυ καιρο, “for a time, times, and half a time;” which being made the equivalent of 1260 days,¹ i. e. of three years and a half, must consequently be a period of a year, two years, and half a year aggregated together.—As to the *article* prefix, standing at the head of the clause, we may understand it, on this explanation, not only to govern all the accusatives that follow, so as we find done elsewhere,² but also as an instrument for the better uniting them, *as it were under a bracket*, as an hour, day, month, and year, to be added together; at the same time that it marks them as together making up *the* period; i. e. the period fore-ordained and fore-shown in the divine councils.

Next, as to the *εις* being rendered *at the expiration of*, before these aggregated nouns of time.—To the classic reader the fact will be familiar that the original meaning of this preposition, and that from which those relative to *time* are derived, is one implying *motion towards a place*, as its term and object;—motion which may be incomplete and that of *progress*, or completed by *arrival*; very much as represented in the English equivalents, *unto*, *at*. Πορευομενος *εις* ‘Ιεροσολυμα’ going *to* or *towards* Jerusalem: here the movement is incomplete. Κατελθον *εις* Καισαρειαν’ having come *to*, or arrived *at*, Cæsarea: here it is completed in arrival. To which latter class belong those cases in which actions, transient or continuous, are done at the place *after* arrival; as in, Δει με ποιησαι την εορτην *εις* ‘Ιεροσολυμα’ “I must keep the feast *at* Jerusalem:” Επισχε χρονον *εις* την Ασιαν’ “He stopped a while *at* or *in* Asia.”³ Because, when the sentences are filled up, this would be the form of them; “*Having arrived at Jerusalem*, I must there keep the passover:”⁴ “*Having arrived in Asia*, he stopped there.”

From these meanings of *εις* that refer to *place*, the transition is easy to ideas of *time*: and the English *until*,

¹ Compare Dan. xii. 11; Rev. xii. 6, 14, &c.

² την δυναμιν και πλεον και σοφιαν και ισχυν, &c.; Apoc. v. 12. More generally the article is repeated; as ib. 13; ή ευλογια, και ή τιμη, και ή δοξα, &c.

³ Luke ix. 53; Acts xviii. 21, 22; xix. 22.

⁴ So Matthiæ on *εις*; Blomfield's ed. p. 885.

up to, or *at* the point of *time* limiting, answer here, in the rendering to the English *unto*, *up to*, or *at*, in the cases just given of motion to a *local* limit. Εἰς ἕτε; until when? Εἰς ἥλιον καταδυῖντα, till sunset.¹ Ἐθεντο εἰς τηρησιν εἰς την αὐριον· “they put them in ward till the morrow.”² In all these the implied motion to the fixed point of time limiting is *incomplete*.—Ἠλθον εἰς την ὥραν ταυτην· “I came to, or have arrived *at*, this hour:” πληρωθησονται εἰς τον καιρον αυτων· “My words shall be fulfilled *at*, or when arrived *at*, their season.”³ Here the progress toward it is supposed to be *completed*.

To which general observations this must now be added: that whereas, in cases of a *local* term or limit, the *part nearest* of that *local limit* is yet at a certain distance from the original point of motion, and allowing consequently of progression towards it, there are sometimes, on the other hand, *chronological* cases in which the *term of time* limiting, (being not a fixed *moment*, but a term of some extent) is in its *nearest* point in actual conjunction with the time then present, or that from which the progression is to be reckoned. In such cases the limiting point is necessarily the *end* of the term, not the *beginning*; and the meaning of the “either *up to* that *end*, in the sense of *duration through the whole term* mentioned, or *at* the end, according to the nature of the action noted. Σπονδας εἰς εἰςαυτον· “a truce *for* a year,” i. e. “*up to the end of* a year, dated from the time then present: κειμενα εἰς ετη πολλα· “goods laid up *for*, or, *to the end of*, many years:”⁴ εἰς αει· “*for ever*, or *to the end of* the αἰων, or world:” Ζων εἰμι εἰς τες αιωνας των αιωνων· “I am alive *for*, or *to the end of*, the ages of ages.”⁵ All these are examples of *duration through*, or *up to the end of*, the period.⁶—For examples of the other render-

¹ Homer *Odys.* ii. 99; iii. 138.

² Acts iv. 3.

³ John xii. 27; Luke i. 20. So again Phil. ii. 16; εἰς κενυχημα μοι εἰς ἡμεραν Χριστ. Job xii. 5; ἡτοιμαστο πεσεν εἰς χρονον τακτον· &c.

⁴ Luke xii. 19. So again 2 Chron. xi. 17, (Sept.) Κατισχυσε Ῥαβοαμ εἰς ετη τρια.

⁵ Apoc. i. 18. Similarly 2 Peter iii. 18; Αυτη ἡ δοξα, και νυν και εἰς ἡμεραν αιωνος.

⁶ It is the same with the εως and its genitive, the equivalent of εἰς and its ac-

ing, *at the end of*; we must take cases where the *action* chronologically noted is one not of *continuance*, but rather *momentary*; such as is the action of *killing the third part of men*, in the passage before us. Of the which, supposing the punctuation usually given in copies of the Septuagint to be correct, an example in point offers in the passage already alluded to from the xiith of Daniel. "He said; How long (*ὡς ποτε*) shall it be to the end of these wonders? And he swore by Him that liveth for ever and ever, *ὅτι εἰς καιρὸν καὶ καιρὸς καὶ ἡμῶν καιρὸς, ἐν τῇ συντελεσθῆναι διασκορπισμῶν, γινώσκονται πάντα ταῦτα*" "they shall know these things *at the end* of the aggregated time, times, and half a time." But the punctuation here seems more than doubtful.¹ In verse 12, however, of the same chapter, we have an example not to be questioned: *Μακάριος ὁ ἔρχομενός, καὶ φθασας, εἰς ἡμέρας χίλιας τριακοσίας τριακοντα πέντε* "Happy is he who has arrived (not at the *beginning* but) *at the end of* the 1335 days."²

After which last example when we turn to the passage we are discussing, "And the four angels were loosed, *ὁ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων*," how can we entertain doubt of the preposition being here too intended in the same sense; and of the true rendering of the phrase being that which I have given, "that *after*, or *at the expiration of*, *the aggregated term* of an hour, day, month, and year," (calculated from the time of their being re-commissioned

cusative. So in Dan. vii. 25; "They shall be given into his hand *ὡς καιρὸς καὶ καιρὸν καὶ γε ἡμῶν καιρὸς*," i.e. up to the end of the aggregate period, and through or during it.—The same too with *αἶψα*. So *αἶψα καιρὸς*, Luke iv. 13; "the devil left him *for*, or *up to the end of*, a season;" and again Acts xiii. 11, where we are told of Elymas being blind *αἶψα καιροῦ*, for a season.

¹ Surely a *full stop* should follow the *καιροῦ*; and the *εἰς*, before the terms of term, be construed in the sense of duration. Thus: "It shall be for a time, times, and half a time. At the end of the dispersion they shall know all these things."

² The same meaning attaches to those equivalents of *εἰς* before nouns of time, *ὡς* and *αἶψα*. So in Acts xx. 6; *ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωαδα αἶψα ἡμερῶν πέντε* "We came to them at the end of five days;" i.e. of five days of travelling: and Matt. xxvii. 63, 64; "That impostor said, After three days (*μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*) I shall rise again: command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day; *ὡς τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας*." Where "*until the third day*" answers evidently to "*after three days*;" and consequently means not until the *beginning*, but until the *end*, of the third day.

and loosed) "they should slay the third part of men."¹ What the exact length of this period, and how many prophetic days it would in all make up, depends of course on the value that we attach to the *ενιαυτος*, the year mentioned; whether we prefer to consider it as, like the *καιρος*, a year of twelve months of thirty days each, i. e. a year of 360 days, not counting in the supplemental days added to make it accord with solar time; or whether as the Julian current year of 365 days 6 hours. The latter value is attached to it by Mede and others: and there is, I think, an *à priori* probability in its favour from the adoption of the word *ενιαυτος*, in the place of *καιρος*, here, and here only in prophetic scripture; a word signifying etymologically *that which returns into itself*.² At any rate the question is an open one; and the agreement of historic fact (as we shall show) with the calculation, as thus made, may be considered as deciding in its favor.—Thus estimated, then, the length of the period will be found to amount, on the year-day principle, to 396 years 106 days.³—This was the period at the end

¹ I have the rather elaborated the foregoing criticism, both because of the importance of the point it relates to; and also because of the difficulty felt by some commentators respecting it, and the hasty, and, as it seems to me, incorrect criticisms passed on it by others. See Woodhouse, Faber, &c.—Mede construes the *as* as I have, "*after*;" but does not support his translation.—Keith makes the whole time that of the *preparation* of the four angels: as if the participle were in the *present*, *ετοιμαζουνοι*, *preparing*; not in the *past* *ετοιμασμενοι*, *prepared*.

² Compare Wintle on Daniel, Preliminary Dissertation, p. xlix. After observing that the Babylonians and Persians, as well as Jews, held the division of the year into twelve months each of thirty days, he adds; "But Daniel adopted the name of *times* (תִּימָה) for his periods, instead of calling them by the name of שָׁנִים, *anni*; which more properly applied to the full annual revolutions of the sun."—And then he appends a Note as follows. "שָׁנִים, *anni*, from שָׁנָה, *iterare*; wherein the sun reiterates his course, and returns to the same point whence he set out: or, according to Buxtorf, 'in re sua per vestigia semper volvatur et redeat.'—So the Greek *ενιαυτος*, from his revolving in himself (*εναυτος*): and hence the Egyptian hieroglyphic of a serpent with its tail in its mouth."

³ As the Julian year equalled 365 days 6 hours, the Apocalyptic period would, on the year-day principle, be in amount as follows:

A year	=	365½ days	=	365 years + ½ of a year.
A month	=	30 days	=	30 years.
A day	=		=	1 year.

Years 396.

¼ of a prophetic day or year (left out above)=91¼ days.

An hour = ¼ of a prophetic day or year=15½ days.

Total = years 396 + 106 days.

of which, as measured from the epoch of their loosing, on the sixth Trumpet-blast, from the Euphrates, the horsemen of the vision, it was foretold to St. John, were *to destroy the third part of men*. And convinced as we have been that the TURKS were the horsemen that acted under the guidance of the four angels in the matter, what now remains for us to do is only to look at historical dates ; and so calculating, to compare with the aforementioned prophetic period, the actual interval between the first *loosing of the Moslem power*, after its revivification through connexion with the Turkmans, from the Euphrates,—and the *taking of Constantinople*, and *destruction of the Greek empire*, by the Turks under the 2nd Mahomet.

In regard to the circumstances and the date of the *former* important event and epoch, we may be thankful that we have full and authentic information in the two well known Arabic historians Abulfeda and Elmakin ; and indeed in the earlier and fuller historians, Al Bondari and Emad Eddin.¹ From them I borrow my statements and chronology in what follows.

It has been already noted² that in the year 1055, or of the Hegira 447, the Bagdad Caliph wrote to Thogrul Beg to come to his assistance against some threatening danger ; the *Bowid* chieftain, who was at this time the secular head under him, having proved altogether an inefficient protector. Thogrul immediately answered to the summons, and gave the protection asked for : then, on occasion of some civic tumult occurring, seized on and imprisoned the Bowid Chief, thus extinguishing the supremacy of the Bowides, after it had lasted, says Elmakin, 127 years.³ He was now by the Caliph appointed, and publicly proclaimed in the mosques, “ Protector

If the period be calculated with greater exactitude from La Place's decimals, it comes, I believe, to near three days less ; viz. 396 years + 103.16 days.

¹ See the notice respecting these authors, p. 496, 497, *infra*.

² See p. 469 ; also on the origin of the Bowid rule at Bagdad, p. 440.

³ He adds as to *date* and *publicity* ; “ Et cessavit oratio ejus in fine Ramadan ; atque ita desiit imperium Boijtarum : ”—the *oratio* that he speaks of, being that same public prayer for the Bowid, as chief lord of the Moslems, which I noticed in reference to the Othmans, p. 470 *suprà*.

and Governor of the Moslem empire ;" the secular authority of the caliphate delegated to him, and his name recited next to the Caliph's in the public prayers.¹—All this occurred in the month of Ramazan of that same year ; that is in December A.D. 1055. This is the epoch noted by both Abulfeda and Elmakin, and not without reason, as that of the commencement of the Seljukian empire at Bagdad : the inauguration and investiture celebrated some two years after, or a little more, being only a more splendid solemnization of that appointment to his high office, which now already took place. Thus appointed, then, Thogrul Beg fixed his head-quarters in the citadel of Bagdad ; and stayed there thirteen months : meanwhile establishing his authority,² and cementing his connexion with the Caliph, among other things, by giving him his sister in marriage. The effect of the connexion was, as regarded the Turkman army and people, to give them a character of religious consecration to the service of Islamism : while, on the other hand, the power of the Moslem caliphate, so long paralyzed at Bagdad, was *prepared* by it with new energies ; and revived, as it were, to act again in the cause of its false faith.

And now we are directed by the terms of this prophecy, to mark the time when the Moslem power, thus revived, was *loosed* from the Euphrates : in other words, when under its new Turkman head, it went forth from Bagdad, on the career of victory and aggrandizement thenceforth afresh destined for it. The date is given by Abulfeda ; the 10th of *Dzoulcaad*, A. H. 448. That was the day in which Thogrul with his Turkmans, now

¹ After stating that it was in that year that the power of the Bowides ended, and was transferred to the Seljuks, Abulfeda adds ; " Eo enim (sc. anno, A. H. 447) primus Togrul Bec, ut summus post Chalifam princeps, imperique Muslimi protector atque gubernator, per templa proclamatus piisque votis decoratus fuit." He also says ; " Consensu et jussu Chalifæ preces ipsi Bagdadi publicæ fieri incipiebant die vicesimo secundo nonæ mensis hujus anni ;" i. e. the *Hutbe* prayers for Togrul Bec.

De Guignes observes, of the same circumstances and period, " Il fut revêtu de toute l'autorité."

² " Thogrul Becus domicilium fecit in arce imperiali ; fuitque ei Bagdadi stabilitum imperium." Elmakin. So too Abulfeda.

the representative, as we have said, and head of the power of Islamism, quitted Bagdad to enter on a long career of war and conquest.—The part allotted to Thogrul himself in the fearful drama soon about to open against the Greeks, was, like the military part enacted long previously by Mahomet, in regard of Christendom, preparative. It was to extend and establish the Turkman dominion over the frontier countries of Irak and Mesopotamia ; that so the requisite strength might be attained for the attack ordained in God's counsels against the Greek empire. His first step to this was the siege and capture of Moussul ; his next, of Singara. Nisibis, too, was visited by him : that frontier fortress that had in other days been so long a bulwark to the Greeks. Everywhere victory attended his banner ; a presage of what was to follow. And on his return after a year's campaign to Bagdad, for the purpose of the more solemn inauguration that we spoke of,¹ (an inaugurative ceremony celebrated in oriental history,²) the result is thus

¹ The date of the investiture is fixed by Abulfeda as on the 25th Dzoulcad, A. H. 449 : with which date Elmakin's narrative perfectly agrees.

² As regards this ceremonial, Elmakin thus speaks : " Chalifa induit principem Togrul Becum veste imperiali, eumque coronavit, et torque atque armillis ornavit, scripsitque ei auctoritatem consignatam de prefecturâ aulæ suæ." Abulfeda adds that the Chalif committed the charge of the empire to him in words like these : " Mandat Chalifa tuæ curæ omne id terrarum quod Deus ejus curæ et imperio commisit ; tibi que civium piorum, fidelium, Deum colentium, tutelam sublocatorio nomine demandat."

In De Guignes' abstract of the history, the date is printed 25th Dzoulcad, A. H. 448, simply by an error of the press for 449. That it is a misprint is plain ; for De Guignes dates Thogrul Bec's quitting Bagdad the 10th Dzoulcad 448 ; then speaks of his besieging Moussul for four months, then Singara, and *not till after these events*, returning to go through the ceremony of investiture at Bagdad. Very unfortunately Dr. Keith did not observe that it was a misprint, or consult original authorities ; and building his calculations and exposition of this apocalyptic period upon it, built on a foundation of sand.

As the ceremonial was very notable, it was one that might not improperly have been made an epoch of commencement to the prophetic period, if its chronology had answered. At the same time it must be remembered, *first*, that we date a reign from the *accession* of the monarch, not from his *coronation* ;—and both Abulfeda and Elmakin, as the reader has seen, assign Togrul Beg's *appointment* or *accession* to the office of Secular Head of the Moslem empire, to the year A.H. 447 : *also* that the epoch noted in the prophecy is that of the *reloosing from the Euphrates* of the power that had been bound there, not of its *re-invigoration*.

De Guignes' fuller narration is borrowed from *Al Bondari's* Arabic History of the Seljukides : about whom Gibbon says in a Note, when referring to *De Guignes*, Vol. x. p. 349, " I am ignorant of *Bondari's* age, country, and character." As the subject described is an interesting and curious one, both to the

described by Elmakin ; “ There was now none left in

general reader and the prophetic student, and I found, on reference to our University Libraries and the British Museum, that the same want of information still continued with regard to this the chief author on whom we have to depend for the narrative, it seemed to me worth-while to make inquiries at the King's Library at Paris ; where I doubted not Bondari's manuscript would be found. In reply *M. Reinaud* (of the Library) obligingly gave me the following information on the manuscript and its author. “ L'ouvrage est une Histoire des Sulthans Seljoukides, écrite en Arabe par *Emad-eddin*, secrétaire du grand Saladin. (Voyez sur *Emad-eddin* ce que j'ai dit dans mon Introduction aux Extraits des Historiens Arabes des Croisades, Paris 1829, en 8vo.) Cet ouvrage fait partie des manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque Royale, fonds St. Germain, No. 327. Comme il était écrit dans un style poétique et plein d'emphase, un compatriote d'*Emad-eddin*, le *Sheikh Fath*, fils d'Aly, fils de Mohammed, *al Bondary*, *al Ispahany*, l'abregea et le reproduisit sous des formes plus simples. La rédaction d'*Al-Bondary* se trouve parmi les manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque, ancien fonds, No. 767, A. C'est celle-ci dont De Guignes a fait usage.”

He was so good as to forward at the same time a French translation of *Emad-eddin's* account of the ceremonial at Bagdad, made for me by *M. Munch*, an eminent oriental scholar at Paris : which the literary reader will, I am sure, pardon me for subjoining.

Retour de Togrubeg à Bagdad.—Il se présente devant le Khalife.

Il retourna à Bagdad victorieux, et dans toute la plénitude de la puissance. Le Khalife lui donna une audience, le jour de Samedi 25 de Dhoul Kaada (de l'année 449.*). Il s'embarqua sur le Tigre, faisant courir son esquif sur l'onde du fleuve, jusqu'à ce qu'il arriva à la porte de miséricorde de la sublime cour et du palais. Là on lui présenta un coursier qu'il monta ; et il entra à cheval jusqu'au vestibule du palais de la paix † et de la citadelle de l'Islamisme. Ensuite il descendit et marcha à pied, et les Emirs marchèrent devant lui, sans armes, jusque là où residait la majesté, et où la direction (de la foi) subsistait par *Kaiem*, lieu digne de la mission (prophétique), siege perpétuel de l'Imamat ; où la prophétie ne cessait d'être héréditaire, et où renaissait sans cesse la valeur. Un rideau plein d'éclat était suspendu sur le pavillon, et la pureté de la grandeur était empreinte sur cette magnificence. *Al-Kaiem-biamr-Allah* était assis derrière le rideau, sur un trône élevé dans un portique qui était bien fait pour donner séjour à la grandeur, et dans un palais dont le sol était un ciel pour la gracieuse réception. Sur ses épaules et dans sa main on voyait la Borda et le sceptre du prophète, arrosés de l'eau (de l'éclat) pure de Mohammed. Lorsque *Togrubeg* se fut approché du sublime siege et des marches voilées, lorsque le rideau du pavillon fut levé, at qu'il vit briller le visage du Khalife, comme la lune dans les tenebres du trône sublime, il s'acquitta de ses devoirs (de respect), et se prosterna. Ensuite il se releva ; et debout devant *Kaiem*, il attendait les ordres qui lui seraient donnés. Le supreme Reis monta sur un siege élégant. Le Khalife lui dit : Fais monter *Rocn-eddaula* ‡ auprès de toi. Avec lui se trouvait *Mohammed-ben-Mansour al Condari*, qui lui servait d'interprète. On plaça un siege pour *Togrubeg*. Il s'assit, et *Aml-d-al-mulc* § lui lut l'acte d'investiture du Khalife.||

* L'année 449 n'est pas indiquée par Bondari ; mais on la trouve à la fin du chapitre précédent dans l'ouvrage original, dont celui de Bondari n'est qu'un extrait. Le chapitre suivant commence dans les deux ouvrages par l'année 450.

† Allusion au nom de la ville de Bagdad, qui s'appelait aussi *Ville ou Habitation de la Paix*.

‡ *Soutien de l'empire*, titre d'honneur de *Togrubeg*.

§ Ministre de *Togrubeg* residant à Bagdad. Voyez *Aboulf. Annal. Moslem.* Tom. iii. p. 161.

|| L'énumération de tout ce que le Khalife lui confia en le nommant *Emir-al-Omora*.

Irak or Chorasmia who could stand before him.”¹

And what then the interval between this epoch of the loosing of the united Turco-Moslem power from the Euphrates, and that of the fall of Constantinople : in other words, between the 10th Dzoulcad, A. H. 448, and the 29th of May, A. D. 1453, on which day the siege (begun on the 6th of April previous) fatally ended ? And how does it correspond with the prophetic period before us ?—The calculation is soon made. The 10th Dzoulcad, A. H. 448, corresponds with January 18, 1057, A. D.² From this to January 18, A. D. 1453, is 396 years ; and to May 29 of that same year, 130 days more. Such is the exact *historical* interval. And now turning to the *prophetic* interval, since its hour and day and month and year amounts, as we have seen, to 396 years 106 days, it is obvious that in respect of

Ensuite Togrulbeg se leva pour aller à l'endroit où il devait recevoir sa haute dignité et être revêtu du manteau d'honneur (Khalâh)* On lui mit des bracelets et un collier, et on le revêtit de six *Khilât* noires, montées sur un seul bord (autour du cou), et par lesquelles on lui confia à la fois le gouvernement des sept climats. Il fut paré d'un turban musqué et doré ; et il portait à la fois les deux couronnes des Arabes et des Perses ; ce qui lui fit donner les surnoms de *Motasawedj* (couronné) et *Mozmemem* (orné d'un turban). On lui ceignit une épée ornée d'or. Puis il sortit, et revint s'asseoir sur le siège. Il voulut se prosterner ; mais il ne le pouvait pas à cause de la couronne impériale qu'il portait. Il demanda la faveur de baiser la main du Khalife. Celui-ci la lui donna deux fois : il la baisa, et la porta sur ses yeux. Le Khalife lui fit ceindre une autre épée qu'il avait devant lui ; et par les deux épées il se voyait investi du gouvernement des deux royaumes. Le Khalife l'appela *Roi de l'Orient et de l'Occident* ; et ayant fait apporter le diplôme, il lui dit, “Voici notre diplôme, dont notre ami Mohammed-ben-Mansour va vous donner lecture. Nous le déposons entre vos mains. Gardez le bien. C'est un lien sur, et qui mérite toute confiance. Et maintenant levez vous. Que Dieu vous accorde sa protection, et que son œil veille sur vous ! †

¹ “Nec in utrâque Irace et Chorasmia quisquam fuit reliquus qui litem ei moveret.”

² In the Latin translations of Abulfeda and Elmakin, the date by the Christian *Æra* is noted marginally, as well as the year of the Hegira. But the reader who has not access to these works will find in Sir H. Nicholas's Volume on Chronology, in Lardner's Encyclopædia, both a Table of the Turkish months, and a simple rule for turning Turkish time into that of the Christian *Æra*. The Turkish year, being lunar, is 11 days short of the solar. Of its 12 months *Ramadan* is the 9th, *Dzoulcade* or *Zicaad* the 11th.

* Je supprime ici quelques mots qui ne s'accordent pas dans les deux manuscrits. Ils ne renferment qu'une paraphrase poétique de la *Khilâh*.

† Lit. gardé par le calme de Dieu, et regardé par l'œil de sa protection.

[N. B. Compare the notice of the *Arab gilded turban*, or *crown*, with the Apocalyptic “*crowns like gold*,” said of the locusts. See pp. 409, 410, 412, *supra*.]

years, it coincides precisely with that of history ; and falls but little short even in respect of *days*. In effect the prophetic period expired near about the middle of the siege ; just before Sultan Mahomet, by transporting his ships across the isthmus of Galata, secured the success which had momentarily before begun to be despaired of by the Turkmans. It was not merely the bisecting point to the brief seven weeks that it lasted ; but nearly marked its critical turning-point, of success to the Turkmans, of destruction to the Greeks.

Such is the result of our investigation. And surely it must be deemed most satisfactory. For my own part, when I consider the length of the period embraced by the prophecy, scarce less than 400 years,—and when I consider further, that of all symmetrical chronological formulæ, such as symbolic prophecy alone makes use of,¹ there does not seem to be one that could express the interval with anything like the same exactness as that before us,—I cannot but partake of Mede's feeling of admiration,² and marvel greatly at it. “ The hour and day and month and year ! ” Singular surely must that period have appeared at the first to the Evangelist ; express in its mystical form, and (as I suppose) from the inner temple. Singular yet more must it appear to us now that it has been evolved and explained by history ; and indeed as one never to be forgotten by the christian student.

There is just one thing that I must not omit, ere I conclude this head and chapter. I mean to impress upon

¹ e. g. a time, times, and half a time :—forty-two months ;—1260 days ;—70 weeks. The only way of expressing the period before us more or as exactly as the Apocalyptic formula, is by computation of the whole in hours. The actual interval amounts to 9512½ prophetic hours, the Apocalyptic to 9511. Would the former rude expression have accorded with scripture use or beauty ?

² Mede, like his follower Dr. Keith, dates indeed from the epoch of the *inauguration* of Thogrul Beg : and is, like him, incorrect in his calculation, although in a different way. He knew the true *year*, A. H. 449, of the inauguration, from Elmakin, but not the *month* ; and supposing it might be the *very beginning* of that year of the Hegira, inferred a coincidence between the historic period thus commenced, and the prophetic, which did not exist. But this is a comparatively unimportant difference. The main point is the reference of the commencement of

the reader's mind how remarkable and contrary to all human probability, after once the Turkman woe had been let loose, was the protraction of its accomplishment of the work of destruction assigned it to this far distant æra. Ere 40 years had elapsed from Thogrul Beg's inauguration, Constantinople and its empire were on the very verge of ruin by the Seljukian Turks : and nothing less than an almost miraculous intervention seemed capable of averting it. But the intervention occurred. The *crusades* from western Europe, however ultimately ineffective in Syria, crippled the Seljukian power, so as for 200 years to aid in upholding against it the Greek empire.¹ Then the *Moguls* under *Zenghis* yet further crippled, and delayed the resuscitation in its strength of the Turkish power.—And after it had at length risen up in all its pristine vigor, under the Amuraths and the Bajazets of the new Othman dynasty, and when, some fifty years and more before the hour, day, month, and year had come to a completion, Constantinople and the empire were again on the verge of destruction ;—when the chivalry of the west, vainly intervening, had been broken in the battle of Nicopolis, and the victorious Bajazet thus addressed the emperor ; “ Our invincible scymitar has reduced almost all Asia, and many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople : resign that city, or tremble for thyself and thine unhappy people ; ”—when, I say, the slaying of the third part of men seemed thus imminent, full half a century before the prophetic period had elapsed that fixed it, what was there that could occur to prevent the catastrophe ? Behold, from the far frontiers of China, *Tamerlane* was brought against him. “ The savage,” says Gibbon, “ was forced to relinquish his prey by a stronger savage than himself : and by the vic-

the period to the Turkman's connection with the caliphate under Thogrul Beg. Of this, Mede is the originator. And certainly it was due to Mede, on the part of Dr. Keith, to have so mentioned him.

¹ The Latins weakened indeed the Greek empire ; but not so as to interfere with their delaying its destruction by the Turks. So Gibbon, xi. 105 ; “ The first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.”

tory of Tamerlane the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years.”¹—But when the predicted period had elapsed, and the Sultan Mahomet was pressing the siege, like some of his predecessors before him, then no intervention occurred to delay the catastrophe, either from the east or west, from the crusaders of Christendom or the savage warriors of Tartary. On the dial-plate in heaven, the pointing of the shadow-line told that the fatal term had expired, the hour and day and month and year. Then could no longer the fate of the unhappy Greeks be averted. And the artillery of the Othmans thundered irresistibly against Constantinople : and the breach was stormed : and the city fell :—and, amidst the shouts of the conquering Turkmans from the Euphrates, and the dying groans of the last Constantine, the third of the men were slain, the Greek empire was no more !²

¹ Gibbon xi. 460, xii. 26. The date of Bajazet's defeat by Tamerlane was *July 28, 1402* ; the place *Angora*.

² It is the observation of Aristotle, *Polit. iv. 14* ; ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία βίος τις ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως—the same figure of *life* being applied by him to *political constitution and independence* as here.

So *Hosea xiii. 1* ; “ When Ephraim offended, then he *died*.” So too the Christian father Jerome, of Rome and its empire, when first threatened by Alaric ; “ *Roma vitam auro redimit.*”

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

No. I.

NOTICE OF PROFESSOR M. STUART'S ARGUMENT FOR THE NERONIC DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

(See Page 52.)

Subsequently to the printing of the greater part of my Second Edition, Professor Moses Stuart's *Apocalyptic Commentary* came into my hands; the result, it is said, of some twenty years' thought and labour:¹ and I carefully looked into it to see by what new evidence or argument he might seek to justify the *Neronic* date, on which in fact his system is mainly based. The argument occupies in his first Volume from p. 263 to p. 284. The greater part of the ground I have gone over; but there are some points new. And I think it right, as the subject is so important, the advocate on the side I oppose so well known for ability and learning, and a movement of mind among some of the more literary in this country, especially of the dissenting body, been lately manifested in unison with Professor Stuart,² to put the reader in full possession of his argument and evidence. It is of course divided into evidence *external* and *internal*. It is only the former that will for the present occupy us any considerable time.

I. Professor Stuart's *external* or *historical* evidence.

1. And here, in his opening summary,³ he admits distinctly in the

¹ So the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

² I infer this from an Article in the *Eclectic Review* of Dec. 1844, entitled *Theory of Prophetic Interpretation*, followed by another in *Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia* on the word *Revolution*; both, it seems, by Dr. Davidson of the Lancashire Independent College: and from an Article entitled "On the Date of the Apocalypse," in the *Biblical Review* and *Congregational Magazine* of March 1846.

³ P. 265.

first instance the futility of the attempts that have been made to get rid of *Irenæus'* famous testimony asserting the *Domitianic* date, by supplying another nominative case, instead of *Αποκαλυψις*, to the verb *εωραθη*, so as I have stated at p. 36 *suprà* : whether *Ιωαννης*, on *Wetstein's* principle ; or *ονομα*, on *Knittel's* and *Storr's* ; or the Beast, on that of the Latin translator. And really the true construction with *Αποκαλυψις* is so palpable, that one is astonished to find at this time of day any respectable writer so bewildering himself, as to attempt the revival of the absurdities that Professor Stuart thus rejects.¹ Also he admits, as *probably* to be construed the same way with *Irenæus'* testimony, that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and that of *Tertullian*, given by me at p. 37 ; fairly observing that Eusebius and Jerome at least distinctly so understood and represented the testimony of these early fathers. Further he adds, on the same Domitianic side, the direct testimonies of *Victorinus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, *Sulpicius Severus*, Augustine's friend *Orosius*, and that of the author of a Greek work on the twelve Apostles, vulgarly ascribed to *Hippolytus* :² the two last overlooked and omitted in *my* list of authorities.—Against all which weighty and strong evidence what has he to oppose ? Excepting a dubious passage from *Origen*, of which, as most important, I deem it best to take notice by itself afterwards, and an anonymous Latin Treatise supposed of the date 196, and acknowledged by him to be nearly worthless,³ there is nothing more than the old

¹ So however the writer in the *Biblical Review*, referred to in a preceding Note, who adopts *Wetstein's* view. What would the writer think, were it to be said in the next century, supposing the date of "*Mammon*" to be the subject inquired into, that it was not so very long before ; "*Dr. Harris having been seen at the end of King William the IVth's reign* ?" Surely two things would be inferable from such a statement :—viz. 1. that *Dr. Harris* was never seen later than that epoch : 2. that his being seen at all, just at the pointedly specified epoch, was a fact only referable to that epoch : his then noted apparition being not such as of men seen from day to day, and while they live conversant with their fellows ; but rather like the passing apparition of a Spirit from the other world.

² "The Book *De 12 Apostolis*, attributed to *Hippolytus*, makes mention of *Ιωαννης υιο Δομετιανου εξορισθεις εν Πατμω, εν η Αποκαλυψιν εθεασατο* : in *Opp. Hippol.* App. p. 30. Ed. *Fabric.*" So Professor Stuart i. 265. *Dr. Davidson*, in his Article in *Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia* on the "*Revelation*," at p. 621 says inadvertently ; "*The younger Hippolytus assigns it to Nero.*"

³ "A fragment of an ancient Latin writing, probably about A.D. 196, first published by *Murator* in his *Antiq. Ital.* iii. p. 854, and attributed by many, yet without good reason, to the presbyter *Caius*. *C. F. Schmidt* has copied it. It contains a catalogue of the New Testament Scriptures : and, among other things says ; '*Paulus,*

names of *Epiphanius*, the *Syriac Version's Title Page*, *Andreas*, *Arethas*, and *Theophylact*:—i. e. of *Epiphanius*, advocating a *Claudian* date, not a *Neronic*; and exposing withal, so as I have shown,¹ his own self-contradiction and absurdity:—of the *Syriac Version*, against the generally-admitted lateness of which, as the *Philoxenian* of the date A.D. 508,² Professor Stuart has only to state that this “is somewhat doubtful;” and “that it would rather seem that there was a Syriac Version of the Apocalypse earlier than the Philoxenian,” because Ephrem Syrus of the 5th Century often appealed to the Apocalypse, and “is generally supposed not to have understood Greek:” (an hypothesis on an hypothesis:)—of *Andreas* of the 6th Century, from whose statement that there were some that applied Apoc. vi. 12 (though he himself did not) to Titus’ destruction of Jerusalem, our American Professor argues that “they of course believed that the Apocalypse was composed before that event: whereas, since Andreas also states that there were expositors who explained the successive Seals of Christ’s birth, baptism, ministry, and burial,³ he might equally well argue that these expositors believed the Apocalypse to have been composed before Christ’s birth:—of *Arethas*, whom Professor Stuart states to have been also of the 6th Century, whereas I have proved him to have been as late at least as the 8th or 9th;⁴ and whose self-contradicting testimony, and recognition of the *Domitianic* date of St. John’s banishment to Patmos, also cited by me,⁵ the Professor states but in part, and therefore unfairly:—also finally of *Theophylact*, a writer of the xith (!) century.

Such, I say is Professor Stuart’s own list of the opposing historic testimonies: and in reviewing and comparing the two lists, what thinks the reader is his judicial pronouncement as to their compara-

sequens prædecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, non nisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribit ordine tali.’ John therefore was Paul’s predecessor, according to this writer: and as John wrote only to seven Churches by name, so Paul, following his example.” So Professor Stuart, p. 266; adding: “No great reliance can be placed on this incondite composition.”—And with good reason. For what does the writer make St. Paul do? Since John did not (even on the *Neronic* theory) return from Patmos, and publish the Apocalypse, till after Nero’s death, and Paul suffered before Nero’s death, by making Paul to have written his Epistles, or settled the number of them, after St. John’s publication of the Apocalypse, he makes him to have done it after his own death!!

¹ See p. 43 *suprà*.

² See my quotation from Michaelis, *ibid* Note ¹.

³ See my Vol. iv. p. 352 Note ².

⁴ See p. 43 *suprà*; and my Vol. iv. p. 358.

⁵ See my Vol. iv. p. 359 Note ⁴.

tive weight and value? That there is really no comparison whatever between them; the one being so strong, (not in respect of *number* only, but of *age, weight of character, and consistency*.) the other in every respect so weak? Surely one might have expected such a conclusion and judgment. But, instead, we have the amusing statement; "If now the *number* of the witnesses were the only thing which should control our judgment, we must, so far as *external* evidence is concerned, yield the palm to those who fix on the time of Domitian:" with the added assertion, in order to make the other side seem even to preponderate, that "a careful examination of the matter shows that the whole concatenation of witnesses in favour of the Domitianic date hangs upon the testimony of Irenæus." How so? Does Clement then confess to this? or Tertullian? or Victorin? or even Eusebius, Jerome, Sulpitius, or Orosius? By no means. But because "their evidence is little more than a mere repetition of what Irenæus has said." So the Professor at p. 269: whereas at p. 271, only two pages in advance, he urges that there are *such varieties as to detail* in the testimonies on the Domitianic side, (Tertullian having apparently placed St. John's return from Patmos before Domitian's death, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Jerome, on Nerva's accession after it, and Victorinus added the statement of St. John's being "in metallum damnatus," condemned to the mines or quarries,¹) as "make strongly against any uniform and certain historical tradition with regard to the subject before us." The Professor here answers himself too well to need any other answer. But I cannot pass from the argument without observing that there seems to me to be (somewhat as in the case of the Evangelists) just enough variety to mark independence in the testimony; nothing of such variety as to affect its truth.

¹ "Condemned to the mines (?) in Patmos." So writes Professor Stuart, p. 271, with the note of interrogation: implying apparently the sceptical question, "Were there then *mines* in Patmos?" But *metallum* signifies *marble quarries*, as well as *mines*: such quarries as are not in Paros and Antiparos only, but in many other of the *Ægean* islands. So Statius Silv. iv. 3. 98;

Arcus belligeri ducis trophæis,

Et totis Ligurum nitens metallis.

Since writing the above I have observed a Note in Burmann De Vectigal, p. 106, to the same effect. He says; "Sub *metallis* etiam *lapidicinis* habentur: marmora enim et saxa, ut aurum et cætera metalla, ex terrâ effodiuntur. Hinc in Codicum Titulis de *Metallariis* pleræque leges de lapidibus loquuntur."

2. But now comes the testimony of *Origen*; one which, from the importance attached to it both by Professor Stuart and others,¹ and also as having not at all noticed it in my own sketch of evidence, I have thought best, like the Professor himself, to reserve for separate consideration. The passage is as follows. "But the King of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned John, who bore testimony for the word of truth, to the isle of Patmos. And John informs us respecting his own testimony; (or martyrdom;) not stating who condemned him: saying in the Apocalypse these things; "*I John, your brother, &c. was in the island that is called Patmos for the word of God*: and he seems to have seen the Apocalypse in that island." I subjoin the original with the immediately preceding context.²—On this passage Professor Stuart and his followers thus argue. Origen could not but know Irenæus' declaration, as to *Domitian* having been the King that banished John. Yet, knowing this, he refers not to it as decisive, nor to tradition as according with it; and even says that John himself has not decided the question, who the king was that banished him: thereby evidently showing that in his judgment the thing was doubtful, and not to be decided in any way that Origen knew. A fact most important, considering that "*Origen was the greatest critical scholar of the first three centuries.*"—Now there is just one little question which an intelligent and reflective reader would wish to put, before acquiescing in this view of the passage itself, and of Origen's meaning in it. Does it occur in a discussion, like our own, on the subject of the date of the Apocalypse; or comparison of the evidence that might lead to a "*decision*" on the side of the one Roman king, or the other, having been the banisher,—Nero or Domitian? To which question the simple answer is, *Nothing of the kind!* Origen had been speaking of Christ's saying to the two

¹ It is noted alike in the Numbers of the Eclectic Review and Biblical Review already referred to.

² Πεντηκασί δε ποτηριον, και το βαπτισμα εβαπτισθησαν, οι τε Ζεβεδαυ υιοι επειπερ Ἡρωδης μὲν απεκτεινεν Ιακωβον τον αδελφον Ιωαννου μαχαίρα· ὁ δε Ῥωμαιων βασιλευς, ὡς ἡ παραδοσις διδασκει, καταδικασε τον Ιωαννην, μαρτυρουντα δια τον της αληθειας λογον, εις Πατμον την νησον. Διδασκει δε τα περι του μαρτυριου του Ιωαννης, μη λεγων τις αυτον καταδικασε· φασκων εν τη Αποκαλυψει ταυτα· Εγω Ιωαννης ὁ αδελφος ὑμων, και συγκοινωνος εν τη θλιψει και βασιλεια και υπομονη του Ιησου, εγενομην εν τη νησῳ τη καλαμενη Πατμος δια τον λογον του Θεου· και τα εζης. Και εσκε την Αποκαλυψιν εν τη νησῳ τεθεωρημεναι.

sons of Zebedee, James and John, that '*they should drink of his cup, and be baptized with the baptism he was baptized with,*' as having had accomplishment: for, adds he, "Herod indeed" (the *Jewish* king) "killed James with the sword: but the *Roman* king, as tradition reports, condemned John: who himself tells us the fact, but passes over in silence the name of him who condemned him." Now in the case of so mystical and imaginative a mind as Origen's, one cannot feel the same assurance of his meaning in a mere allusion, as in the case of most other writers.¹ But surely the most natural explanation is, that he is wishing to mark John's kind forgiveness towards his injurer, in never even naming him; and so lightly passing over all mention of the exiler, in "*his own*" notice of the exile.² Had Origen wished violently to deviate from his whole subject, so as darkly to refer to a disputed chronological point, would he not, instead of 'Ο δε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, have rather said, Ῥωμαίων δε βασιλεὺς τις?—The passage is surely, for the purpose for which it has been adduced, utterly worthless.

3. Comes Professor Stuart's *addendum* on the external evidence for the Neronic date, written after receiving Guerike's adhesion to that view: and which in part reverts to the old previously-disputed evidence; in part reports a certain new light profest to be thrown on the subject by Guerike.—As to the *old*, he says that he inclines to think, on reconsideration, that both *Clement's* testimony and *Tertullian's* may be regarded as favouring the *Neronic*, rather than the *Domitianic* date:³ the *first*, because John could hardly at the age of

¹ For example in his comment in Joannem, Tom. v, he speaks of the *seven thunders* thus mysteriously: "He wrote too the Revelation; being commanded to be silent and not write the seven thunders." Who can tell what was exactly in Origen's mind when he wrote this?

² So, very much, Professor Hug in his *Apocalyptic Commentary*: when, speaking of the Beast's ten horns as figuring ten Cæsars up to Domitian, he thus expresses himself on John's supposed omission of Domitian: "But has he counted only the *dead*, and is he silent respecting the *living*? (i. e. Domitian.) This Cæsar had oppressed Christianity, and banished John himself. What *honourable* mention should he make of him? And was it in the spirit of his Master to speak *evil* of him? Then, if he could not say good, and might [not] say evil, had he any choice but to be *silent* respecting him?" *Intro. to New Testament*, ii. 680.

³ The writer on the *Date of the Apocalypse* in the *Congregational Magazine* before referred to, when abstracting Professor Stuart's *Catena* on the Neronic side of the question, not only does so without stating the admissions made by the latter with regard to the weakness of evidence, or drawbacks in certain cases, but even lays

95 have been supposed to travel on horse, or on foot, after the young prodigal:¹ (but is not his *age* one main point in Clement's description?) the *second* because it rather seems to him that Tertullian meant to note a synchronism of suffering in Paul, Peter, and John, though indeed he does not say anything of the kind. To this I deem no answer whatever necessary.—But the *new* point is a curious one, and deserves notice. Guerike has discovered that *Irenæus' own evidence* is for *Nero*, not *Domitian*. How so? It is thus. Irenæus says that “the Apocalypse was seen, almost in our generation, *περὶ*

claim to *Clement* and *Chrysostom*, unlike the doubtful and vacillating American Professor, as *distinct and decided witnesses on that side*, in respect of their story of the recovered reprobate. In order to this it is essential that the story be made one of *many years*; more than can be supposed to have elapsed between John's return from Patmos, on the hypothesis of the *Domitianic* date, i. e. A.D. 96, and his death. Accordingly (though doubtless from inadvertence) the Reviewer makes Chrysostom so state it; (“Some time after this, Clement says not how long, but Chrysostom says *many years* :”)—which however Chrysostom does *not* say. His expression is *πολὺν χρόνον* a chronological phrase variously to be construed as to length, according to the nature of the thing which it relates to: and which may even sometimes only mean a few days, or hours, as in the case of Ajax's body remaining unburied; (Sophocles *Ajax* Mastig. 1403;) *Ἡδὲ γὰρ πολὺν ἐκτεταται χρόνος, κ.τ.λ.* On which says the Scholiast; *Πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ τετελευτήκει ὁ Αἴας, καὶ ἤδη δει αὐτὸν ταφῆναι.* In the present case a year or two would surely satisfy the requirements of the phrase. And this would well consist also both with Chrysostom's intimation that the reprobate was still a *young man* when recovered; and with Clement's yet more characteristic intimation, of the interval being simply one in which nothing had occurred in the country Church to make it needful previously to send for St. John from Ephesus. Now John's life was prolonged into Trajan's reign, according to Irenæus; its 3rd year, say Eusebius and Jerome: thus giving four years' interval between his return to Patmos, on the Domitianic hypothesis, and death. As to his *age*, which the Reviewer says must have been at the lowest computation 90 at Domitian's death, (so presuming on a questioned point, on which see the next Note,) it is a marked feature in the story.

I have in the above somewhat repeated what is already more briefly said at p. 38, from wishing to satisfy the objections of this respectable, but surely inconsiderate writer.

¹ On St. John's age Jerome's is I believe the most authoritative statement of ancient tradition, the same that I have given p. 37, Note 4, *supra*. According to this, he was still a *puer*, when called by Christ; a word which, I think, would suggest the age of not more than 18. Professor Hug, (i. 251,) reckoning his age as at that time about 16, makes him but 19 at Christ's death; and thus 84 on Nerva's accession.

As to St. John's not being able to travel on horse or on foot at the age of 95, compare Eusebius' account, or rather that of the cotemporary record inserted by him, of *Polycarp's* capture and martyrdom: who is there stated to have moved from village to village, on foot apparently, and then rode back on an ass, then walked on foot with alacrity to the Pro-consul's tribunal, though at an age that can hardly have been less than 95; as he speaks of having served God 86 years.

τῇ τελεί τῆς Δομετιανου αρχῆς." Now, argues the German critic; 1st, if Δομετιανου were a *noun* and *proper name*, it ought to have the article *του* before it, τῆς του Δομετιανου αρχῆς: and, as this is wanting, it must be taken *adjectively*. Which being so, then 2ndly, in accordance with the law of Greek grammatical formations, it must be regarded as derived from the name *Domitius*, not *Domitian*: for the adjective formed from *Domitian* would be Δομετιανικός. Hence *Domitius Nero* must be the Emperor referred to: Domitius having been Nero's prænomen.

Such is Guerike's discovery and argument. No wonder Professor Stuart is much struck with it. "The conjecture is very ingenious; or, if we must rank it higher, the criticism is acute and discriminating. The usual fact is (as he states) that nouns ending in —*νος*, form adjectives in —*ικος*. If Guerike is right in his criticism on the word Δομετιανου, the past opinions in respect of it present one of the most singular cases of long-continued and often-repeated philological error, which has ever come to my knowledge." Yet the two circumstances, 1. that so many Greek fathers, and Latin ones understanding Greek, supposed *Domitian* to have been meant by Irenæus, 2. that *Domitius* was so very unusual an appellation of Nero, make the American Professor hesitate at acquiescing in it, and still retain "some doubts" respecting the matter.

Now what is the real state of the question, and real value of Guerike's criticism and argument? 1. Instead of the article *τε* being required before Δομετιανου, in case of Δομετιανου being a proper name, we have in the very chapter of Eusebius, H. E. v. 8, no less than three cases of proper names *without the article*, in precisely the same collocation, between an article preceding them and the noun that belongs to it following: Περὶ τῆς Ἰωαννοῦ ἀποκαλύψεως· Μνησθῆναι δὲ τῆς Ἰωαννοῦ πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς· Ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων· not του Ἰωαννοῦ, or του Μαρκίωνος.—2. Even were Δομετιανου taken adjectively, it is not true that it can only be derived as an adjective from Δομετιος, not Δομετιανος. It may be from the latter proper name, quite as well as from the former: and in fact we have examples of both. But mark! Whereas in reference to Domitius Nero, *Domitius* is the usual adjective made use of, (so "*Domitia gens*" in Suetonius, speaking of Nero's gens and kindred,) never, I believe, *Domitianus*, —in reference to the Emperor Domitian the adjective *Domitianus* in

question is expressly used; and this by his own friend and cotemporary Statius. In the Preface to the 4th Book of his *Silvæ*, Statius speaks thus of a road formed by Domitian, called in common parlance "The Domitian road;" "*Tertio viam Domitianam miratus sum.*" And indeed he heads his third Ode with the title, (this being the subject of the Ode,) "*Via Domitiana.*"

II. So much on Professor M. Stuart's *external* evidence.—As to his *internal* it is based altogether on three points: all quite sufficiently discussed and refuted, I believe, in the preceding Essay. 1. He urges the fact of St. John's Gospel being better Greek, the Apocalypse more Hebraic: a fact accounted for quite otherwise, as I have shown, Note ¹ p. 6, *suprà*; and also Prof. Hug. i. 675.—2. He argues that Jerusalem must have been standing when the Apocalypse was written, because of sealed ones out of the *tribes of Israel* being noted in Apoc. vii, and *the Temple* measured, and "*City where our Lord was crucified*" spoken of, in Apoc. xi: an argument this which taking for granted, as it does, the *literal* meaning of the designation *Israel*, the *temple* figured, &c, is one of the most extraordinary cases of the *petitio principii* that I have ever met with: especially considering Christ's own explanation of the candlesticks, in *a temple like the Jewish* at the opening of the Apocalypse, as symbols of *Christian Churches*.—3. He notes the circumstance of five Roman Emperors having fallen, reckoned from Julius Cæsar, and the 6th reigning at the time of the Apocalypse, according to the Angel's statement in Apoc. xvii; which 6th, says he, must be Nero. On this last argument, which takes for granted that the *Beast's heads* mean single Emperors, contrary to the analogy of Daniel vii. 6, viii. 22, and all the difficulties connected with the view, I must beg to refer to my examination of the *Præterist* Apocalyptic Scheme in the Appendix to my 4th Volume. They are difficulties, I believe, which the *Præterists* can never get over.¹

¹ At p. 52 I intimated an intention of noticing Prof. Lücke's arguments for the Neronic date, as well as Prof. Stuart's. But I see, on looking into his Book, that his arguments are almost entirely the same as the American Professor's; which latter indeed seems to have fashioned his views very much in accordance with Lücke's, often referring to his Book. In Lücke's Section 29, especially p. 244—260, we have his elaborated argument on the *internal* evidence, to very much the same effect of what has been stated.—Dr. Davidson's internal evidence is a mere repetition of the above from Stuart.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

MEDALLIC ILLUSTRATION OF NERVA'S CRETENSIC ORIGIN.

(See Page 140.)

THERE is a Roman medal of Nerva bearing the type of *Diana as a huntress*, with her quiver and bow, on the reverse : and, as this was an unusual type on Roman money, Vaillant explains it by reference to Nerva's Cretensic origin ; Diana having been an object of specially devoted worship with the inhabitants of Crete. Eckhel in his Vol. vi. p. 404 objects to this, in a passage following thus after description of the coin :—

{ “ IMP. NERVA CÆS. AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. P. Caput laureatum.
COS. II. DESIG. III. P. P. Diana venatrix gradiens, d. sagittam ex pharetrâ
promit, comite cane.

Observat Vaillantius hunc aversæ typum in monetâ Romanâ insolentem esse. Censet igitur, cum Nervam ex Cretâ oriundum dicat Victor, Diana autem singulari in hâc insulâ religione coleretur, propterea eam huic denario insertam. At dixi suprâ non satis unius Victoris testimonio Cretensæ Nervæ genus probatum. Cæterùm similis Dianæ typus frequens est in numis Augusti, quem ibi ad Siciliam referendum diximus.” He had just before (p. 403) grounded his rejection of Aurelius Victor's statement as to Nerva's Cretensic origin, and his preference of the younger Victor's intimation that he was born at Narni in Umbria, on Dion Cassius' authoritative declaration that Trajan was the first foreigner that held the Roman emperorship.

But in reality there is nothing whatever contrary in the younger

Victor's statement to that of Aurelius Victor; for the latter may be considered as speaking of his family origin, the former of his birth-place:—a view this taken by the writer in the *Ancient Universal History*, cited *ad loc.* by me: "Nerva was a native of Narni in Umbria, but his family came originally from the island of Crete;" as well as by the writer, also cited by me, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. And as to Dion Cassius, his words are strongly confirmatory of Aurelius Victor's statement, not contradictory. For he shows his own meaning about Trajan, by contradistinguishing his foreign extraction not merely from that of the *Itali*, or persons of original Italian extraction, but also from that of *Italioæ*, or persons of Greek extraction half Italicized by settlement in Italy. Precisely of which latter class Nerva was, according to the combined testimonies of the two Victors; and *Nerva alone of all the Emperors preceding Trajan*. So that were we to set aside Aurelius Victor's statement, and suppose Nerva, like all his predecessors in the empire, to have been of original Italian extraction, Dion Cassius's introduction of the *Italioæ*, as well as of the *Itali*, in contradistinction to Trajan's *wholly* foreign origin and birth, would be so utterly without point or object as to be little better than absurd.

Which premised let us consider, on Eckhel's own accurate principles of investigation and judgment as applied to medals, whether his or Vaillant's view of the medal now in question be the more probably correct.

Says Vaillant, as the groundwork of his argument, "*The huntress Diana is an unusual device on Roman money.*" (On *Roman money*, the reader will observe, or money *struck at Rome*, as this is; not coins struck in the *Greek* provinces under the Emperors; which is quite another thing, and of another argument.) Eckhel denies not Vaillant's statement of the type, as a Roman type, being unusual. But, says he, "the same type appears frequently on the coins of *Augustus*:" as if this were a sufficient precedent, and sufficient reason, for its appearing on Nerva's.—But was there then nothing peculiar in Augustus' case, with reference to this monetary device; nothing but what might attach to succeeding Emperors, in their simple character of Roman Emperors, as well as to him? Eckhel himself tells us quite the contrary; and indeed some of Augustus'

own medals that have the Diana on them, tell it us also quite as clearly. Augustus' high fortune and attainment of the empire arose chiefly, Eckhel justly observes, out of his two great naval victories: the one over Antony, at *Actium* in Epirus; the other over Sext. Pompey, off *Artemisium* in Sicily. Now at Actium there was a temple of *Apollo*; at Artemisium, or Dianium, as it is in Latin, one of *Diana*. To these deities then Augustus ascribed his fortune. And in expression and commemoration of it he struck frequent medals, of many successive years: some inscribed *Act. Imp.* with the type of *Apollo of Actium*; others with *Diana's bust*, or *Diana as a huntress*, and a reference to *Artemisium*. There seem to be two chief varieties of the latter or *Dianian* class, which are described thus by Eckhel:¹—

1. { Protome Dianæ.
 { *Imp. Caesar.*—Templum, intra templum trophæum navale, triquetra.
2. { *Aug. Div. F.*—Caput nudum.
 { *Sicil. Imp. viii.*—Diana stolata gradiens d. telum ex pharetrâ promit, s. arcus.

Now it is to be understood that the *triquetra*, or three-legged figure, in the former medal of the two, is the well-known symbol of the triangularly-shaped Sicily; while in the latter the name *Sicil.* occurs. Thus the reader sees that the reasons of Augustus' striking medals with the type of Diana are indicated on the medals themselves, as distinctly those which affected him individually and alone; and which consequently could in no wise have suggested the type to Nerva. The reasonable inference is, that Nerva must have had some peculiar individual reason for striking *his* coins with the Diana, as Augustus had for striking *his*: the rather if, as I believe, the Diana Venatrix does not appear on any *Roman* money of the ten intervening emperors.²

And I am led to regard this inference as yet the more strongly probable, from observing that in the Roman *Republican* coins not only is this precise type of *Diana the huntress* unknown,³ but more—

¹ Vol. vi. p. 85, 93.

² Eckhel at least gives none. I observe in Patinus' Numismata, p. 151, a coin of *Titus* with Diana and a bow, but without any name of a people. And Patinus suggests that it was probably struck either at *Ephesus* or in *Crete*; as being the two chief Eastern localities most famed for Diana's worship.—Among the coins of *Trajan*, Nerva's adopted son, the type of the *huntress Diana* recurs. They seem to have been struck at the beginning of his reign. Eckhel vi. p. 443.

³ I still go on Eckhel's authority.

over, where other types of Diana occur, Eckhel almost always seeks a particular reason for the type; and generally finds it. Thus in coins of the *Æmilia gens*, struck by the Quæstor Buca, we have, "Diana, adstante Victoriâ, ad virum dormientem descendit."¹ And we find that this Buca was Quæstor to Sylla: and that the story was current of a goddess having appeared in a dream to Sylla, whether *Luna* (one of *Diana's* names), or *Minerva*, or *Bellona*; bidding him strike his enemies, and presenting him with a thunderbolt. Which same explanation applies also to coins of the *Cornelia Gens*, struck by Sylla himself, with three different types of Diana;² one very similar to that just described.³—In a coin of the *Caninia Gens*, where there appears on one side Diana's bust, with the quiver and bow, on the other a dog running, Eckhel reasonably supposes an allusion in the dog (*canis*) to the name *Caninia*; and that the Diana is added as the dog's natural companion.⁴—In a coin of the *Plancia Gens* we have on one side a woman's head, with a pileus; on the other a mountain-goat, and by it a bow and quiver. And Eckhel expresses himself delighted with Visconti's solution: who, explaining the woman as Diana, (an explanation obvious from the mountain-goat, bow, and quiver on the reverse,) refers in illustration to an old marble, on which there is mention made "*Dianæ Plancianæ*," of the *Plancian Diana*: whence, says he, we may infer that there was the private worship of Diana in the houses of the *Plancii*.⁵—In one coin of the *Posthumia Gens* there is the head of Diana, and on the reverse a man in the toga on a hill sacrificing a bull, the inscription bearing the name of A. Posthumus Albinus: while another coin of the same family has the head of Diana, and a dog running. And these are explained from Livy's statement that A. Posthumus Albinus was made Decemvir for celebrating sacred rites; which probably, says Eckhel, were the *Ludi Seculares*, in honour of Apollo and Diana.⁶—The same *Ludi Seculares* furnish the explanation given by Spanheim, he tells us, of a medal of the *Claudia Gens*, struck by P. Clodius, with Diana holding a torch in either hand: while in another medal, struck also by P. Clodius, we have the Sun radiated on one side, the Moon among stars on the other; which Sun and Moon are

¹ Eckhel v. 121.² Ib. pp. 192, 194.³ { Caput Veneris, juxta globus.

{ Vir humi decumbens; adai tentibus Dianâ, et Victoriâ palmæ ramum tenente,

⁴ Ib. 162.⁵ Ib. 275.⁶ Ib. 288.

but other names and figures of Apollo and Diana.¹ Eckhel himself offers the alternative of a reference to the private family religion of the Claudian Gens; another coin of which also presents Diana's head, with the accompaniment of a quiver and bow. And he further suggests these alternative explanations of the Ludi Seculares, or a Dianian private family religion, in explanation of a coin of the *Aquillia Gens*; where the radiated Sun appears on one side of a coin, and Diana on the reverse.²—These medals, together with two of a probably Sicilian reference, and two curious coins of the *Mamilian* and the *Hostilian Gens* respectively, in which the Diana seems to refer to something in the histories of Ulysses and King Hostilius, the reputed ancestors of the two families,³ make up the whole, I believe, of the Republican coins on which Diana is stamped; save and except three or four on which she appears in the *biga*; ⁴ that common ancient type, in connexion with Rome's various gods and goddesses, whence the old coins were often called *bigati*.⁵ Thus, in almost all, we see, some particular explanation of a Dianian type is suggested and illustrated by Eckhel.

What then, on the whole, the probable and fair conclusion respecting the device of *Diana the huntress* on Nerva's coin, but that Nerva had some particular individual reason, as I before said, for choosing it? And what a more natural or satisfactory reason than that suggested by Vaillant from *Nerva's Cretensic origin*, and consequent *Dianian* family religion: seeing that Diana was a goddess worshipped with special devotion in most of the cities of that island, as their several coins still abundantly testify; while on certain coins of the *Κρητων Κοινον*, or Cretan community under the Emperors, as Eckhel explains the inscription, there is just a similar type to that on Nerva's; viz. of Diana as the huntress, with her quiver and her bow? For as to the idea of Nerva's having chosen the type from any special connection with Sicily, Ephesus, or any other place, Crete alone excepted, where Diana's worship peculiarly prevailed, it seems out of the question. Nor, we know, did it fall to his lot, as to Domitian's, to celebrate the rare and slowly returning Ludi Seculares.

¹ Ib. 172.² Ib. 141.³ Ib. 226, 242.⁴ Viz. in the coins of the *Asian*, *Flavian*, and *Furian* Gentes; noted by Eckhel, pp. 148, 213, 222.⁵ Noted by Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.* 3; "Pecuniam probant veterem, et diu notam, serratos bigatosque." Also by Pliny and Livy. See Eckhel. v. 19, iii.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

NOTICE ON THE ROMAN COINAGE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROMAN COINS ENGRAVED IN THE HORÆ.

IN the preceding Paper, and in another in the Appendix to my third Volume, I have considered somewhat fully the medallic evidence on two points of primary importance and interest in my Apocalyptic Exposition. It will be further both interesting and useful I think to the reader, with a view to his correcter judgment on the illustrative value of other Roman medals made use of in this work, to have before him a brief general sketch on matters connected with the Roman coinage. I purpose therefore in my present Paper first to give this general sketch; then to add a few remarks in detail, such as we may so be better prepared for, on certain particular Roman coins engraved in my book. It seems the rather needful that I should do this, because, through want of adequate information on the subject, I have myself, in my two former editions, fallen into some inaccuracies of detail respecting them. I shall abstract almost throughout from Eckhel's great work on the *Doctrina Veterum Nummorum*; a work confessedly the most learned and authoritative that exists on the subject.

I. The date of the first coinage of money seems to have been nearly about the commencement of the Olympian Æra, B.C. 776, or founding of Rome, B.C. 753: the metals silver, and, though much

more rarely, gold; the country Greece.¹ Thence the art and custom past in early times to its various Western colonies, especially those in Magna Græcia and Sicily: so that we have coins of Rhegium and Messana still extant of as early a date as V.C. 276,² or B.C. 477; and of Zankle, the previous name of Messana, of Caulonia in the Bruttii, and of other ancient neighboring cities, still earlier.³—The *Roman* coinage is said to have begun under king Servius, whose death occurred V.C. 218;⁴ though none of so ancient a date yet remains: and it was at first, and for a long time after, only of *brass*;⁵ in direct contrast with the earliest Greek coinage, which, as observed, was originally of *silver*. The date of the first Roman *silver* coinage is fixed by Pliny at V.C. 485, five years before the first Punic war;⁶ with which statement the evidence of medals still extant sufficiently agrees.—The earliest and standard *type* of the Roman *brass* coinage seems to have been for the *as* Janus' head on the obverse, for the *lesser coins* the head of Jove, Minerva, Hercules, or Mercury; with a ship's prow in all on the reverse:⁷ the type of the *as* having reference to Saturn's arrival in a ship, according to an ancient tradition, and teaching a certain Tuscan primitive King Janus both other arts of civilization, and specially the coining of money.⁸ Of the *denarius*, the chief Roman *silver* coin, (in value equivalent to a Greek drachma, and also originally to ten Roman asses, whence its name,)⁹ the

¹ Eckhel Prolegom. i. ix.—Demosthenes refers to a law of Solon's imposing the penalty of death on such as adulterated the public money. Now Solon, we know, lived some 500 years before the Christian era; and was the cotemporary of Cyrus king of Persia, and Tarquinius Priscus the 5th king of Rome.

² The era V. C. that is *Urbis Condita*, is always made use of by Eckhel.

³ Eckhel v. 10, i. 220.—Zankle was the original name of Messana; which new name the City received on the old inhabitants being dispossessed by a colony of *Messanians* from the Peloponnesus under Anaxilaus, shortly after the battle of Marathon. So that, says Eckhel, coins with *Zankle* or *Dankle* on them cannot be of later date than V. C. 276; the old name having then been superseded by the new one of *Messana*.—On the antiquity of the Caulonian medals, see ib. i. 167.

⁴ So Pliny: ib. v. 2.

⁵ Ibid. v. 2, 3.

⁶ Ibid. v. 7.

⁷ Ibid. v. 11.

⁸ Ibid. v. 14. So Ovid, Fasti i. 229:

Multa quidem didici: sed cur navalis in ære

Altera signata est; altera forma biceps?

Causa rapis superest. Tuscum rate venit in amnem,

Ante pererrato falcifer orbe Deus.

At bona posteritas puppim servavit in ære;

Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.

⁹ Ib.

earliest type extant is a winged head of the helmeted Minerva on the obverse, and on the reverse the Dioscuri Equites, or Castor and Pollux :¹ after which, somewhat later, the reverse presents some one of the Roman gods in a biga or quadriga, whence the frequent ancient appellation to the coins of *bigati* or *quadrigati*.²—Gold money does not appear to have been struck at Rome, except on certain extraordinary occasions, till the time of Julius Cæsar's dictatorship.³ The want of a Roman native silver coinage before the first Punic war, and want of a native gold coinage afterwards, seems to have been supplied by the abundant influx or importation of foreign silver and gold money. So Festus ;⁴ whose statement is well illustrated by various facts in the Roman Republican history.⁵

During the Republic the proper and only ordinary *place* for the Roman coinage was Rome itself. Under extraordinary circumstances however it might be elsewhere : and when struck with Roman types, of Roman weight, and by Roman officers, it was rightly to be regarded as Roman money.⁶ Thus the money called *Lucullean*, struck under Sylla's direction for use in the Mithridatic war, was coined in the Greek Peloponnesus. We have also extant Roman money struck *ex S.C.* at Osca in Spain. And in the times of the Civil Wars we find that the Consuls driven from Rome on Cæsar's passage of the Rubicon struck denarii at Apollonia in Illyricum ; that Metellus Scipio struck denarii in Africa, on the renewal of the war V.C. 707 against Cæsar ; and that, still later, money was coined by Brutus and Cassius in different towns in Greece, and by Antony at Lyons.⁷—With regard to the *right of coinage*, as this was always and in every nation considered as a mark of sovereignty, so free Rome ever jealously vindicated that right to herself ;⁸ the special charge over it and over the Treasury being entrusted to the Senate.⁹

¹ Ib. v. 42, 84.² Ib. v. 19, 42, 43.³ Ib. v. 37—40.⁴ In Patres. "Solebant Romani, jam inde à Romulo, numis auri atque argenti signati ultramarinis uti ; id quod publicæ et privatæ rationes commentariorum docent."⁵ Eckhel, v. 41, gives examples of this importation, on the successful ending of wars in Greece or Asia. "Invexit Quintius ex Græciâ redux in triumpho Philippeos 14,515 : Scipio Asiaticus, victo Antiocho M., 140,000 ; M. Fulvius in triumpho de Ætolis 12,422 &c." How much vaster the influx from the ordinary course and necessities of commerce !⁶ Ib. v. 68.⁷ Ibid.⁸ Ibid. i. lxx—lxxii.⁹ Livy xxxvii. 54, Cicero Vat. 15.

Hence on the earliest consular silver coins, stamped with types such as I have before indicated, there appears neither name nor effigy of Consul or other Magistrate; but only *Roma*.¹ Later the names of certain Magistrates appear inscribed, whence the coins are called *Numi Familiarum*; but never their effigies: such effigies as appear on certain of the coins being not those of the Magistrates themselves, but only of some illustrious ancestor of theirs; for stamping which special permission was obtained from the Senate.² It was to the dictator Julius Cæsar that the right of stamping his own image on the coinage was first assigned by a Decree of the Senate: after whom the Triumvirs Octavian Antony and Lepidus, and also Sext. Pompey and M. Brutus, coined in their own name, and as by their own right: an introduction this to Augustus' and his successors' subsequent supremacy over the mint and coinage.³ In subordination to the Senate the *City Questors* had charge over the treasury;⁴ the *Triumviri Monetales* over the coinage: which Triumvirs are stated by Pomponius to have been first appointed as early as V.C. 465;⁵ though the evidence of this on coins themselves is, and could only be, much later.⁶ It does not appear that there was any regular annual coinage, or issue of money; but that this was made only as required. The Magistrates, whether Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, Questors, or others, seem to have made application for it to the Senate, according as it might be needed for purposes of war, public games, procuration of corn, public buildings, &c. &c.: which application granted they ordered it from the Triumviri.⁷ Hence frequently, in the last two centuries of the Republic, their names on the coins, as well as also sometimes those of the Triumvirs; and symbols

¹ Eckhel calls these *Numi Consulares*, in contradistinction to the *Numi Familiarum*; though the latter of course were also struck under the Consular regime. "Prevertunt ætatem, antequam mos signandæ in numis familiæ esset inductus." v. 42.

² Prolegom. i. lxxi.

³ Ibid. lxxii.

⁴ Ibid. lxxvii.

⁵ Ib. lxxix; v. 61. Pomponius speaks of them thus; "Constituti sunt eodem tempore Triumviri Monetales, æris argenti auri flatores." But as to their coining of silver and gold Pomponius, observes Eckhel, must have spoken *προληπτικως*; as silver was not coined till v. c. 485, twenty years later, and gold not till long afterwards.

⁶ Because no names of any magistrates or public officers were admitted to be engraved till some considerable time afterwards.—Names of Triumviri Monetales appear on coins of the last century, or century and a half, of the Republic's duration.

⁷ Eckhel v. 67.

either of their office, or of the purpose the money was granted for.—When Roman money was struck in the Provinces, the Provincial Quæstors had superintendence over it, so as the Triumvirs at Rome : and they inscribed either their own names, or that of their Proconsul or Proprætor, or both.¹

As the Roman dominion extended itself more and more in every direction, so as at first to include Italy, then by degrees more and more of what at length ere the end of the Republic, and under the Emperors, became known as the Roman World, the circulation of its coinage naturally extended far and near. Yet it was still permitted both to the Italian cities after their incorporation with the Republic, and afterwards to the ultramarine Provinces, to retain among other rights of liberty that of coining their own money, according to their respective wants and means : so that, for example, the Asiatics of the Ephesian or Proconsular Asia still coined as before their silver cistophori in vast abundance, the Athenians their tetradrachms.²—To the Roman colonies too, whether in Italy, Sicily, or elsewhere, the right was attached of coining their own money.³

So as regards the Roman coinage, and that of the Roman Provinces, during the times of the *Republic*. On the Republic becoming changed into an *Empire* under Augustus and his successors, various changes occurred both at home and abroad. At Rome the exclusive authority over the gold and silver coinage was attached to the Emperor; that over the brass coinage being alone left to the Senate :⁴ and in both one and the other the name and effigy of the Emperor appeared on the obverse. The Triumviri Monetales were still continued as the executive officers over the Mint : the office being one assigned by the Emperor to certain individuals chosen by him out of the Equestrian order ; and regarded, in common with three or four other offices similarly appointed to from out of the Equestrians, as the step-

¹ Ibid. 69.

² Eckhel i. lxxi, 82.

³ Eckhel iv. 499.

⁴ Ib. i. lxxiii—lxxviii. Hence the s. c. only on the imperial *brass* money : except when the subject of the type of a silver or gold coin may be something ordered by the Senate ; such as the consecration of a deceased Emperor, or an arc or statue dedicated to him. Then the Ex. s. c. may appear : as indeed on Republican coins also, under similar circumstances, more anciently. On the brass the s. c. ceases under Gallienus.

ping stone to higher offices in the State.¹—With regard to the *Provinces* it seems to have been Augustus' wish to carry out gradually the policy urged on him by Mæcenas, of making the Roman the sole coinage current through the Roman world.² Thus with the Italian cities the right of coining seems to have ceased from the first accession of Augustus. In Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and the African and Cyrenaic Provinces, it ceased under Tiberius and Caligula. The East however, from Greece proper to Mœsia on the N. E., and to Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia on the S. E., continued still to strike coins; ³ whether *autonomi*, as they are called, i. e. without the head of Emperor or Empress, or *officiosi* with it: ⁴ with this restriction however, that the privilege of coining *silver* was only granted to comparatively few cities, and those of the highest rank: such as Alexandria in Egypt, the Syrian Antioch, Cæsarea in Cappadocia &c.⁵ To the Roman Colonies it was necessary to receive the special permission of the Emperor or the Proconsul: and though under the Republic this permission seems to have been unrestricted, yet it was now only granted to certain Colonies, not to others; and, where granted, only extended to the right of coining brass money.⁶—Such continued the state of things, as regarded the coinage of the Eastern Provinces, till the latter half of the third Century of the Christian Æra. Then under Gallienus and Claudius their coinage ceased almost altogether; the Alexandrian alone lingering a few years longer till the reign of Diocletian.⁷ Imperial mints, *Officinæ Monetales*, were now established permanently at different places over the empire, as Siscia in Pannonia, Treves, Lyons, Carthage, Constantinople, &c. &c., as well as Rome; ⁸ thus in a more systematic manner supplying the wants of

¹ Ib. i. lxxix, v. 62, 63. So Ovid of his own appointment to the office, *Trist.* iv. 33; *Cœpimus et teneræ primos ætatis honores;*
Eque viris quondam pars tribus una fui.

There are still extant marbles which speak of Triumviri A. A. A. F. F., (i. e. *aurum argentum æs flando feriendo*,) of the age of Trajan, that of Severus, and that of Gordian. Eckhel i. lxxix.

² "Numismate, pondere, mensurâ peculiari urbs nulla utitur, sed nostris omnes." So Dion Cassius, lii. 30. The advice was given, says Eckhel, i. 82, in the year V. C. 725, when Augustus was doubting whether or not to restore the Republic.

³ i. 82, 83.

⁴ Ibid. i. lxxi.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ i. lxxi. 82; iv. 497, 499. Such a Colony was Philippi, mentioned *Acts* xvi. 12.

⁷ i. ix, x.

⁸ *Permanently*, in contradistinction to the mints temporarily established from particular passing circumstances by certain of the Emperors; as by Vespasian at Antioch,

the Provinces. So was prepared in respect of the *coinage*, as well as in respect of the political constitution of the Roman world, the grand transition in Imperial history from the *earlier* to the *later* or *lower* empire.

II. I now proceed to notice more or less cursorily, as need may be, those coins of which use has been made in the *Horæ*: correction being inserted of certain inaccuracies admitted into my two first editions; and the addition, here and there, of what may serve to make clearer or to strengthen my argument. In this I shall follow a chronological order: arranging the coins under heads, according to the time when they were struck.

1. Those of earliest date engraved by me are the medals of *Mars* and a *horse*, or *horse's head*, with *Roma* or *Romano* inscribed; the same that the reader has seen at p. 123 of this volume. On these coins, or at least on the class inscribed with *Romano*, I have in my present edition cited ad loc. the judgments of Eckhel and Niebuhr, our highest authorities on such a subject.¹ Out of the various indications offered to the enquirer on the face of the medals themselves, the fabric, the silver metal, the dialect of the word inscribed, and locality too in which they have been found most abundantly,—these all unite to mark out Campania, not Rome, as the country of their origin.² For the fabric is of Grecian elegance, such as characterizes the coins of Sicily and Magna Græcia (Campania inclusive) struck about the age of Alexandria the Great, but which the Roman Numi Consulares never attained to:—the silver metal was common at that time to the Magna Græcia coins; whereas, as stated in my former head, the Roman silver coinage did not begin till just before the first Punic War, some fifty years or more after the death of Alexander:—and the terminating *no* of the *Romano* is a termination of the Oscan dialect; that which was the original dialect of Campania and Samnium; though invaded by, and in-

Pescennius Niger in the East, Clodius Albinus in Gaul, &c. Eckhel i. lxxxi. In his 8th Volume he gives a full list of the towns where the Roman mints were permanently fixed.

¹ In my second Edition I had been misled through a communication there referred to as from Mr. Lewis, to suppose that Eckhel had rejected the idea of any Roman reference in the type of the horse.

² Eckhel v. 46.

termixed with, the Greek, Etruscan, and Latin of various tribes of invaders or colonists.¹ Hence the conclusion of these learned scholars as to a local Campanian origin.—But wherefore then the *Romano* and the *Roma*, in Latin letters inscribed? And wherefore too the *Mars and horse*, or *horse's head, conjoined*: a conjunction no where seen, I believe, in simple Campanian, Magna-Græcian, or Sicilian types; that is, without the accompaniment of the *Roma* or *Romano*?² Eckhel's opinion is given, that the coins were thus stamped by certain Campanian or Magna Græcian people, subjected to Rome, or rather connected with Rome by ties of common friendship and even citizenship;³ in order by the inscription *Roma*, or by *types of direct Roman reference*, or both, to pay homage to the powerful seven-hilled mistress city:⁴ and as a direct Roman reference of the types on certain other coins of this class, is indubitable and obvious, so in the conjoined Mars and horse, a similar Roman reference seems to him obvious, from the circumstance of the horse having been consecrated from earliest times by the Romans, in annual games and sacrifices, to their father Mars.⁵—Niebuhr's intimacy with the history of the period suggested to him a yet

¹ See Eckhel's Dissertation on the point, Vol. i. pp 120, 124—129. Hence the idea of a *Panormitan* origin is set aside: which origin the type of the horse's head common in the coins of Panormus, (though not indeed in conjunction with a *Mars' head*,) might otherwise naturally have suggested.

² I do not see any of the same *combined* types in Eckhel's lists of the Italian, Magna Græcian, or Sicilian coins; save only in one of *Cosa* in Etruria, described by him, Vol. i. p. 90, thus;

{ Caput Martis galeatum barbatum.
{ *Cosa*. Caput equi frenatum.

On which coin he adds his opinion, that as coins abounded with these types in Campania, the same that bore also the inscriptions *Roma* and *Romano*, the *Cosani* borrowed their type from these. "*Cosani ad monetæ tam obvis exemplar suos formavere numos, addito tamen urbis suæ nomine.*"—Eckhel has omitted to notice the important fact that in this Etrurian *Cosa* a *Roman Colony* was fixed about the same time as the Colony sent to *Pæstum*; i. e. some few years before the first Carthaginian war. This fact seems to me very confirmatory of Niebuhr's opinion as to the Roman colonial origin of the Campanian coins with the *Romano*.

³ So v. 47 of the Neapolitan Campanians. "*Neapolitani Campaniæ honoris causâ Romanorum nomen, in quorum erant potestate, pro suo inscripserunt; nisi forte, tanquam cives essent Romani, Romanos se vocaverunt.*"

⁴ "*Urbibus Italiæ, seu Romæ mentione, æs typis, Roman respicientibus.*" v. 48.

⁵ Ib. 49.—A wolf suckling the twins, and again Janus on one side, and on the other, two soldiers with a pig for sacrifice, (Eckh. 45, 47,) are types on this class of coins notoriously Roman.

closer connexion of Rome and the coins, albeit locally Campanian. At the end of the second Samnite war, an epoch corresponding very nearly with the time of Alexander the Great, various Roman colonies, sent forth from Rome, had been planted in Campania : ¹ and as Capua, the Campanian capital, and other Campanian cities very generally, had about this time become united to Rome by the close ties of municipium, if not of Roman citizenship, the connexion of Roman colonists with these adopted Roman citizens of Campanian origin could not but have been most close. It was for the judicial ordering of these colonists that Prætors, at the time spoken of, are said by Livy to have been sent forth annually from Rome : and there is intimation also of these Roman officers having something to do in furnishing a judicial code to the Campanians. Niebuhr thinks it likely that it may have been from this community of the Roman colonists, (in connexion, we may suppose, with their all but fellow-citizens of the native Campanians,) that these coins originated.²—Thus, while Eckhel distinctly and unhesitatingly explains the *horse* as the *Roman horse*, consecrated by the Romans to their father *Mars*, Niebuhr suggests, as not unlikely, that the coins themselves were *struck by Roman citizens*, though not citizens located at Rome. And, in the view apparently of their being essentially Roman money, Trajan restored some coins of this class ; ³ and very possibly all.⁴

2. My Roman medals of next earliest coinage are those of the *Numi Familiarum* given at p. 169 of the present Volume, in illustration of the third Seal. (The description of many other such will be found in my preceding Paper in this Appendix.) Of the three engraved coins referred to, the second and third are illustrative of those procurations of corn under the Republic, made by order of

¹ The freedom of Rome had been already given to Capua, Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Acerræ &c. Livy viii. 14, 17. Niebuhr, Vol. v. p. 399, (French Ed. by Golberry) speaks of Capua as at this time a part of the Roman state : also of many Roman citizens having been established in the neighbourhood ; of a Roman Plebeian colony then lately established at Falerum ; and of the Roman citizens of some eight or ten of these Campanian towns forming a Roman Community and Conventus.

² Niebuhr *ibid*.

³ “ Restitutum à Trajano mirum non videtur : ” (he is speaking of one with the head of Janus, and on the reverse Jupiter in a quadriga and the inscription *Roma* :). “ nam numi hi, etai peregrini, tamen Romæ fuerunt obvii ; et cum in iis expressum Romæ nomen legeretur, poterant monetæ Romanæ accenseri.” Eckhel v. 46.

⁴ See Note ² p. 526.

the Senate for distribution among the poorer citizens, (as the inscription *Ad. Fru. Emu. Ex S. C.* on the ope, and the *modius* and *ears of corn* on the other indicate,) of which procurations there was such an extension under the Emperors of the third century, with a view to the supply of the vast wants both of the army and the Roman populace, as to have materially aggravated the pressure of the heavy tax of contributions of corn required by the Provincials; carried out as those procurations were, with injustice and oppression.¹ The *modius* often appears, I may observe, in a similar significatory sense on Imperial coins: for example on one of Nerva's, exhibiting a "*modius prominentibus spicis*," and with the inscription, *Plebei Urbane Frumento Constituto*.²—The obverse on the third coin, is a head of some ancient Regulus, (not improbably, we may suppose, of the Regulus so famous in the first Carthaginian war,) the ancestor of the L. Livineius Regulus, for whose use in the public service the money was struck; ³ and thus illustrates what was before stated, respecting such human effigies as appear on certain of the Numi Familiarum, as not those of the inscribed magistrates themselves, but (by the Senate's permission) of some one of their ancestors. The obverse on the second coin, is a head which seems to be that of Saturn; the obverse on the first, the head of Jupiter Terminalis.—With regard to the *balance* on the first coin engraved, (the most important emblem of course in the three medals towards the illustration of the third Seal,) it is to be understood that it appears both on Roman Republican and Roman Imperial coins, as the symbol of *justice*: and this in reference specially to two acts, or offices, in which equitable dealing is most important, on the part of governing authorities to the commonwealth governed; viz. 1st, the judicial

¹ On the important subject here alluded to let me suggest an additional reference to Michelet's *Histoire de France*, L. i. Ch. 8.

² Eckhel vi. 407.—From the Numi Familiarum let me add, as another illustration, the description of a denarius of the Claudian Gens, and family of the Marcelli, given by Eckhel v. 170;

{ Caput Palladis alatum, præ quo x, pone modius.

{ *M. Marc.* Victoria in bigia, in imo dæ spicæ, et Roma.

³ Eckhel v. 235. This medal was restored by Trajan. Of whose restorations of the ancient republican coins, Eckhel, after giving a list of what are still extant v. 98, &c. observes that it is probable he restored most, or even all. "Cum Trajanus obscurarum familiarum numos restituerit, verisimile est ab eo illarum plerosque, et forte omnes, restitutos; sed quos hactenus videre non licuit. Videmus enim eorum numerum, etiam lentè, sensim tamen augeri; et haud dubiè complures in variis Museis latent, sed nobis ignoti." p. 110.

⁴ Eckhel v. 154, 159.

office, or, as it is often characteristically called, the administration of justice; 2ndly, the coinage, with just weight and purity of metal, of the public money. The latter view of justice was naturally a favorite subject with the officers of the mint: and they were able specifically to point out a reference to it, by the added signs either of a mass of metal, or instruments of coining,¹ or significant words or letters inscribed,² or the personification of one goddess superscribed *Moneta*, or perhaps three, with the balance beneath; the three indicating the three metals struck in coinage.³ In other cases, the reference either to justice in its largest sense,—justice executive, legislative, and administrative,—or to the judicial administration of justice in particular, was also made evident. I subjoin illustrations.⁴ In the engraving given by me, the suspension

¹ The *instruments of coining* appear, for example, on a medal of the *Gens Carisia*, thus described by Eckhel v. 163;

{ *Moneta*. Caput muliebre.
 { *T. Carisius*. Incus, pileus Vulcani, forceps, malleus. ¹

The *mass of metal* appears on an Alexandrine medal of Commodus, given by Eckhel iv. 77;

{ Κομμοδος, &c.
 { Μονητα. Moneta stolata stans, d. bilancem s. sceptrum; ante pedes acervus
 { seris.

² So in a medal of the Emperor Claudius, given by Eckhel, vi. 238:

{ *T. Claudius Cæsar Aug.* Dextra bilancem tenens, intra cuius lances P. N. R.
 { *Cos. Des. It. Pont. M. Tr. P. Imp.* In medio a. c.

where Eckhel explains the P. N. R. to mean *Pondus Numi Restitutum*.—Of the word *Moneta* examples have been given in the Note preceding.

³ Eckhel, vii. 188, describes a coin of this character of the Emperor S. Severus.

{ *S. Severus Aug.* Caput laureatum.
 { *Æquitati Publicæ*. Tres Monetæ stantes cum bilance et cornu copiæ. Juxta
 { singulas, præ pedibus, massa metalli.

In Gessner the reader may see engravings of the three *Monetæ*.

⁴ In the mass of Roman medals with the figure of Justice bearing a balance in hand, and the inscription *Æquitas Augusti*, reason requires that we give this large meaning to the symbol.—Similarly in the Alexandrine medals, where we have multitudes of types of the Emperors, or Empresses, with personifications accompanying of various other virtues, as ΕΛΠΙΣ, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ, ΤΥΧΗ, ΠΡΟΒΟΙΑ, and also that of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ, or *Justice*,—as the other personifications are *general* in their meaning, so too, we may reasonably suppose, the ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ; whose type, like that of *Æquitas*, in the Latin coins, is a *balance*. I may cite for example one of the Emperor Claudius, given by Eckhel iv. 51:

{ *Ti Claudius*, &c.
 { ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. L. Γ. Mulier stans, d. bilancem.

Rasche on ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ mentions an “*insignis numus*,” given by Seguin, Vaillant,

of the *balance* above the *curule chair* is sufficiently significative of this latter reference : this being under the Republic the seat of the Prætor, or Proprætor, in administering justice. (I have given ad loc. Spanheim's notice of the symbol to this effect, in his earlier and smaller work *De Præstantiâ Nummorum* ; and I now subjoin the notice of it to the same effect, in his later and larger Work.¹) Similarly in imperial times this association of justice and the curule chair was still so familiar, that the goddess Justice was sometimes depicted as sitting on a curule chair for her tribunal.² In those times indeed both the idea of justice, and the symbol of the balance significative of it, attached primarily to the Emperors themselves : as the supreme legislators and administrators of law in the State.³ Subordinately, however, both the idea and the symbol attached to those also who administered the law under the Emperors.⁴ So Manilius, writing near the close of the reign of Augustus, speaks not only of the Emperor, but also of the Prætor and Judge, as fitly born under the zodiacal sign of the balance.⁵—Now in the hieroglyphic and Morell ; on which “ hinc Tiberii caput, illinc *libra æquis lancibus*, cum adscriptis circum nominibus *Βασιλεσσα Πυθοδωρις Κορυς*, et *Δικαιοσυνη*.” And he adds in explanation : “ Signata ibi *libra* cum lancibus ad prædicandum Tiberii justitiam ; dum ab eo impetravit hæc Regina, ut in ultionem occisi per fraudem à Rhæcoporide mariti ipse in Senatu damneretur, et Alexandriam delatus capitis ibi lueret.”

¹ I refer to his Vol. ii. p. 111, and Section headed, “ De Prætoribus in Numis.” He there observes : “ Quum curulis foret itidem magistratus, neque unum paulatim constitutum sit Prætorum in Urbe genus, verum eorum primo qui *jus Roma dicerent*, dein qui *ad regendas Romani Populi Provincias*, aut cæteroque cum militari imperio mitterentur, tum qui prius quæstiones publicas de certis criminibus in Urbe exercerent,—ita promiscue iidem initialibus primis illius magistratûs literis *Ph*, seu Prætoris, et communibus præterea *sella curulis, bilancis* subinde, (vulgati justitiæ, ut similiter in aliquot Cæsarum numis, symboli,) fascium præterea, quandoque et securium insignibus utebantur.”

² “ *Sellæ curuli*, nempe pro tribunali, adaidet *Justitia*, hastâ purâ insignis ; et, porrectâ paterâ, religionem sibi curæ esse ostendit.” So Rasche, on *Justitia*, referring to a gold coin of Hadrian's given by Khell in his supplement, p. 70.

³ So Rasche on *Æquitas Augusti* ; observing that justice was considered to attach properly to those, most of all, “ qui *jus dicere solent* : ” so as did the Augusti, as the head of the law and government.

⁴ Just as they were the head of the army also, and so wore the sword of supreme command ; which sword however was borne, as the badge of military command, by the *Imperial generals* under them.

⁵ Vix. in his 4th Book. In one passage he says ;

Sed cum autumnales cæperunt surgere Chelæ,
Felix æquato genitus sub pondere *Libræ*,
Judex extremæ sistet vitæque necisque ;
Imponetque jugum teris, legesque rogabit.

of the third Seal this latter application of the balance in the hand of the rider, I mean to the *subordinate* administrators of justice, (its administrators both judicially and executively,) was fixed alike by the absence of the crown from his head, and by those most significant words of charge and monition, addressed to him in the voice from the throne, about the price of corn, and against injustice, which Emperors "lege soluti" never received, but Provincial Governors received perpetually; and of which I have fully spoken in my comment on the Seal.¹

3. A word next, ere I pass to my Roman imperial coins, on the two examples of the *Provincial* coinage, under the Republic and under the Emperors, exhibited in my two Cretan coins given at p. 136 of this Volume.—The *Cydonian* medal is of silver, and may very possibly be in date earlier than the epoch of Crete becoming a Province of the Roman Empire. If later it illustrates the fact of the permission, accorded very generally to the Provincial towns under the Republic, to strike their *numos autonomos*, as before. The obverse has on it a Woman's head adorned with flowers, and the inscription ΝΕΥΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΥΘΕΙ, designating the designer or coiner.—The other of the *Cretan Apollo* is of Roman imperial times: it being struck, as was also that of the *huntress Diana*, referred to at the conclusion of my previous Paper in this Appendix, by the Κελευν Κρητων: which Κελευν, like many others whose names appear on medals, were communities formed under the Emperors, with a view simply to the common celebration of public games and religious festivals.

This with special reference to Augustus, the supreme judge and legislator; whom he here supposes to have been born under the sign of the Libra, though others referred his birth to the sign of Capricorn. Elsewhere he connects with it judges and law advisers and administrators more generally.

Librantes noctem Chelæ cum tempore lucis,
Per nova maturi post annum tempora Bacchi,
Mensuræ et tribuent usus, et pondera rerum :
Hic etiam legum tabulas, et condita jura,
Et licitum sciet, et vetitum quæ pœna sequatur,
Perpetuum populi privato in limine Prætor.

Libra was the sign of Astræa, the heavenly goddess of justice.

¹ From seeing the *reverses* only, (so as in Spanheim's smaller work,) and the inscription *Leg. Pro. Pr.* on it, I had originally supposed the coin with the balance to have been one stamped with the name of a *Legatus Proprætor* under the Emperors. It was struck, we see, just before the establishment of the empire under Augustus.

Eckhel¹ gives a list of the various *Koiva* formed about this period ; and mentions that the extant coins of this Cretan *Koivon* extend from Tiberius to M. Aurelius inclusive : the Diana (and I think also the Apollo) being of the date of Adrian or Antoninus Pius ; and thus nearly cotemporary with Nerva's coin of the Diana. I observe in Gesner, another characteristic coin of the Cretan *Koivon*, of Domitian's time : the obverse presenting Domitian's head, with *ΔΑΜΤ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ* ; the reverse *ΚΡΗΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΒΩΝ*, with a man holding a bow. Eckhel² adds the inscription on a very illustrative marble of the Lyttii of Crete, from Gruter ; *Ἱερεῖς Ἀγῶνός Περταερηκίος τοῦ Κοιβῶν τῶν Κρητῶν* ; showing that the games of this Cretan Community were quinquennial.

4. Of Imperial coins of the first grand division of the history of the Roman *Empire*, from Augustus' accession to that of Constantine, five are engraven in the *Horn* ; viz. those in my first Volume, at pp. 123, 133, 61, 131 respectively, of *Augustus on horseback*, of *Claudius Drusus on a triumphal arch*, of *Titus on the destruction of Jerusalem*, and of *Nerva's head with the laurel crown* : together with that of *Maximian*, given at p. 16 of my third Volume, which belongs to a kind of transition period between the two great historical and chronological divisions of the earlier and the later Empire.—On the *Nerva* and the *Titus* there does not occur to me any thing needing observation.—The equestrian *Augustus* suggests a similar medal of Domitian, the reigning Emperor at the time of St. John's exile in Patmos, engraved in Patin's *Numismata* p. 157 ; one which represents that same equestrian statue to him, which in my Note ad loc. I stated to have been the subject of one of Statius' Odes.—As regards the triumphal arc of *Claudius Drusus*, I must correct a slight inaccuracy in the notice of it in my Book. I had supposed the arc to have been built, or at least the medals which represent it to have been struck, about the time of Claudius Drusus' German victories. But, as Eckhel states,³ there is clear evidence that both the arc was raised, and the medals struck, in his honour, somewhat later, viz. under the reign of his son, the Emperor Claudius. There still exist both gold, silver, and brass medals, (the latter with

¹ Vol. iv. p. 428, &c.² p. 431.³ Vol. vi. 176, 177.

the S. C.) which exhibit the triumphal arc. Eckhel thus describes them :

Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Imp. Caput Drusi laureatum, in aliis nudum.
De Germ. inscriptum arcui triumphali, super quo Drusi status equestris inter duo tropea.

And he cites Dion Cassius, stating that the honor of statues and triumphal arcs was decreed to Drusus after his death. This of course makes no difference with respect to the purport of the design on the arc.—As regards medals struck on occasion of the *Profectio Augusti* to war, let me here mention one or two additional to those given in my Book ; in further illustration of what I have stated in my Comment on the first Seal. First I may note one of Trajan's, described by Eckhel¹ thus ;

Trajano Optimo Aug. (Trajan's Head).
Profectio Augusti. Imperator eques d. hastam gestans, præcedente figurâ militari, tribus sequentibus.

Which medal, he says, was struck on Trajan's going forth on his Parthian expedition. Patinus, at p. 176, gives another of Trajan, which exhibits that emperor galloping forth, and striking down an enemy ; with the inscription round it, *S. P. Q. R. Optimo Principi*. Once more in Gessner, Tab. 164 N. 34, I observe a medal of Alexander Severus, struck on occasion of his going forth to war, of similar character : the emperor being depicted as galloping forth and striking down an enemy : Victory, with a crown preceding him, and a soldier following.—With regard to my fifth imperial medal of this class, that of *Maximian*,¹ it is needless to speak here ; the full disquisition in the Appendix to my third Volume having reference to it.

5. Lastly there are my five Roman Imperial medals of the times from and after Constantine,—the *Constantinian Labarum and Phœnix*, the *Valentinian with the diadem*, the *Theodosius with the globe-surmounting cross*, and the much later Constantinopolitan coin, with the images of *Christ and the Virgin*—given either in this 1st or in the 3rd Volume.² On three of these, viz. the *Constantinian coins* and that of *Theodosius*, as also on that of *Maximian* in the immediately preceding æra, the reader will observe at the bottom of the

¹ Vol. vi. pp. 449, 452.

² Vol. i. pp. 131, 215, 460 ; Vol. iii. p. 44.

coins, the marks of those *Officinæ Monetales*, which I spoke of in my first Head, as established about the close of the third century at different places throughout the Empire; ESIS, ASIS, TRP, TESOB. The *Sis* in the two first, signifies *Siscia* in Pannonia, a town on the Save, some fifty miles S.N.E. of Trieste; the prefix A and E designating the particular offices of the mint there established. The *Tr* of the second, indicates the mint at *Treves* in North Eastern Gaul, the P *percussum*, or struck. The intent of the *Tesob* is more doubtful; as also of *Conob*, another word of similar form, often found at the bottom of imperial coins of this period. I must refer the reader to Eckhel's discussion of the point, in the Section on the *Officinæ Monetales* near the end of his last Volume.—On the *Labarum* let me add that Dufresnoy in his Edition of *Lactantius*, Vol. ii. p. 191, gives a medal of Constantine, representing the same sign of the cross and monogram of Christ on the Emperor's helmet.—On the *Phœnix* it is to be observed that the coin exhibiting it is one of the Emperor Constans, son to the great Constantine. But Spanheim in his larger Work, i. 287, gives the engraving of another, judged by him to be one of Constantine's own; in which a military figure standing is depicted as presenting a globe surmounted with a radiated *phœnix* to another, in military garb, sitting on a trophy; with the inscription *Gloria Seculi, Virtus Cæsaris*. And he explains the emblem with reference to the times of the Christian Emperors thus: "Phoenix velut novæ ac æternæ vitæ, aut novi quasi et fortunati seu aurei sæculi, symbolum est sub Christianis Cæsaribus frequentatum." In like manner Patinus: adverts in explanation, "ad religionem Christianam quam Constantinus M. propagaverat, filiique omni cultu prosequerantur." The symbol had previously been made use of by Hadrian, to signify the "golden age" of which his reign was a part. Which medal of Hadrian is thus described by Eckhel, Vol. vi. p. 508;

{ *Imp. Cesar. Trajan. Hadrianus. Aug.* Protome laureata.
Sac. Aur. P. M. TR. P. Cos. iii. Vir seminudus stans, et s.
 tenens globum cui phœnix insistit, d. circulum contingit
 quo totus ambitur.

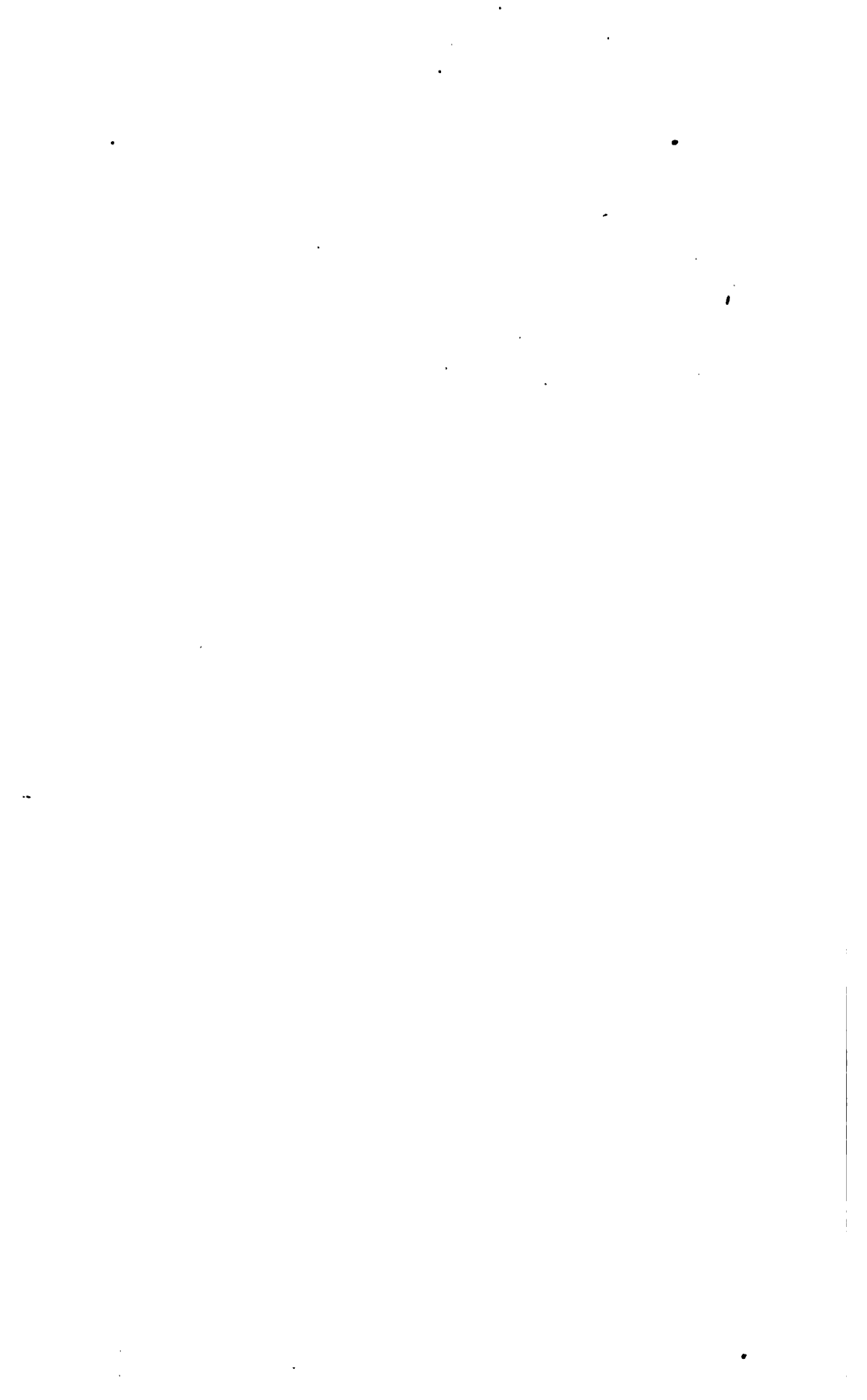
And he observes on it; "Aversa hujus numi aureum imperante

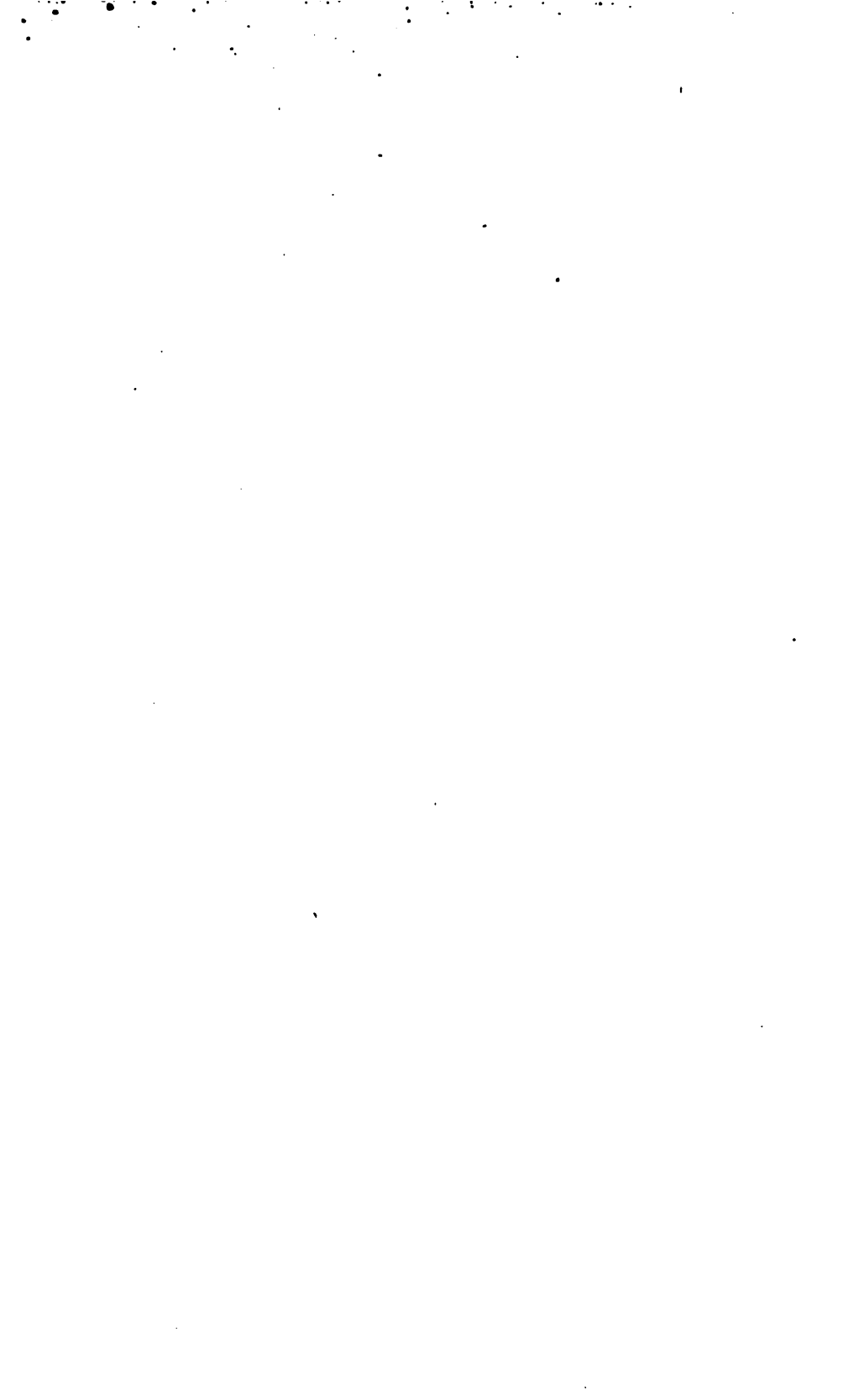
Hadriano sæculum deprædicat : " the circulus of the coin being explained as signifying " orbem sæculi in se revoluti."—On the *Theodosian coin* I have to remark that the symbol of a *globe surmounted by the cross* appears to have been *first* introduced on coins by the Emperor Jovian, immediately after the fall of the Pagan Julian : i. e. a few years before the great Theodosius, to whom I had ascribed the introduction of the symbol. Eckhel in his last Volume discusses and illustrates this point : and he mentions that although Jovian first introduced it on the *coinage*, yet in a *statue* of the great Constantine at Constantinople, it appears by the report of Nicephorus Callistus to have been some little time before similarly applied ; a golden sphere with the cross upon it being held in the right hand of the statue.¹—Finally, with regard to the latest Roman Imperial Coin given by me, and which indeed might rather be called a *Greek Imperial coin*,—I mean that of the Emperor *John Zimisces with an image of the Virgin*,—Eckhel explains the upraised arms of the Virgin as depicted in sign of her acting the protector : and he observes further that in coins both of Romanus Diogenes and Constantine XII the inscription occurs " Mistress, save ! " or, " Mother of God, help ! " and that on the coins of Michael VIII. and Andronicus II. her image appears surrounded by the walls of Constantinople, of which she was the recognized patroness and defender.²

¹ Previously from the time of Augustus, a globe had been frequently depicted in the Emperor's hand surmounted by a Victory. So in a medal of Julian's given by Patinus p. 482. At length, says Eckhel, viii. 506, " globo, dejectâ Victoris imagine, imposita crux ; argumento ejus virtute non veterem modo superpositionem, sed imperii etiam hostes fuisse profligatos." And at p. 147, after describing a medal of Jovian's, where the " Imperator paludatus stans d. labarum, in quo monogramma Christi, a. globum cum *Victoriolâ*," he proceeds : " Iidem Joviani numi jam globum imminente Victoriâ, jam globum crucigerum offerunt. Prior modus ex veteri religione est ; hic ex novâ, et nunc primum comparet."—He then quotes from Nicephorus' H. E. vii. 49 the passage about Constantine's statue ; in which however the historian, it seems, foolishly took the globe or sphere to be an apple : χρυσεον μηλον μεγαλον τη δεξιâ κατεχων χειρι, ετανω τον τιμον κατεπηγγυ ταυρον.

² " Secundum Christum maximus in hujus ævi numis honos habitus Virgini Deiparæ. Pingitur in numis placido ac tranquillo statu, aut stans expansis ad protegendum manibus, vel sedens et infantem Christum in sinu gerens. Inscriptiones sunt Δεσποινæ Σωζεις, in numo Constantini xii. Monomachi ; vel Θεοτοκ. Βοηθ. Πρωμανψ. Romani iv Diogenis. Frequentissima est sigla MP. Θν, id est Μητηρ Θεου. Singularis est imago Deiparæ mœnibus urbis Constantinopolitanæ circumdata ; quam vide in numis Michaelis viii. et Andronici ii. Paleologorum." Eckhel viii. 506.









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